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ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

a. anno
acc. according
acq. no. acquisition number
A.D. anno/annis Domini
add. additions by
adj. adjective
A.H. in the year of the Hijra
a.k.a. also known as
alt. altitude
anc. ancient
anon. anonymous
app. appendix
Apr. April
Ar. Arabic
Arm. Armenian
Att. Attic
Aug. August
approx. approximately
Archbp. Archbishop
B.C. Before Christ
Bibl. Bibliothèque, Bibliothek, Biblioteca, Biblioteca, etc.
(bibl.) bibliography
bk(s). book(s)
Bp. Bishop
Byz. Byzantium, Byzantine (adj.), Byzantines (n.)
C. century, centuries
ca. circa
cf. compare
ch(s). chapter(s)
cm centimeter(s)
cod(d). codex (codices)
col(s). column(s)
Comm. Commentary in/on [the/a], Commentarium in/de
corr. corrected by
Dec. December
diam. diameter
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
ed(s). edited by, edition(s), editor(s)
e.g. for example
Emp. Emperor
Eng. English
ep(s). epistle(s)
esp. especially
et al. et alia, et alii
etc. et cetera
f the following page
facs. facsimile
Feb. February
fem. feminine
fig(s). figure(s)
fol(s). folio(s)
fl. floruit
fr. fragment
Fr. French
ft foot, feet
g gram
Georg. Georgian
Germ. German
Gr. Greek
ha hectare(s)
HE Historia ecclesiastica
Hebr. Hebrew
Hlbbd. Halbband
ibid. ibidem, in the same place
i.e. that is
(ill.) work cited only because of its illustrations
inf. inferior(e)
inscr. inscription
introd. introduction, introduction by
It. Italian
Jan. January
kg kilogram
km kilometer(s)
Lat. Latin
Lib. Library
lit. literally
Lit. Literature
m meter(s)
m. married
Mar. March
masc. masculine
Mél. Mélanges
Metr. Metropolitan
mm millimeter(s)
mod. modern
MS(S) manuscript(s)
Mt. Mount
n(n). note(s)
n.d. no date (of publication)
neut. neuter
no(s). number(s)
nov. novel(la)
Nov. November
n.s. new series
Oct. October
OF Old French
or. oratio(nes)
o.s. old series
p(p). page(s)
par(s). paragraph(s)
Patr. Patriarch
Pers. Persian
pic. pictura
pl. plural
pl(s). plate(s)
pr. proem
pt(s). part(s)
r recto
r. ruled, reigned
R. Reihe (series)
republ. republished
rev. review, reviewed by
rp. reprint
Russ. Russian
S. San, Santo, Santa
sc. scilicet, namely
Sept. September
ser. series
sing. singular
sq. square
SS. Santi
St(s). Saint(s)
sup. superior(e)
supp. supplement, supplemented by
s.v. sub voce, sub verbo
Syr. Syriac
tr. translated by, translation
Turk. Turkish, Turkic
Univ. University
unpub. unpublished
v verso
viz. videlicet
v(v). verse(s)
(with bibl.) with bibliography

ABBREVIATIONS OF BIBLICAL BOOKS

Am Amos
Apoc Apocalypse
1 Chr 1 Chronicles
2 Chr 2 Chronicles
Col Colossians
1 Cor 1 Corinthians
2 Cor 2 Corinthians
Dan Daniel
Dt Deuteronomy
Ec Ecclesiastes
Eph Ephesians
Est Esther
Ex Exodus
Ezek Ezekiel
Ezra Ezra
Gal Galatians
Gen Genesis
Hab Habakkuk
Hag Haggai
Heb Hebrews
Hos Hosea
Is Isaiah
Jas James
Jer Jeremiah
Jg Judges
Jl Joel
Jn John
1 Jn 1 John
2 Jn 2 John
3 Jn 3 John
Jon Jonah
Jos Joshua
1 Kg (3 Kg) 1 Kings
2 Kg (4 Kg) 2 Kings
Lam Lamentations
Lev Leviticus
Lk Luke
Mal Malachi
Mic Micah
Mk Mark
Mt Matthew
Nah Nahum
Neh Nehemiah
Num Numbers
Ob Obadiah
1 Pet 1 Peter
2 Pet 2 Peter
Phil Philippians
Philem Philemon
Pr Proverbs
Ps Psalms
Rom Romans
Ru Ruth
1 Sam (1 Kg) 1 Samuel
2 Sam (2 Kg) 2 Samuel
S of S Song of Solomon
1 Th 1 Thessalonians
2 Th 2 Thessalonians
1 Tim 1 Timothy
2 Tim 2 Timothy
Tit Titus
Zech Zechariah
Zeph Zephaniah

ABBREVIATIONS OF MANUSCRIPT CITATIONS

Ann Arbor = Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library
Athens, Benaki = Athens, Benaki Museum (Mouseion Benaki)
Athens, Byz. Mus. = Athens, Byzantine Museum (Byzantinon Mouseion)
Athens, Nat. Lib. = Athens, National Library (Ethnike Bibliotheke)
Athos = Mt. Athos, followed by abbrev. for individual monastery:
- Chil. Chilandari
- Dion. Dionysiou
- Doch. Docheiariou
- Esphig. Esphigmenou
- Greg. Gregoriou
- Iver. Iveron
- Koutl. Koutloumousiou
- Pantel. Panteleemon
- Pantok. Pantokrator
- Philoth. Philotheou
- Simop. Simopetra
- Stavr. Stavroniketa
- Vatop. Vatopedi
- Xenoph. Xenophontos
- Xerop. Xeropotamou

Baltimore, Walters = Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery
Berlin, Kupferstichkab. = Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett
Berlin, Staatsbibl. = Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek
Bologna, Bibl. Com. = Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio
Bologna, Bibl. Univ. = Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria
Brescia, Bibl. Querin. = Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana
Cambridge, Harvard = Cambridge, Mass., Harvard College Library
Chicago, Univ. Lib. = University of Chicago Library
Cividale, Mus. Archeol. = Cividale, Museo Archeologico
Cleveland Mus. = Cleveland Museum of Art
Copenhagen, Royal Lib. = Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek
Erevan, Mat. = Erevan, Matenadaran
Escorial = Biblioteca de El Escorial
Florence, Laur. = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana
Genoa, Bibl. Franz. = Genoa, Biblioteca Franzoniana
Gotha, Landesbibl. = Gotha, Thüringische Landesbibliothek
Grottaferrata = Grottaferrata, Biblioteca della Badia
Istanbul, Gr. Patr. = Istanbul, Greek Patriarchate (Patriarchike Bibliotheke)
Istanbul, Süleymaniye = Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library
Istanbul, Topkapı = Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library
Jerusalem, Arm. Patr. = Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate
Jerusalem, Gr. Patr. = Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate (Patriarchike Bibliotheke)
Leipzig, Univ. Lib. = Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek
Leningrad, Publ. Lib. = Leningrad, Gosudarstvennaja Publičnaja Biblioteka imeni M.E. Saltykova Ščedrina
London, B.L. = London, British Library
Madrid, Bibl. Nac. = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional
Megaspelaion = Mone Megalou Spelaiou, Kalabryta
Melbourne, Nat. Gall. = Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria
Messina, Bibl. Univ. = Messina, Biblioteca Universitaria
Meteora, Metamorph. = Meteora, Mone Metamorphoseos
Milan, Ambros. = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
Moscow, Hist. Mus. = Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej
Moscow, Lenin Lib. = Moscow, Publičnaja Biblioteka SSSR imeni V.I. Lenina
Moscow, Univ. Lib. = Moscow, Naučnaja Biblioteka imeni Gor'kogo Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo Universiteta
Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Mytilene = Mytilene (Lesbos), Gymnasion
Naples, Bibl. Naz. = Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale
New York, Kraus = New York City, H.P. Kraus
New York, Morgan Lib. = New York City, Pierpont Morgan Library
Oxford, Bodl. = Oxford, Bodleian Library
Oxford, Lincoln Coll. = Oxford, Lincoln College
Palermo, Bibl. Naz. = Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale
Paris, Arsenal = Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
Paris, B.N. = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
Parma, Bibl. Pal. = Parma, Biblioteca Palatina
Patmos = Patmos, Monastery of St. John
Princeton, Theol. Sem. = Princeton Theological Seminary, Speer Library
Princeton, Univ. Lib. = Princeton University Library
Rossano = Rossano, Curia Arcivescovile
Serres = Serres, Monastery of St. John the Baptist (Mone tou Prodromou)
Sinai = Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine
Tbilisi = Tbilisi, Georgian Academy of Sciences, Institut Rukopisej
Thessalonike, Blatadon = Thessalonike, Monastery ton Blatadon
Turin, Bibl. Naz. = Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale
Vat. = Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Venice, Ist. Ellen. = Venice, Istituto Ellenico (San Giorgio dei Greci)
Venice, Marc. = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale di S. Marco
Venice, San Lazzaro = Venice, Biblioteca di San Lazzaro
Vienna, ÖNB = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
Washington, D.O. = Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks
Zaborda = Zaborda, Monastery of St. Nikanor (Mone tou Hagiou Nikanoros)

Note: Greek papyri are cited according to the abbreviations in J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, W.H. Willis, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*[2] (Missoula, Mont., 1978).

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Note: A superscript number following an abbreviation indicates the edition number if it is other than the first.

AA = Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAPA = Artistes, artisans et production artistique au moyen âge, ed. X. Barral i Altet, vols. 1–2 (Paris 1986–87)
AASS = Acta Sanctorum, 71 vols. (Paris 1863–1940)
AB = Analecta Bollandiana
ABAW = Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
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ABME = Archeion ton Byzantinon Mnemeion tes Hellados
Abramea, *Thessalia* = A.P. Abramea, *He Byzantine Thessalia mechri tou 1204* (Athens 1974)
ACO = Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, 4 vols. in 27 pts. (Berlin-Leipzig 1922–74)
ActaAntHung = Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
ActaArchHung = Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
ActaHistHung = Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
ActaNorv = Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam pertinentia, Institum Romanum Norvegiae
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Adontz, *Études* = N. Adontz, *Études arméno-byzantines* (Lisbon 1965)
ADSV = Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka (Sverdlovsk)
AFP = Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum
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Age of Spirit. = Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century, ed. K. Weitzmann (New York 1979)
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AHR = The American Historical Review

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AIHS = Archives Internationales d'histoire des sciences

AIPHOS = Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves (Université libre de Bruxelles)

AJA = American Journal of Archaeology

AJPh = American Journal of Philology

AkadAthPr = Akademia Athenon: Praktika

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AMAM B = Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin (Oberlin College)

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Annales DH = Annales de démographie historique

Annales ESC = Annales: Économies—sociétés—civilisations

AnnArchSyr = Les annales archéologiques de Syrie (from vol. 16 onward, title changed to *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes*)

AnnEPHE = Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études

AnnHistCon = Annuarium historiae conciliorum

AnnPisa = Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa

ANRW = Aufsteig und Niedergang der römischen Welt

AntAa = Antichità Altoadriatiche

AntAb = Antike und Abendland

AntAfr = Antiquités africaines

AntCl = L'Antiquité classique

AnthGr = Anthologia graeca[2], ed. H. Beckby, 4 vols. (Munich 1965) with Germ. tr.

Ant. Nov. = Antony of Novgorod, *Kniga palomnik,* ed. Ch. Loparev (St. Petersburg 1899)

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AOC = Archives de l'Orient Chrétien

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ArchDelt = Archaiologikon Deltion

ArchEph = Archaiologike Ephemeris

ArchHistPont = Archivum historiae pontificiae

ArchOtt = Archivum Ottomanicum

ArchPont = Archeion Pontou

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ASRSP = Archivio della Società [alternately *Deputazione*] *Romana di Storia Patria*

AStCal = Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania

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BBA = Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten

BBulg = Byzantinobulgarica

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BHL = Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis, 2 vols. (Brussels 1898–1901; rp. 1949). *Supplementi editio altera auctior* (1911)

BHM = Bulletin of the History of Medicine

BHO = Bibliothèque hagiographique Orientale

BHR = Bulgarian Historical Review/Revue bulgare d'Histoire

Bibl.sanct. = Bibliotheca sanctorum, 12 vols. (Rome 1961–70)

BICR = Bollettino dell'Istituto Centrale del Restauro (Italy)

BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Cairo)

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BJb = Bonner Jahrbücher

BK = Bedi Kartlisa

Bk. of Eparch = Vizantijskaja kniga eparcha, ed. M. Ja. Sjuzjumov (Moscow 1962)

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BMGS = Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies

BMQ = The British Museum Quarterly

BNJbb = Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher

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BollBadGr = Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata

BollClass = Bollettino dei classici [Note: *BollClass* is a continuation of *BollCom*]

BollCom = Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione dell'Edizione Nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini

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BS = Byzantinoslavica

BSA = Annual of the British School at Athens

BSAC = Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte

BSC Abstracts = Byzantine Studies Conference: Abstracts of Papers

BS/EB = Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines

BSHAcRoum = Académie Roumaine, *Bulletin de la section historique* (Academia română, Sectiunea istorică—*Bulletin*)

BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London University)

BSR = Papers of the British School at Rome

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BullIstDirRom = Bullettino dell'Istituto di diritto romano (Rome)

BullSocAntFr = Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France

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ByzAus = Byzantina Australiensia

ByzF = Byzantinische Forschungen

ByzMetabyz = Byzantina Metabyzantina

Byz. Saint = The Byzantine Saint: University of Birmingham 14th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, ed. S. Hackel (London 1981)

Byz. Sigillography = Studies in Byzantine Sigillography, ed. N. Oikonomides (Washington, D.C., 1987)

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CAG = Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, 23 vols. (Berlin 1882–1909)

CahArch = Cahiers archéologiques

CahCM = Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, Xe–XIIe siècles

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CCAG = Catalogus Codicum astrologorum graecorum, 12 vols. (Brussels 1898–1953)

CChr, ser. gr. = Corpus Christianorum, series graeca

CChr, ser. lat. = Corpus Christianorum, series latina

CEB = Congrès international des Études Byzantines: Actes

Cedr. = *Georgius Cedrenus,* ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn 1838–39)

CEFR = Congrès international d'études sur les frontières romaines: Actes (Bucharest-Cologne-Vienna)

CEH = The Cambridge Economic History of Europe[2], ed. M.M. Postan (Cambridge 1966)

CHAfr = The Cambridge History of Africa, 8 vols. (Cambridge 1975–86)

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CIC = Corpus Iuris Civilis[2], ed. T. Mommsen, P. Krueger, et al., 3 vols. (Berlin 1928–29)

CIG = Corpus inscriptionum graecarum, 4 vols. (Berlin 1828–77)

CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum,* 18 vols. (Berlin 1862–1989)

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ClMed = *Classica et mediaevalia*

ClPhil = *Classical Philology*

ClRev = *Classical Review*

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CMAG = *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs,* 8 vols. (Brussels 1924–32)

CMH = *The Cambridge Medieval History,* 8 vols. (Cambridge–New York 1911–36); vol. 4, 2nd ed. 1966–67

Cod.Just. = *Codex Justinianus,* in *CIC,* vol. 2

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Corinth = *American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Corinth; Results of Excavations,* 17 vols. (1932–85)

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da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP" = G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople aux VIII^{e}, IX^{e} et X^{e} siècles," *Byzantion* 24 (1955–56) 179–263, 453–511; 25–27 (1957) 783–852

CPG = *Clavis patrum graecorum,* ed. M. Geerard, 5 vols. (Turnhout 1974–83)

CQ = *Classical Quarterly*

CRAI = *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*

Cramer, *Anec.Gr.Paris.* = *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae regiae parisiensis,* ed. J.A. Cramer, 4 vols. (Oxford 1839–41)

Croke-Emmett, *Historians* = *History and Historians in Late Antiquity,* ed. B. Croke, A. Emmett (Sydney–Oxford–New York 1983)

CSCO = Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium

CSHB = Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae

Cupido Legum = *Cupido Legum,* ed. L. Burgmann, M.T. Fögen, A. Schminck (Frankfurt am Main 1985)

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Cutler-Nesbitt, *Arte* = A. Cutler, J.W. Nesbitt, *L'arte bizantina e il suo pubblico* (Turin 1986)

DA = *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte* [alternately *Erforschung*] *des Mittelalters*

DACL = *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*

Dagron, *CP imaginaire* = G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: Études sur le recueil des Patria* (Paris 1984)

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DChAE = *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias*

DDC = *Dictionnaire de droit canonique,* 7 vols. (Paris 1935–65)

De adm. imp. = *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De administrando imperio,* ed. Gy. Moravcsik, tr. R. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967); vol. 2, *Commentary* (London 1962)

De cer. = *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae,* ed. J.J. Reiske, 2 vols. (Bonn 1829–30)

De. cer., ed. Vogt = *Le livre des cérémonies,* ed. A. Vogt, 2 vols. (Paris 1935–39)

Deichmann, *Ravenna* = F.W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes,* 3 vols. in 5 pts. (Wiesbaden 1969–89)

Delatte, *AnecdAth* = A. Delatte, *Anecdota atheniensia,* 2 vols. (Paris 1927–39)

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DHGE = *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*

DictBibl = *Dictionnaire de la Bible,* 5 vols. in 10 pts. (Paris 1912–28)

DictSpir = *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*

DIEE = *Deltion tes Historikes kai ethnologikes hetaireias tes Hellados*

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DMA = *Dictionary of the Middle Ages,* 13 vols. (New York 1982–89)

Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* = A.A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej,* 3 vols. (Kiev 1895–1917)

Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* = A.P. Dobroklonskij, *Prep.Feodor, ispovednik i igumen studijskij,* 2 vols. (Odessa 1913–14)

DOC = A.R. Bellinger, P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection,* 3 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1966–73)

DOCat = *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,* vols. 1–2 by M.C. Ross (Washington, D.C., 1962–65), vol. 3 by K. Weitzmann (1972)

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DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

Douk. = *Ducas: Istoria turco-bizantină (1341–1462),* ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest 1958)

DPAC = *Dizionario patristico e di antichità,* 3 vols. (Casale Monferrato 1983–88)

DSB = *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*

DTC = *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*

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EChR = *Eastern Churches Review*

Ecloga = L. Burgmann, *Ecloga, Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantios' V.* (Frankfurt am Main 1983)

EEBS = *Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinon Spoudon*

EEPhSPA = *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Athenon*

EEPhSPTh = *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Thessalonikes*

EESM = *Epeteris Hetaireias Steriohelladikon Meleton*

EEThSA = *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Theologikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Athenon*

EEThSPTh = *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Theologikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Thessalonikes*

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EHR = *English Historical Review*

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EI = *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 4 vols. (Leiden-London 1913–34)

EI^2 = *The Encyclopedia of Islam*^{2}, vols. 1– (Leiden-London 1960–)

EkAl = *Ekklesiastike Aletheia*

EKEE = *Epeteris tou Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon* (Nikosia)

EkklPhar = *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*

EO = *Échos d'Orient*

EpChron = *Epeirotika Chronika*

EphLit = *Ephemerides Liturgicae*

EpMesArch = *Epeteris tou Mesaionikou Archeiou*

Esphig. = *Actes d'Esphigménou*, ed. J. Lefort (Paris 1973)

EtBalk = *Études balkaniques*

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Festugière, *Hist. monachorum* = A.-J. Festugière, *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* (Brussels 1971)

FGHBulg = *Fontes graeci historiae bulgaricae*

FHG = *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, ed. K. Müller, 5 vols. (Paris 1841–83)

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FM = *Fontes Minores* [part of Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte]

FoliaN = *Folia neohellenica*

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FSI = *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* (Istituto storico Italiano, Rome)

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GBA = *Gazette des beaux-arts*

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GGM = *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller, 6 vols. (Paris 1882)

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GlasSAN = *Glas Srpske Akademije Nauka*

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GOrThR = *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*

Goubert, *Byz. avant l'Islam* = P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, 2 vols. in 3 pts. (Paris 1951–65)

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GRBS = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

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GregPal = *Gregorios ho Palamas*

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Grumel, "Patriarcat" = V. Grumel, "Le patriarcat et les patriarches d'Antioche sous la seconde domination byzantine (969–1084)," *EO* 33 (1934) 129–47

GSU FIF = Godišnik na Sofijskija universitet: Filosofsko-istoričeski fakultet. Early vols. (1908/9–1949/50) called *Sofijskija universitet Filosofsko-istoriko-filologičeski fakultet*

GSU JuF = Godišnik na Sofijskija universitet: Juridičeski fakultet

Guilland, "Curopalate" = R. Guilland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire Byzantin: Le curopalate," *Byzantina* 2 (1970) 185–249

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HA = Handes Amsorya

Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo* = L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo: Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XII^e siècle* (Brussels 1975)

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Harm. = G.E. Heimbach, *Const. Harmenopuli, Manuale legum sive Hexabiblos* (Leipzig 1851; rp. Aalen 1969)

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HellCont = L'Hellénisme contemporain

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HGM = Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin, ed. T. Puschmann, M. Neuberger, J. Pagel, 3 vols. (Jena 1902–05, rp. Hildesheim 1971)

Hierokl. = *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklès et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre* (Brussels 1939)

HilZb = Hilandarski Zbornik

HistJb = Historisches Jahrbuch

HistZ = Historische Zeitschrift

Hoddinott, *Bulgaria* = R.F. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity: An Archaeological Introduction* (London 1975)

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HStClPhil = Harvard Studies in Classical Philology

HThR = Harvard Theological Review

Huber, *Heilige Berge* = P. Huber, *Heilige Berge* (Zurich 1980)

HUkSt = Harvard Ukrainian Studies

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İA = İslam Ansiklopedisi

Iconoclasm = Iconoclasm, ed. A.A. Bryer, J. Herrin (Birmingham 1977)

ICS = Illinois Classical Studies

IEJ = Israel Exploration Journal

IFŽ = Istoriko-filologičeskij žurnal (Erevan)

IGLSyr = Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, ed. L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde et al., vols. 1– (Paris 1929–)

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ILS = Inscriptiones latinae selectae, ed. H. Dessau, 3 vols. in 5 pts. (Berlin 1892–1916)

İnalcik, "Edirne" = H. İnalcik, "The Conquest of Edirne (1361)," *ArchOtt* 3 (1971) 185–210

Institutes = Institutiones (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*), ed. J. Lokin, N. van der Wal (Groningen 1987)

IntCongChrArch = International Congress of Christian Archaeology: Acts

IntCongClassArch = International Congress of Classical Archaeology: Acts, Proceedings

IRAIK = Izvestija Russkogo Arheologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole

Iskusstvo Vizantii = [A. Bank, O.S. Popova,] *Iskusstvo Vizantii v sobranijach SSSR*, exhibition catalog, 3 vols. (Moscow 1977)

IstGl = Istoriski Glasnik

IstMitt = Istanbuler Mitteilungen

IstPreg = Istoričeski pregled

IstSrpskNar = Istorija Srpskog naroda, 6 vols. (Belgrade 1981–86)

ItMedUm = Italia medioevale e umanistica

Ivir. = Actes de l'Iviron, ed. J. Lefort, 2 vols. (Paris 1985)

IzvAN SSSR = Izvestija Akademiji Nauk SSSR

IzvANSSSR.OL = Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Otdelenie literatury i jazyka

IzvBŭlgArchInst = Izvestija na Bŭlgarskija Archeologičeski Institut

IzvInstBŭlgIst = Izvestija na Instituta za Bŭlgarska istorija (Sofia); after 1951: *Izvestija na Instituta za istorija*

IzvIstDr = Izvestija na Bŭlgarskoto istoričeskoto družestvo (Sofia)

IzvNarMus-Varna = Izvestija na narodnija musej—Varna

IzvORJaS = Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti

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JBAA = Journal of the British Archaeological Association

JbAChr = Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum

JbGOst = Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas

JbKSWien = Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien

JbKw = Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft

JbNumGeld = Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte

JbRGZM = Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums (Mainz)

JDAI = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

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JGS = Journal of Glass Studies

JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies

JMedHist = Journal of Medieval History

JMRS = Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies

JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies

JÖB = Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik (before 1969, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*)

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JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*

JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*

JSAH = *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*

JSav = *Journal des Savants*

JThSt = *Journal of Theological Studies*

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JWarb = *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*

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MünchJb = Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst

Muséon = Le Muséon

MusHelv = Museum helveticum

NachGött = Nachrichten von der Akademie [Gesellschaft] der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse

NC = Numismatic Circular (Spink & Son, Ltd.)

NChron = Numismatic Chronicle

NE = Neos Hellenomnemon

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OC = Orientalia Christiana

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OSP = Oxford Slavonic Papers

OstkSt = Ostkirchliche Studien

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PAPhS = Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society

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PBR = Patristic and Byzantine Review

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PKJIF = Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor

PL = Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. in 222 pts. (Paris 1844–80)

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PLP = Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, vol. 1– (Vienna 1976–)

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PPTS = Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society

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PSRL = Polnoe sobranie russkich letopisej

QFItArch = Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken

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RA = Revue archéologique

Rabe, *Prolegomenon = Prolegomenon sylloge,* ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1831)

RAC = Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum (Stuttgart 1950–)

RACr = Rivista di archeologia cristiana

Radojčić, *Slikarstvo* = S. Radojčić, *Staro srpsko slikarstvo* (Belgrade 1966)

Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis* = A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des alten Testaments* (Berlin 1914)

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Ramsay, *Cities* = W.M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,* 2 vols. (Oxford 1895–97)

Raybaud, *Gouvernement* = L.P. Raybaud, *Le gouvernement et l'administration centrale de l'empire byzantin sous les premiers Paléologues* (Paris 1968)

Rayonnement grec = Rayonnement grec: Hommages à Charles Delvoye, ed. L. Hadermann-Misguich, G. Raepsaet (Brussels 1982)

RB = Reallexikon der Byzantinistik, 6 fascs. (Amsterdam 1968–76)

RBK = Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst

RBMAS = Rerum britannicarum Medii Aevi scriptores (Great Britain)

RBPH = Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire

RE = Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft

REA = Revue des études anciennes

REArm = Revue des études arméniennes

REAug = Revue des études augustiniennes

REB = Revue des études byzantines

Rec.Dujčev (1980) = *Bŭlgarsko srednovekovie,* ed. V. Giuzelev, I. Božilov, et al. (Sofia 1980)

RechScRel = Recherches de science religieuse

Reg = F. Dölger, P. Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches,* vol. 1– (Munich-Berlin 1924–)

Regel, *Fontes* = W. Regel, *Fontes rerum byzantinarum,* 2 vols. (St. Petersburg 1892–1917; rp. Leipzig 1982)

RegPatr = Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople, ed. V. Grumel, V. Laurent, J. Darrouzès, 2 vols. in 8 pts. (Paris 1932–79)

REGr = Revue des études grecques

REI = Revue des études islamiques

Reinert, *Myth* = S. Reinert, *Greek Myth in Johannes Malalas' Account of Ancient History Before the Trojan War* (Los Angeles 1981)

RendPontAcc = Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti

RepFontHist = Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi, vol. 1– (1962–)

RepKunstw = Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft

RES = Revue des études slaves

RESEE = Revue des études sud-est européennes

Restle, *Wall Painting* = M. Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor,* 3 vols. (Greenwich, Conn., 1968)

RevBibl = Revue biblique

RevIst = Revista de istorie

RH = Revue historique

Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* = G.A. Rhalles, M. Potles, *Syntagma ton theion kai hieron kanonon,* 6 vols. (Athens 1852–59; rp. 1966)

RHC = Recueil des historiens des Croisades

RHC *Arm.* = *Documents arméniens,* 2 vols. (Paris 1869–1906)

RHC *Grecs* = *Historiens grecs,* 2 vols. (Paris 1875–81)

RHC *Lois* = *Lois,* 2 vols. (Paris 1841–43)

RHC *Occid.* = *Historiens occidentaux,* 5 vols. in 8 pts. (Paris 1844–95)

RHC *Orient.* = *Historiens orientaux,* 5 vols. in 6 pts. (Paris 1872–1906)

RHE = Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique

RhetGr, ed. Spengel = *Rhetores graeci,* ed. L. Spengel, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1894–96)

RhetGr, ed. Walz = *Rhetores graeci,* ed. C. Walz, 9 vols. in 10 pts. (Stuttgart-Tübingen 1832–36)

RHGF = Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, 24 vols. in 25 pts. (Paris 1738–1904)

RhM = Rheinisches Museum für Philologie

RHR = Revue de l'histoire des religions

RHSEE = Revue historique du sud-est européen

RHT = Revue d'histoire des textes

Riant, *Exuviae* = P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae,* 3 vols. (Geneva 1877–1904)

RIASA = Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale di archeologia e storia dell'arte

Rice, *Art of Byz.* = D. Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium* (London 1959)

Richard, *Opera minora* = M. Richard, *Opera minora,* 3 vols. (Turnhout 1976–77)

Richards, *Popes* = J. Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages. 476–752* (London-Boston-Henley 1979)

RicSlav = Ricerche slavistiche

RIS = *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores,* ed. L.A. Muratori, 25 vols. in 28 pts. (Milan 1723–51)

RIS[2] = *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Città di Castello-Bologna 1900–)

Ritzer, *Mariage* = K. Ritzer, *Le mariage dans les Églises chrétiennes du Ier au XIe siècle* (Paris 1970)

RivStChIt = Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia

RJ = Rechtshistorisches Journal

RM = Russia Mediaevalis

RN = Revue numismatique

ROC = Revue de l'Orient chrétien

Rodley, *Cave Mons.* = L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge 1985)

ROL = Revue de l'Orient latin

RömHistMitt = Römische Historische Mitteilungen

Roots of Egypt. Christ. = *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity,* ed. B. Pearson, J. Goehring (Philadelphia 1986)

Rothstein, *Dynastie der Lahmiden* = G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Hira* (Berlin 1899)

RPhil = Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes

RQ = Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und [für] Kirchengeschichte

RSBN = Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici

RSBS = Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi

RSR = Revue des sciences religieuses

Rudakov, *Kul'tury* = A.P. Rudakov, *Očerki vizantijskoj kul'tury po dannym grečeskoj agiografii* (Moscow 1917; rp. London 1970)

Runciman, *Romanus* = S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign: A Study of 10th-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge 1929; rp. 1988)

Rydén, "Samonas" = L. Rydén, "The Portrait of the Arab Samonas in Byzantine Literature," *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984) 101–08

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Sansterre, *Moines grecs* = J.-M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VI^e s.–fin du IX^e s.)*, 2 vols. (Brussels 1980)

Sathas, *MB* = K.N. Sathas, *Mesaionike Bibliotheke*, 7 vols. (Athens-Venice-Paris 1872–94; rp. Hildesheim 1972)

Sava Nemanjić = *Medjunarodni naučni skup. Sava Nemanjić—i istorija i predanje, Sveti Sava*, ed. V. Djurić (Belgrade 1979)

Savvides, *Byz. in the Near East* = A.G.C. Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East: Its Relations with the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols A.D. C. 1192–1237* (Thessalonike 1981)

SBAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch[-philologische] und historische Klasse*

SBN = *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*

SBNG = *Studi bizantini e neogreci* (Galatina 1983)

Sbornik . . . V.N. Lazareva = *Vizantija, Južnye slavjane i Drevnjaja Rus', Zapadnaja Evropa: iskusstvo i kul'tura: Sbornik statej v čest' V.N. Lazareva* (Moscow 1973)

SbWien = *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse*

SC = Sources chrétiennes

Ščepkina, *Miniatjury* = M.V. Ščepkina, *Miniatjury Chludovskoj psaltyri: Grečeskij illjustrirovannyj kodeks IX veka* (Moscow 1977)

Schartau, *Observations* = B. Schartau, *Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians of the Palaeologian Era*, 2 vols. (Odense 1970–73)

Scheltema, *L'enseignement* = H.J. Scheltema, *L'enseignement de droit des antécesseurs* (Leiden 1970)

Scheltema, "Kommentarverbot" = H.J. Scheltema, "Das Kommentarverbot Justinians," *Tijdschrift* 44 (1976) 307–31

SChH = *Studies in Church History*

Schilbach, *Met. Quellen* = E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische metrologische Quellen*[2] (Thessalonike 1982)

Schilbach, *Metrologie* = E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich 1970)

Schlumberger, *Phocas* = G. Schlumberger, *Un empereur byzantin au dixième siècle: Nicéphore Phocas* (Paris 1890)

Schlumberger, *Sig.* = G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* (Paris 1884)

Schminck, *Rechtsbücher.* = A. Schminck, *Studien zu mittelbyzantinischen Rechtsbüchern* (Frankfurt am Main 1986)

SCIV = *Studii şi Cercetări de istorie veche*

SCN = *Studii şi Cercetări de numismatică*

Scranton, *Architecture* = R.L. Scranton, *Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth* (Princeton 1957)

Script.incert. = [Scriptor incertus] *Historia de Leone Bardae armenii filio* in Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1842) 335–62

SEC = *Studies in Eastern Chant*

Seeliger, "Drei Jünglinge" = H.R. Seeliger, "*Palai martyres*: Die drei Jünglinge im Feuerofen als Typos in der spätantiken Kunst, Liturgie und patristischen Literatur," in *Liturgie und Dichtung*, ed. H. Becker, R. Kaczynski, vol. 2 (St. Ottilien 1983) 257–334

Seemann, *Wallfahrtslit.* = K.-D. Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur* (Munich 1976)

Seibt, *Bleisiegel* = W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, vol. 1– (Vienna 1978–)

SemKond = *Seminarium Kondakovianum*

Serb. und Mak. = R. Hamann-MacLean, H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien von 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols. (Giessen 1963–76)

Setton, *Catalan Domination* = K.M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948; revised ed. London 1975)

SettStu = *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo*

Ševčenko, "Hagiography" = I. Ševčenko, "Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period," in *Iconoclasm*, pp. 113–31; rp. in Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.V

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Sezgin, *GAS* = F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 9 vols. (Leiden 1967–84)

Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (4th C.)* = I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1984)

Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (5th C.)* = I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1989)

Sharf, *Jewry* = A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the First Crusade* (London 1961)

Shboul, *Al-Masʿudī* = A.M.H. Shboul, *Al-Masʿūdī and His World* (London 1979)

Shelton, *Esquiline* = K.J. Shelton, *The Esquiline Treasure* (London 1981)

Shepard, "Russians Attack" = J. Shepard, "Why did the Russians Attack Byzantium in 1043?" *BNJbb* 22 (1985) 147–212

SicGymn = *Siculorum gymnasium*

SIG = *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 4 vols. (Leipzig 1915–24)

Silbergefässe = *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silbergefässe aus der Staatlichen Ermitage Leningrad*, ed. A. Effenberger (Berlin 1978)

Simon, "Ehegüterrecht" = D. Simon, "Das Ehegüterrecht der Peira: Ein systematischer Versuch," *FM* 7 (1986) 193–238

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Sinogowitz, *Strafrecht* = B. Sinogowitz, *Studien zum Strafrecht der Ekloge* (Athens 1956)

Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* = N. Skabalanovič, *Vizantijskoe gosudarstvo i cerkov' v XI veke* (St. Petersburg 1884)

Skawran, *Development* = K.M. Skawran, *The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece* (Pretoria 1982)

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Skyl. = *Ioannes Scylitzes: Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin–New York 1973)

SkylCont = E.Th. Tsolakes, *He synecheia tes Chronographias tou Ioannou Skylitse* (Thessalonike 1968)

SlEERev = *The Slavonic and East European Review*

Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* = V.A. Smetanin, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo XIII–XIV vekov po dannym epistolografii* (Sverdlovsk 1987)

Sodini et al., *Aliki I* = *Aliki, I*, 2 pts. in 1: J. Servais, *Les deux sanctuaires*; J.-P. Sodini, A. Lambraki, T. Koželj, *Les carrières de marbre à l'époque paléochrétienne* (Athens-Paris 1980)

Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain" = J.-P. Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain à l'époque paléochrétienne (IV^e–VII^e s.)," *Kτèma* 4 (1979) 71–119

Sodini-Kolokotsas, *Aliki II* = J.-P. Sodini, K. Kolokotsas, *Aliki, II: La basilique double* (Paris 1984)

Sokr., *HE* = *Socrates: Ecclesiastical History*[2], ed. R. Hussey, revised W. Bright (Oxford 1893)

Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* = *Grčke povelje srpskih vladara*, ed. A. Solovjev, V.A. Mošin (Belgrade 1936; rp. London 1974)

Soteriou, *Eikones* = G. & M. Soteriou, *Eikones tes Mones Sinai*, 2 vols. (Athens 1956–58)

Soteriou, "Leitourgika amphia" = G.A. Soteriou, "Ta leitourgika amphia tes Orthodoxou Hellenikes ekklesias," *Theologia* 20 (1949) 603–14

Soteriou, *Mnemeia tes Kyprou* = G. Soteriou, *Ta byzantina mnemeia tes Kyprou*, 2 vols. (Athens 1935)

Soulis, *Dušan* = G.C. Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium During the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan (1331–1355) and His Successors* (Washington, D.C., 1984)

SovArch = *Sovetskaja archeologija*

Sozom., *HE* = Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. J. Bidez, J.C. Hansen (Berlin 1960)

Spatharakis, *Corpus* = I. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, 2 vols. (Leiden 1981)

Spatharakis, *Portrait* = I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden 1976)

Speck, *Univ. von KP* = P. Speck, *Die kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel* (Munich 1974)

Sphr. = *Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest 1966)

SpicSol = *Spicilegium Solesmense*, 4 vols. (Paris 1852–58)

Spieser, *Thessalonique* = J.-M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle* (Paris 1984)

Splendeur de Byz. = *Splendeur de Byzance*, ed. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne (Brussels 1982)

SpomSAN = *Spomenik Srpske Akademije Nauke: Otdeljenje društvenih nauka*

ST = *Studi e testi*

Starr, *Jews* = J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641–1204* (Athens 1939)

StB = *Studi bizantini*

StBalc = *Studia balcanica*

Stein, *Histoire* = E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 2 vols. (Paris 1949–59)

Stein, *Op. minora* = E. Stein, *Opera minora selecta* (Amsterdam 1968)

Stein, *Studien* = E. Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches vornehmlich unter den Kaisern Justinus II und Tiberius* (Stuttgart 1919)

Stein, "Untersuchungen" = E. Stein, "Untersuchungen zur spätbyzantinischen Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte* 2.1–2 (1924) 1–62

StGreg = *Studi gregoriani*

StGThK = *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche*

Stichel, *Die Namen Noes* = R. Stichel, *Die Namen Noes, seines Bruders und seiner Frau* (Göttingen 1979)

StItalFCl = *Studi italiani de filologia classica*

StMed = *Studi Medievali*

StMilRoms = *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms*

Stöckle, *Zünfte* = A. Stöckle, *Spätrömische und byzantinische Zünfte* (Leipzig 1911)

Stornajolo, *Omilie* = C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo Monaco (Cod. vatic. gr. 1162) e dell' evangeliario greco urbinate (Cod. vatic. urbin. gr. 2)* (Rome 1910)

StP = *Studia Patristica* (Papers of the International Conferences on Patristic Studies)

Strat.Maurik. = *Das Strategikon des Maurikios*, ed. G.T. Dennis, E. Gamillscheg (Vienna 1981)

Stratos, *Byzantium* = A.N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 5 vols. (Amsterdam 1968–80)

Stratos, *Studies* = A. Stratos, *Studies in 7th-Century Byzantine Political History* (London 1983)

Strube, *West. Eingangsseite* = C. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in iustinianischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1973)

Strunk, *Essays* = O. Strunk, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York 1977)

StSl = *Studia Slavica* (Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae)

Studien Deichmann = *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst: Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet*, ed. O. Feld, U. Peschlow, 3 vols. (Bonn 1986)

StVen = *Studi Veneziani*

SubGr = *Subseciva Groningana*

SüdostF = *Südost-Forschungen*

Sumner, "Philippicus, Anastasius II & Theodosius III" = G.V. Sumner, "Philippicus, Anastasius II and Theodosius III," *GRBS* 17 (1976) 287–94

Svoronos, "Actes des fonctionnaires" = N. Svoronos, "Remarques sur les actes des fonctionnaires," in *PGEB* 423–27

Svoronos, *Cadastre* = N.G. Svoronos, *Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI^e et XII^e siècles: Le cadastre de Thèbes* (Paris 1959)

Svoronos, *Études* = N. Svoronos, *Études sur l'organisation intérieure, la société et l'économie de l'Empire Byzantin* (London 1973)

SVThQ = *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*

Symp. Gračanica = *L'art byzantin au début du XIV^e siècle. Symposium de Gračanica 1973. Vizantijska umetnost početkom XIV veka: Naučni skup u Gračanici 1973* (Belgrade 1978)

Symp. Sopoćani = L'art byzantin du XIII^e siècle. Symposium de Sopoćani, 1965 (Belgrade 1967)

Synax.CP = Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Novembris, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels 1902)

Synthronon = Synthronon: Art et archéologie de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge (Paris 1968)

Syropoulos, *Mémoires = Les mémoires du grand ecclésiarque de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le Concile de Florence (1438–1439),* ed. V. Laurent (Rome 1971)

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Tafel-Thomas, *Urkunden* = G.L.F. Tafel, G.M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig,* 3 vols. (Vienna 1856–57)

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Taft, *East & West* = R.F. Taft, *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (Washington, D.C., 1984)

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Taft, "Mount Athos" = R.F. Taft, "Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite," *DOP* 42 (1988) 179–94

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Talley, *Liturgical Year* = T.J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York 1986)

TAPA = Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association

TAPhS = Transactions of the American Philosophical Society

Tarchnišvili, *Georg.Lit.* = M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Vatican 1955)

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Temps chrétien = Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge (Paris 1984)

ThEE = Threskeutike kai Ethike Enkyklopaideia

TheolSt = Theological Studies

Theoph. = Theophanes, *Chronographia,* ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1883–85; rp. Hildesheim 1963)

TheophCont = Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1838)

Theoph.Simok. = Theophylaktos Simokattes, *Oikumenike historia,* ed. C. de Boor, revised P. Wirth (Stuttgart 1972)

Thierry, *Nouvelles églises* = N. and M. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce: Région de Hasan Dağı* (Paris 1963)

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ThQ = Theologische Quartalschrift

TIB = Tabula Imperii byzantini, ed. H. Hunger (Vienna 1976–)

Tijdschrift = Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis

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TM = Travaux et mémoires

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VDI = Vestnik Drevnej Istorii

VetChr = Vetera Christianorum

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VfSWG = Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte

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VizOč = Vizantijskie očerki, 4 vols. (Moscow 1961–82)

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WS = Wiener Studien

WSlJb = Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch

WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes

Xénoph. = Actes de Xénophon, ed. D. Papachryssanthou (Paris 1986)

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ZapANIst-fil = Zapiski Akademii Nauk: Istoriko-filologičeskoe otdelenie

ZapImpRusArch = Zapiski Klassičeskogo otdelenija Imperatorskogo russkogo archeologičeskogo obščestva

ZapIstFilFakSPetUniv = Zapiski Istoriko-filologičeskogo fakulteta S.-Peterburgskogo Universiteta

ZbFilozFak = Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta (Belgrade)

ZbLikUmet = Zbornik za likovne umetnosti

ZDMG = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft

ZDPV = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins

Zeit. Iustinians = B. Rubin, *Das Zeitalter Iustinians*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1960)

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ZKirch = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte

ZKunst = Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte

Zlatarski, *Ist.* = V. Zlatarski, *Istoria na Bŭlgarskata dŭržava*, 3 vols. (Sofia 1918–40; rp. 1971–72)

ŽMNP = Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveščenija

ZNTW = Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

Zogr. = Actes de Zographou, ed. W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korablev (St. Petersburg 1907)

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Zosim. = *Zosimus: Historia nova*,, ed. L. Mendelssohn (Leipzig 1887)

ZPapEpig = Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

ZRVI = Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta

ZSavKan = Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung

ZSavRom = Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Romanistische Abteilung

ZSlavPhil = Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie

ZWTh = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie

The Oxford Dictionary of
BYZANTIUM

N
CONTINUED

NIKE (Lat. Victoria), in Greek mythology the winged goddess of victory. Late Roman authors (e.g., HIMERIOS, ed. A. Colonna, or.65:29–30; NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, *Dionysiaka* 2:205–07) call her a daughter of Zeus. In Rome Victoria became a symbol of the emperor's victorious might. The triumph of Christianity led to a heated controversy about the ALTAR OF VICTORY, which was finally destroyed in 382; the image of Nike turned out, however, to be resilient. At the beginning of the 5th C. the cult of Victoria was still alive in Rome, as attested by Claudian (Al. Cameron, *Claudian* [Oxford 1970] 237–41). On coins of Herakleios (Grierson, *DOC* 2.1 [1968] 269) is the *globos* with Nike, who crowns the emperor, and Grierson suggests (*DOC* 3.1 [1973] 227) that the inscription "Jesus Christ conquers" on 8th-C. coins is a conscious adaptation of the "Victoria Augusti" of earlier solidi.

It is plausible that the ANGEL replaced the winged Nike in Christian imagery and that the idea of the victorious cross replaced that of the victorious emperor (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 4, n.12). The attitudes and costumes of Nikai on such monuments as the Arch of Constantine are faithfully reproduced in the angels on the BARBERINI IVORY and similar compositions.

LIT. S. Weinstock, *RE* 2.R. 2 (1958) 2540f.
–A.K., A.C.

NIKEPHORITZES, correctly Nikephoros (allegedly nicknamed because of his youthfulness among the officials of CONSTANTINE IX), principal minister of MICHAEL VII; born BOUKELLARION, died Prote 1078. During the reign of CONSTANTINE X, Nikephoritzes, a eunuch, was twice sent away from court to govern Antioch, allegedly because he had slandered EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA. During Eudokia's reign, he was imprisoned; ROMANOS IV released him and sent him to Hellas as *praitor*. Upon Michael VII's accession, Nikephoritzes was appointed *logothetes tou dromou*. He soon displaced other ministers, even the caesar John DOUKAS. Nikephoritzes' administrative ability was grudgingly recognized by contemporaries; he was admired only by KEKAUMENOS. ATTALEIATES, who suffered from Nikephoritzes' policy of fiscal severity, retails stories of his greed, corruption, and disregard for the empire's well-being. In establishing a central warehouse (*phoundax*) at RHAIDESTOS, Nikephoritzes planned to assure Constantinople's grain supply, tax the grain trade, and provide places for his supporters. Attaleiates' claim of consequent inflation and scarcity seems exaggerated (I. Karayannopoulos, *Byzantina* 5 [1973] 106–09). Nikephoritzes recreated the corps of ATHANATOI and employed the Turks against ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL. His *charistikion*, the HEBDOMON monastery, became the focus of his personal estate and revenues. At the accession of NIKEPHOROS III, he fled to Roussel. He was seized and tortured to death lest he regain power.

LIT. Angold, *Empire* 98–102. G.I. Brătianu, "Un expérience d'économie dirigée: Le monopole du blé à Byzance au XI^{e} siècle," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 643–62. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 300–02.
–C.M.B.

NIKEPHOROS (Νικηφόρος), personal name. As an epithet meaning "victorious" or "bringing victory," it was applied to several deities or personifications of ancient Greek mythology and also used, although rarely, as a given name. It remained infrequent in the secular milieu of late antiquity: *PLRE* gives only one example (2:781), Nikephoros the *koubikoularios*, on an inscription from Lydia of the 5th–6th C. At the same time, at least two bishops of this name are known (W. Ensslin, *RE* 17 [1937] 312). Prokopios does not mention a single Nikephoros, but in Theophanes the Confessor they are relatively numerous (12), as many as Sergios, Theodosios, and Andrew. The name reached seventh place in Skylitzes, right behind BASIL and THEODORE, and fifth place in Anna Komnene, after MICHAEL. Relatively frequent in the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), where Nikephoros edges out Basil and Theodore, the popularity of the name plummeted to eighteenth place in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (only 20 individuals). Even more indicative is the case of the collection of acts of Docheiariou: it contains only six Nikephoroi of the 12th–14th C., all of them belonging to the upper echelon of society. In the acts of Esphigmenou, four Nikephoroi, monks of the 11th C., are listed; in addition, we find in the

praktikon of ca.1300 widows of two Nikephoroi (peasants) and a boy of this name. –A.K.

NIKEPHOROS, caesar; died on island of Aphasia in the Sea of Marmara after 812. Son of Constantine V by his third wife Eudokia, and half-brother of Leo IV, Nikephoros was crowned caesar in 769. Along with his full brothers—the caesar Christophoros and the *nobilissimi* Niketas, Anthimos, and Eudokimos—Nikephoros was often the center of opposition to Leo, Irene, and their son Constantine VI. In 776 Leo crowned Constantine as co-emperor and extracted a general oath that Constantine alone would be accepted as emperor. Bypassed in the succession, Nikephoros and his brothers mounted a conspiracy but were denounced to Leo, who spared them.

After Leo's death in 780 several senior officials, including the *logothetes tou dromou* Gregory, favored Nikephoros over Constantine, but Irene arrested and exiled them and forced the caesars and *nobilissimi* to be tonsured, ordained, and made to celebrate the liturgy publicly. Discontent with Irene's return to power and Constantine's defeat at MARKELLAI in 792 spurred imperial guards to elevate Nikephoros, but Constantine blinded him, slit his brothers' tongues, and imprisoned them in the monastery of Therapeia. After Irene deposed Constantine in 797 they sought sanctuary in Hagia Sophia and were there proclaimed emperors, but Irene's adviser AETIOS persuaded them to surrender and exiled them to Athens. In 799 Akameros, "the *archon* of the Slavs in Belzetia," and thematic troops from Hellas hoped to elevate one of the five, but Irene imprisoned Nikephoros on Panormos island near Constantinople and blinded his brothers. Fearing a pro-Iconoclastic conspiracy on their behalf, in 812 Michael I moved them to an island in the Sea of Marmara, where they eventually died.

LIT. P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI* (Munich 1978). Bury, *LRE* 2:458f, 478–83. –P.A.H.

NIKEPHOROS I, emperor (802–11); born Seleukeia ca.760, died 26 July 811. Nikephoros was of Arab ancestry, according to an oriental source (E.W. Brooks, *EHR* 15 [1900] 743). He began his career as *patrikios,* senator, and *logothetes tou genikou* under Irene. On 31 Oct. 802 Nikephoros was proclaimed emperor by several high civil officials. In deposing Irene, the conspirators may have wanted to prevent her proposed marriage to CHARLEMAGNE, but more likely they were seeking to block the ambitions of Irene's adviser AETIOS. Although an excellent administrator whose economic and military policies strengthened the empire, Nikephoros is characterized by Theophanes as avaricious, lecherous, tyrannical, even heretical. The "evil notions" of Nikephoros included a general increase in taxes, the extension of the KAPNIKON to *paroikoi* of ecclesiastical institutions, the abolition of Irene's tax remissions, a tax on slaves purchased beyond Abydos, the implementation of the ALLELENGYON, taxes on inheritances and treasures, and a state monopoly on loans with interest. He raised more troops by requiring village communities to underwrite poorer peasants' military service and stabilized sailors' income by requiring them to purchase uncultivated land. His financial measures permitted a building and refortification program. He established his own law court at the MAGNAURA to expedite judicial proceedings.

Nikephoros hellenized Greece by transplanting families from Asia Minor to SKLAVINIA in 810 (Charanis, *Demography,* pt. XIII [1946], 75–92) and extended Byz. administration westward by creating the themes of Thessalonike, Dyrrachion, Kephalenia, and possibly Peloponnesos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 350, 352). The election of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I and the revival of the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY provoked religious opposition, esp. from THEODORE OF STOUDIOS. The policies of Nikephoros sparked rebellions (by BARDANES TOURKOS and ARSABER); in 807 he dispatched a fleet to quell a revolt in VENICE. He could do little against the Arabs and signed a humiliating treaty with the ʿAbbāsid caliph HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. He rejected Charlemagne's claims to the imperial title, but could not stop the capture of Venice by Pepin in 810. He took the field several times against the Bulgarians and was killed in battle with KRUM. Nikephoros was succeeded (very briefly) by his son STAURAKIOS and then by his son-in-law Michael I Rangabe, who was married to his daughter Prokopia.

LIT. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 126–95. P.E. Niavis, *The Reign of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus I* (Athens 1987). Idem, "He basileia tou Nikephorou A΄ kata tis Anatolikes peges," *Byzantinos Domos* 1 (1987) 161–70. E. Frances, "L'Empereur Nicéphore Ier et le commerce maritime byzantin," *BS* 27 (1966) 41–47. G. Brătianu, *Études byzantines d'histoire économique et sociale* (Paris 1938) 185–216. G. Cassimatis, "La dixième 'vexation' de l'empereur Nicéphore," *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 149–60. –P.A.H.

NIKEPHOROS I, patriarch of Constantinople (12 Apr. 806–13 Mar. 815), historian, and saint; born Constantinople ca.750 (Beck, *Kirche* 489) or 758 (Alexander, *infra* 54), died monastery of St. Theodore near Chrysopolis 5 Apr. 828. Son of the *asekretis* Theodore, Nikephoros followed to Nicaea his father, who had been exiled by Constantine V for icon veneration. When Nikephoros returned to the capital, he served as the secretary "of the emperors" (probably Irene and Constantine VI); then he retired, left Constantinople, and founded several monasteries on the eastern shore of the Bosporos. Circa 802 he came back and was appointed director of "the largest poorhouse" in Constantinople.

After his election as patriarch in 806, Nikephoros faced serious problems: he had to appease THEODORE OF STOUDIOS and his supporters who took advantage of the continuing MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY to undermine imperial authority. Nikephoros failed, and the state applied radical means to silence the stubborn Stoudites. In 815, yielding to Stoudite pressure, Nikephoros had to move to a more consistent stand; he refused to sign the decisions of the Iconoclast council and was exiled to one and then to another of the monasteries he had founded. He wrote several books defending the cult of icons, ca.814 the *Apologeticus minor,* and in 818–20 three *Antirrhetics.* His major task was refutation of those texts that the Iconoclasts used as the basis of their tenets. Nikephoros dismissed the authenticity of the passages they cited from EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA and EPIPHANIOS of Salamis. Like Theodore of Stoudios, Nikephoros looked to the pope for support against the emperor.

The *Historia Syntomos* (*Breviarium*) of Nikephoros (written probably between 775 and 787) exists in two versions. It describes the events of 602–769 and forms a parallel to the *Chronography* of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR; like Theophanes, Nikephoros presents events from an anti-Iconoclastic viewpoint. Nikephoros, however, does not follow an annalistic system. His geographical terminology is more precise than that of Theophanes, and Nikephoros pays less attention to Constantinople. Nikephoros's brief *Chronographikon* is a list of rulers from the creation of the world to 829; it was very popular and was translated into Latin (by ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS) and into Slavic languages (E. Piotrovskaja, *VizVrem* 37 [1976] 247–54). The vita of Nikephoros was written by IGNATIOS THE DEACON, who praised his hero's policy of compromise.

ED. *Opuscula historica,* ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig 1880). *Short History,* ed. C. Mango (Washington, D.C., 1990) with Eng. tr. PG 100:205–850. See also list in Beck, *Kirche* 490f.

SOURCE. Vita (*BHG* 1335) in de Boor, 139–217.

LIT. P.J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford 1958). P. O'Connell, *The Ecclesiology of St. Nicephorus I* (Rome 1972). J. Travis, *In Defense of the Faith: The Theology of Patriarch Nikephoros of Constantinople* (Brookline, Mass., 1984). Hunger, *Lit.* 1:344–47. C. Mango, "The Breviarium of the Patriarch Nicephorus," in *Festschrift Stratos* 2:539–52. –A.K.

NIKEPHOROS I, metropolitan of Kiev (Dec. 1104–Apr. 1121). He was of Greek origin, but his early career in Byz. is unknown. In RUS' Nikephoros was conspicuous in nurturing the local church and in advising the local rulers. In 1108 he added FEODOSIJ OF PEČERA to the *synodikon* and on 2 May 1115 he helped translate the relics of BORIS AND GLEB. Four works are ascribed to him, all probably written in Greek, though only Slavonic versions survive (cf. Metr. JOHN II). Nikephoros himself admitted to not speaking Slavonic. The works are (1) a homily for the Sunday before Ash Wednesday (perhaps in fact by Nikephoros II, ca.1183–1201); (2) a letter to Prince Jaroslav Svjatopolkovič listing the errors of the Latins; (3) a letter to VLADIMIR MONOMACH on the same topic, largely reproducing a list attributed to Metr. George (ca.1065–76); and (4) a Lenten epistle to Vladimir Monomach, in which Nikephoros discourses on the three properties of the soul (reason, feeling, will) and on its servants, the five senses. The philosophical exposition turns into an allegory for princely rule and then into practical instruction for Vladimir. Nikephoros is also conjecturally associated with Vladimir in an inscription in St. Sophia in KIEV (S.A. Vysockij, *Srednevekovye nadpisi Sofii Kievskoj* [Kiev 1976] 48f). V.L. Janin attributes to him Greek seals of "Nikephoros of Rhosia" with the effigy of the Virgin (*Aktovye pečati drevnej Rusi X–XV vv.,* vol. 1 [Moscow 1970] 48f).

ED. Makarij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*[3] (St. Petersburg 1889; rp. Düsseldorf 1968) 2:336–52. K. Kalajdovič, *Pamjatniki rossijskoj slovesnosti XII veka* (Moscow 1821) 157–63. A. Dölker, *Der Fastenbrief des Metropoliten Nikifor an den Fürsten Vladimir Monomach* (Tübingen 1985), with Germ. tr.

LIT. A.N. Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor drevnerusskich polemičeskich sočinenij protiv latinjan* (Moscow 1875; rp. London 1972) 99–118. Poppe, *Christian Russia*, pt.IX (1969), 107–14. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 93, 146–49, 177–79, 287.
–S.C.F.

NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, of the Angelos family, ruler of Epiros (ca.1266/8–ca. 1296/8); born ca.1240, died Epiros between 3 Sept. 1296 and 25 July 1298 (D.M. Nicol, *RSBS* 1 [1981] 251–57). Eldest son of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS, he was granted the title of *despotes* by John III Vatatzes ca.1249–53 and in 1256 married John's granddaughter Maria (died 1258). He accompanied his father to the battle of PELAGONIA and resisted Michael VIII's encroachment on the Balkans. After Michael II's death Nikephoros divided EPIROS with his half brother JOHN I DOUKAS, retaining for himself "Old Epiros" from Ioannina to Naupaktos together with the islands of Kerkyra, Kephalenia, and Ithake. Despite his second marriage to Anna, a niece of Michael VIII, in 1264/5, Nikephoros remained an adversary of the emperor, acting in alliance with CHARLES I OF ANJOU, whose vassal Nikephoros acknowledged himself to be (14 Mar. 1279). At the beginning the war against Michael VIII had some limited success. Nikephoros recovered Butrinto, which he delivered to Charles, but in 1281 the allies were defeated at Berat. Michael's death reopened hope for reconciliation, and the *basilissa* Anna traveled to Constantinople to negotiate a truce. By that time, however, a substantial part of Nikephoros's possessions were already in the hands of the Italians and the rest under the sway of Constantinople. Nikephoros's daughter Thamar (Caterina) married PHILIP I OF TARANTO in 1294.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros II* 8–50. Idem, "The Relations of Charles of Anjou with Nikephoros of Epiros," *ByzF* 4 (1972) 170–94. Polemis, *Doukai* 94f. *PLP*, no.223. Ferjančić, *Despoti* 68–72.
–A.K.

NIKEPHOROS II, *despotes* of Epiros (1356–59) and *komes* of Kephalenia; born ca.1328/9, died in Achelous region, spring 1358 (Soulis, *Dušan* 113–15) or 1359 (Nicol, *Epiros II* 136f, n.47). Son of John II Orsini (ruler of Epiros 1323–ca.1337) and Anna Palaiologina, Nikephoros was a child when his mother poisoned his father and assumed the regency for her son. When the Byz. launched a campaign to recover Epiros (1338), Nikephoros took refuge in the Morea with Catherine II of Valois, titular Latin empress of Constantinople (1308–46). After his return to Epiros, however, he was forced to capitulate to JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS. He was betrothed (1340) to John's daughter, Maria, and received the title of *panhypersebastos* from ANDRONIKOS III. The marriage took place in 1342. Nikephoros was given the title of *despotes* by John VI in 1347 and in the following year commanded a cavalry unit that defended Constantinople against Genoese attack. In 1351 he was appointed governor of the Thracian Hellespont.

After John V regained control of the empire in 1355, Nikephoros succeeded in recovering his ancestral dominions in Epiros and Thessaly. Sometime after 1355 he briefly repudiated his wife for a politically expedient marriage with a sister of Helena, widow of STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, but then recalled Maria. Soon thereafter he was killed in battle with the Albanians.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros II* 107–38. Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 42f, 130–33. Soulis, *Dušan* 111–15. Polemis, *Doukai* 99f. *PLP*, no.222.
–A.M.T.

NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS, emperor (963–69); born ca.912, died Constantinople 11 Dec. 969. Son of Bardas PHOKAS, Nikephoros replaced his father in 954 as *domestikos ton scholon* and led the Byz. offensive in northern Syria; in 957 he captured and razed Hadat. In 960 he attacked Crete and in March 961 seized CHANDAX from the Arabs. After ROMANOS II died prematurely, Nikephoros claimed the throne but was opposed by the civilian officialdom, headed by Joseph BRINGAS; in April 963 Nikephoros withdrew from Constantinople to Cappadocia, where he was proclaimed emperor on 2 July at the instigation of JOHN (I) TZIMISKES. Nikephoros's army, the military aristocracy, the church hierarchy under Patr. POLYEUKTOS, and the people of Constantinople supported him. After breaking Bringas's resistance, Nikephoros entered Constantinople on 16 Aug. 963.

Nikephoros's policies reflected the interests of the army and military aristocracy. In 967 he restricted the peasants' right of PROTIMESIS, which had been introduced by ROMANOS I. In another novel he increased threefold the minimum size of the holding of a STRATIOTES, linking this change with the introduction of heavy armament. He considered KATAPHRAKTOI the core of the new army. On the other hand, he tried to limit the wealth of the church and in 964 prohibited land donations to ecclesiastical institutions; he supported ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, whom he mistakenly regarded as a proponent of the "poor church." Nikephoros continued his offensive against the Arabs: in 965 he took Cyprus, Tarsos, and Mopsuestia; in 969 Michael BOURTZES seized Antioch, and soon thereafter the Byz. captured Aleppo. Nikephoros attempted reconciliation with OTTO I THE GREAT, but refused to pay tribute to Bulgaria and attempted to crush his neighboring rival with the assistance of SVJATOSLAV of Kiev. At the end of his reign he lost popular support, in part owing to the strict fiscal policy of Leo PHOKAS; nonetheless the image of Nikephoros as the "people's king" and genuine hero remained in contemporary literature, such as PHILOPATRIS or JOHN GEOMETRES. Nikephoros was murdered by an aristocratic plot of his former supporters (John Tzimiskes, Michael Bourtzes) with the help of his own wife THEOPHANO. Apart from coins, the only known portrait of Nikephoros is in a 15th-C. Cretan (?) MS (S. Lampros, *NE* 1 [1904] 61).

LIT. Schlumberger, *Phocas*. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 100–03, 128–31. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 395–99, 411–15. E. Turdeanu, *Le dit de l'empereur Nicéphore II Phocas et de son épouse Théophano* (Thessalonike 1976). E. Vranoussi, "Un 'discours' byzantin en l'honneur du saint empereur Nicéphore Phokas transmis par la littérature slave," *RESEE* 16 (1978) 729–44. R. Morris, "The Two Faces of Nikephoros Phokas," *BMGS* 12 (1988) 83–115.
–A.K.

NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES, emperor (1078–81); born 1001/2, died ca.1081 (E. Tsolakes, *Hellenika* 27 [1974] 150f). Originating in Phrygian Lampe, Nikephoros claimed kinship with the PHOKAS family. From the reign of CONSTANTINE IX on, he was an active general, aiding the uprising of ISAAC I KOMNENOS. When Nikephoros BRYENNIOS rebelled in the Balkans, Botaneiates revolted in Anatolia ca. Oct. 1077; he had active supporters within Constantinople. With Turkish aid, he advanced and defeated the troops of MICHAEL VII near Nicaea; after Michael abdicated, he entered Constantinople (3 Apr. 1078) and received the imperial insignia. His coronation followed on 2 July (2 June, according to Polemis, "Chronology" 71). About 1179 he married his predecessor's wife, MARIA OF "ALANIA" (B. Leib, 6 *CEB* [Paris 1950] 1:129–40). Already elderly, Nikephoros was ineffectual; he relied on his freedmen Boril and Germanos and on Isaac and Alexios Komnenos. Nikephoros's extravagant generosity to his supporters (praised by his eulogist ATTALEIATES) compelled him to reduce official salaries and debase the NOMISMA to 8–9 carats (Morrisson, "Dévaluation" 8, 15f). While Turks plundered the Asian suburbs of Constantinople, Nikephoros was preoccupied with the rebellions of Bryennios, Nikephoros BASILAKES, Nikephoros MELISSENOS, and finally the Komnenoi. When ALEXIOS (I) KOMNENOS seized Constantinople, Nikephoros abdicated (4 Apr. 1081) and entered the PERIBLEPTOS monastery, which he had restored. He is identified by inscription as the emperor receiving the sumptuous Chrysostom MS, Paris, B.N. Coisl. gr. 79; I. Spatharakis (*Portrait*, fig.69) argued that the inscription is secondary and that the portrait originally depicted Michael VII.

LIT. G.P. Begleres, *Ho autokrator tou Byzantiou Nikephoros ho Botaneiates* (Athens 1916). J. Gouillard, "Un chrysobulle de Nicéphore Botaneiatès à souscription synodale," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 29–41.
–C.M.B., A.C.

NIKERITES, LEO, late 11th- to early 12th-C. general and patron of the arts. A eunuch, Nikerites (Νικερίτης) was brought up among soldiers (An.Komn. 2:93.17–18). He rose through the ranks, first as *anthypatos* and *strategos* of the Peloponnesos. He is described as *protoproedros* and *anagrapheus* of the same theme on a seal (Laurent, *Méd. Vat.*, no.110). After defeating the Pechenegs at LEBOUNION in 1091 he was made *doux* of Paristrion. The colophon of the richly illustrated JOB MS (Vat. gr. 1231) that Nikerites commissioned names him as *nobelissimos*, *megas doux*, and *apographeus* of Cyprus. A lost OCTATEUCH, produced to his order in Nov. 1103, calls him *protonobelissimos* and *oikeios anthropos* (of Alexios I). He was still alive in 1117, fighting the Turks at LOPADION.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Sostav gospodstvujuščego klassa v Vizantii XI–XII vv. VI," *ADSV* 10 (1973) 190f. A.W. Carr, "A Group of Provincial Manuscripts from the Twelfth Century," *DOP* 36 (1982) 64f.
–A.C.

NIKETAS (Νικήτας), personal name. The similar form Niketes (lit. "winner") that was bestowed upon Julian as an epithet (*SIG* 2:906B: an inscription from Magnesia) is attested in Greek antiquity. In the mid-4th C. the name Niketes was still found (*PLRE* 1:629); in the 5th C. the form Niketas appeared (*PLRE* 2:781f), but infrequently. Like NICHOLAS and probably NIKEPHOROS, Niketas seems to have been popular in the late Roman

ecclesiastical, rather than the secular, milieu (W. Ensslin, *RE* 17 [1937] 317). Only one Niketas is listed in Prokopios, but Theophanes the Confessor has 11 and Skylitzes 16 Niketases. The name is rare in acts, esp. of the later period. The name was borne by two patriarchs of Constantinople, but by no emperor. –A.K.

NIKETAS, general; died 629. A cousin of HERAKLEIOS, Niketas commanded troops in the rebellion (609) that reconquered Cyrenaica and Egypt from PHOKAS. In Egypt Niketas decisively defeated Phokas's general Bonosos, who fled in early 610. Then Niketas invaded Palestine. He became *patrikios* and praetorian prefect, and *doux* in Egypt; in effect he was civilian governor until 619, when the Persian conquest forced him to flee to Constantinople. Niketas befriended Patr. JOHN ELEEMON of Alexandria. From Palestine Niketas brought the Holy Sponge and the Holy Lance to Constantinople, where they were venerated in ceremonies on, respectively, 14 Sept. and 28 Oct. 612. Herakleios appointed Niketas *komes* of the *exkoubitoi* on 5 Dec. 612 and sent him to replace general PRISKOS at Caesarea. The Persians defeated Niketas in the vicinity of Antioch in 613. He returned to Africa, where he was exarch from 619 to 628/9. Herakleios was fond of Niketas and erected a statue to him. Niketas's daughter Gregoria married HERAKLEIOS CONSTANTINE. The last exarch of Africa, GREGORY, probably was a son of Niketas.

LIT. C. Mango, "A Byzantine Hagiographer at Work: Leontios of Neapolis," in *Byz. und der Westen* 35–37. Kaegi, "New Evidence" 325–29. Stratos, *Byzantium* 1:83–87. –W.E.K.

NIKETAS BYZANTIOS, surnamed also Philosopher and Teacher (*didaskalos*), theologian of second half of 9th C. His life remains obscure. Under his name are preserved several polemical works: against the MONOPHYSITISM of the Armenians, against Islam, and against the FILIOQUE. Niketas's anti-Latin polemics are relatively mild.

ED. J. Hergenröther, *Monumenta graeca ad Photium ejusque historiam pertinentia* (Regensburg 1869; rp. Farnborough 1969) 84–138. PG 105:588–841.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 530f. H. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome 1937) 49–51. A.-Th. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam*[2] (Louvain-Paris 1969) 110–162. –A.K.

NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON, writer of the late 9th to early 10th C. Despite attempts to distinguish several writers of this name (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 18 [1960] 126f), it now seems established that he was a single but very prolific author (A. Kazhdan in *Dve vizantijskie chroniki* [Moscow 1959] 125f; Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.IX [1965], 241–47). A pupil of ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, he joined his teacher in opposing the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI; in a letter (ep.87) he describes the pressure exerted by Pope NICHOLAS I to persuade him to support the emperor. When Arethas, after some resistance, accepted the dispensation, Niketas distributed his goods to the poor and fled to Thrace. He was arrested, brought back to Constantinople, and imprisoned. Freed at the initiative of EUTHYMIOS, he lived two years in seclusion, probably under Euthymios's control.

Niketas wrote about 50 *enkomia* of saints, a treatise on the calculation of the approaching end of the world, a *Commentary on the Psalms*, and other works. In his *Commentary* Niketas introduced original features, e.g., moral exhortations attached to every psalm. Although drawing upon pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, he reduced the complex hierarchy of the world to a simple contrast between the humble position of man and the omnipotence of God. Typical of Niketas is his animosity toward musical instruments. In hagiography, Niketas deviated from the traditional laudation: his vita of IGNATIOS is a pamphlet against PHOTIOS; he was also accused of issuing a pamphlet against Leo VI and Euthymios. Moreover, he was charged with heresy for allegedly proclaiming himself God or Christ; this probably means that, contrary to his *Commentary*, he emphasized the divine nature of man.

ED. PG 105:16–581. *The Encomium of Gregory Nazianzen*, ed. J.J. Rizzo (Brussels 1976). G. Dorival, "Le *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* de Nicétas David (début du 10[e] siècle)," *REB* 39 (1981) 272–300. L.G. Westerink, "Nicetas the Paphlagonian on the End of the World," in *Meletemata ste mnemen Basileiou Laourda* (Thessalonike 1975) 177–95. Letters—ed. L.G. Westerink in Arethas, *Scripta minora* (Leipzig 1972) 2:149–82. F. Halkin, "Le panégyrique du martyr Procope de Palestine par Nicétas le Paphlagonien," *AB* 80 (1962) 174–93.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 548f. *Vita Euthym.* 217–19. –A.K.

NIKETAS MAGISTROS, high-ranking official, writer; born Larissa, Thessaly, ca.870, died after 946. Westerink hypothesizes that his last name was Eladikos or Helladikos. In 919 Niketas supported ROMANOS I and married his daughter Sophia to Romanos's son CHRISTOPHER LEKAPENOS. In 928, accused of plotting to replace Romanos with Christopher, he was exiled to Hellespont, where he owned land. From there he sent letters to Constantine VII and various members of the elite (such as KOSMAS MAGISTROS). The letters are very conventional and poor in information. One interesting reference is to the iron ore carried by the Hermos River to the sea, which casts it onto the shore; the local people produce iron from this "sand" (ep.5.12–24). His correspondence is full of allusions to ancient mythology and literature; thus, Homer is quoted more frequently than the Old Testament. Westerink identifies Niketas with the author of the vita of THEOKTISTE OF LESBOS. A line of an unknown *grammatikos* Euphemios, quoted in *De Thematibus* (*De them.* p.91.37–42), refers to Niketas as having "an arrogant Slavic face."

ED. *Lettres d'un exilé*, ed. L.G. Westerink (Paris 1973). –A.K.

NIKETAS OF AMASEIA, canonist and metropolitan (second half of 10th C.). His life remains obscure. At the end of the 10th C. Niketas wrote a treatise on the election of METROPOLITANS, probably to refute an anonymous treatise dated 963–69. Contrary to the anonymous writer, Niketas defended the primacy of the patriarch of Constantinople over metropolitans and his right to preside over their elections. Where the anonymous writer interpreted canon law literally, Niketas appealed to Byz. reality: he contrasts the metropolitan "who does not even have a *droungarios* under his power" with the patriarch who rules the capital and is the father of the emperors and the senate (p.160.10–16). This discussion is an important reflection of the struggle between centripetal and centrifugal forces within the church.

ED. Darrouzès, *Ecclés.* 160–75, with Fr. tr.

LIT. J. Darrouzès, "Un discours de Nicétas d'Amasée sur le droit de vote du patriarche," *ArchPont* 21 (1956) 162–78. –A.K.

NIKETAS OF ANKYRA, 11th-C. canonist and metropolitan, mentioned in two documents of 1038 and 1072 (although it is not sure that both refer to the same person). Darrouzès ascribed to him five anonymous treatises: *On Ordination, On Councils, On Elections, On the Right of Resignation,* and *On Prohibited Marriages.* The attribution is questionable (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 30 [1969] 283), esp. since a marginal note ascribes one of these pieces to another 11th-C. author, Demetrios of Kyzikos. The first four treatises, unlike the one on marriages, develop a consistent theme: the power of the bishop is higher than that of the emperor (p.214.5–8). The author—whoever he was—also criticizes the patriarch, whom he calls an octopus clinging to rocks (p.200.23–24), whereas he should be a mother concerned for her children, the metropolitans. The author's ideal is a council of metropolitans and lay *archontes* to advise the emperor (pp.202.30–204.6).

ED. Darrouzès, *Ecclés.* 176–275. –A.K.

NIKETAS OF HERAKLEIA, theologian; born ca.1050, died after 1117 (not 1030–1100, as stated in Beck, *Kirche* 651). Neither his career nor the exact composition of his oeuvre is yet established. He was nephew of a metropolitan of Serres and held the post of *didaskalos* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. In 1117 Niketas, already metropolitan of Herakleia, was among the accusers of EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA. He corresponded with THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid; J. Darrouzès has proved that Niketas did not correspond with Niketas STETHATOS (*Nicétas Stéthatos, Opuscules et lettres* [Paris 1961] 19–21). Niketas's main work is CATENAE to the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John as well as a commentary on GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. Niketas also wrote several grammatical poems and possibly 13 canonical responses addressed to Constantine of Pamphilon, a suffragan of Herakleia (A. Pavlov, *VizVrem* 2 [1895] 160–76).

ED. Ch.Th. Krikones, *Synagoge pateron eis to kata Loukan euangelion* (Thessalonike 1973), rev. A. Fourlas, *Wort in der Zeit* (Leiden 1980) 268–74. B. Corderius, *Symbolarum in Matthaeum tomus alter* (Toulouse 1647). *Nicetae Heracleensis Commentariorum XVI orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni fragmenta*, ed. R. Constantinescu (Bucharest 1977) 170–98. Darrouzès, *Ecclés.* 54–65, 276–309. See also list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 565.

LIT. J. Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia* (Leipzig 1902). A. Tovar, "Nicetas of Heraclea and Byzantine Grammatical Doctrine," in *Classical Studies Presented to Ben Edwin Perry* (Urbana 1969) 223–35. Č. Milovanović, "Tria genera rhetorices u komentaru Nikite Iraklijskog uz Grigorija Teologa," *ZRVI* 20 (1981) 59–73. –A.K.

NIKETAS "OF MARONEIA" (or rather a nephew of the bishop of Maroneia in Thrace), theologian; fl. first half of the 12th C. Niketas served as *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and from 1132/3 on as archbishop of Thessalonike. He wrote six dialogues between a Greek and a Latin on the procession of the Holy Spirit, in which he, as a supporter of the imperial tendency to UNION OF THE CHURCHES, defended the Western point of view. The dialogues, mentioned already by Hugo ETERIANO, were used and refuted by later authors; according to BESSARION, Niketas was fighting for the "donkey's shadow," since he accepted the idea of FILIOQUE, but refused to make a corresponding addition to the symbol of the creed (PG 161:329A). The possibility of identifying Niketas with Niketas of Thessalonike, author of several canonical responses and a short treatise on the marriage of slaves, remains open. Even less probable is his identification with the author of the Life of St. DEMETRIOS (11th C.?), suggested by A. Sigalas (*EEBS* 12 [1936] 317–60).

ED. N. Festa, "Niceta di Maronea e i suoi dialoghi sulla processione dello Spirito Santo," *Bessarione* 16 (1912) 80–107, 266–86; 17 (1913) 104–13, 295–315; 18 (1914) 55–75, 243–59; 19 (1915) 239–46. Canonical works: PG 119:997–1002. A. Pavlov, "Kanoničeskie otvety Nikity, mitropolita Solunskogo (XII veka?)," *VizVrem* 2 (1895) 381–87.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 621f. M. Jugie, "Notes de littérature byzantin," *EO* 26 (1927) 408–16. D. Giorgetti, "Un teologo greco del sec. XII precursore della riunificazione fra Roma e Costantinopoli: Niceta di Maronea, arcivescovo di Tessalonica," *Annuario 1968 della biblioteca civica di Massa* (Lucca 1969) 129–48 (see D. Stiernon, *REB* 28 [1970] 292f).
–A.K.

NIKETAS OF MEDIKION, Iconodule monk; saint; born Caesarea in Bithynia ca.760, died near Constantinople 3 Apr. 824; feastdays 3 Apr., 6 Oct. After a short period of eremitic life, Niketas joined the small Bithynian monastery of MEDIKION, which had been founded by a certain Nikephoros of a well-to-do Constantinopolitan family. Niketas became a priest and, after the death of Nikephoros in 813, was made *hegoumenos*. At the beginning of the second period of Iconoclasm, Leo V exiled him to the *kastron* of Massalaia, but Niketas soon reconciled with the Iconoclast patriarch THEODOTOS I KASSITERAS; criticized by Theodore of Stoudios, Niketas recanted and was banished anew to the island of Glykeria. Michael II released Niketas, but he did not return to Medikion. After his death his body was brought to Medikion to repose in the tomb of Nikephoros.

A certain Theosteriktos wrote his vita, probably between 829 and 840; E. von Dobschütz (*BZ* 18 [1909] 81–83) hypothesizes that this vita was revised in the Stoudite milieu and was intended to celebrate the ideological victory of Theodore over Niketas. Although conventional and badly informed about the activity of Niketas, this vita contains precious evidence about ICONOCLASM (Constantine V's comparison of the Virgin, after she gave birth to Jesus, with an emptied purse [ch.28]; Leo V's discussion with the Iconophiles). The author of the second vita is an unknown John of the monastery of St. Elias. In *synaxaria* Nikephoros and Niketas are sometimes confused (F. Halkin, *AB* 88 [1970] 13–16).

Representation in Art. The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.94) contains a portrait of Niketas. He is depicted as a monk holding the round icon of Christ that he had refused to let the emperor burn.

SOURCES. *AASS* Apr. I:xviii–xxvii (at end of vol.). F. Halkin, "La Vie de Saint Nicéphore, fondateur de Médikion en Bithynie (813)," *AB* 78 (1960) 396–430.

LIT. *BHG* 1341–42b. Alexander, *Patr. Nicephorus* 129–32. Janin, *Églises centres* 165–68. –A.K., N.P.Š.

NIKETAS OF THESSALONIKE. See NIKETAS "OF MARONEIA."

NIKITA, MONASTERY OF SAINT, situated northeast of Skopje between the villages of Banjani and Čučer. The monastery was restored by the Serbian king STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN; its church was begun before 1303 and was offered to the Hilandar monastery on Athos before 1308, according to charters of Milutin and a letter of Andronikos II (M. Živojinović, *HilZb* 6 [1986] 60–72). The church is constructed of stone and brick in cloisonné (see BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES), its façade richly ornamented with niches and brick arches; it has a cross-in-square plan, with a single dome. The frescoes preserved in the lower zones may date before 1308 or be as late as 1320; the names of two artists, MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS, are inscribed on the shield of St. Theodore Teron on the south wall. P. Miljković-Pepek (*Mihail i Eutihij* 51–56) believes the two merely supervised the work. The program is essentially Byz.: scenes in the nave include the miracles and parables of Christ, and standing figures of saints (including STEFAN NEMANJA and SAVA OF SERBIA). The figures are more elongated and drier than in other works by these masters, and the compositions are more complicated, incorporating numerous participants and highly developed architectural backgrounds (esp. the Miracle of Cana and the Expulsion of the Money Changers from the Temple). The damaged frescoes on the vaults were restored in 1483/4 by Greek painters.

LIT. Radojčić, *Slikarstvo* 98–102. Djurić, *Byz. Fresk.* 70. –G.B.

NIKLI (Νίκλι), city in Arkadia, in a fertile plain, on the site of ancient Tegea. Both the etymology and the origin of Nikli are uncertain: the name may be derived from the bishopric of Amykleion (under the jurisdiction of PATRAS) mentioned in notitiae (*Notitiae CP* 13.536) and in the vita of NIKON HO "METANOEITE." On the other hand, the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* claims that William II Villehardouin founded it in the mid-13th C. Nikli was the center of a Frankish barony; the "Women's Parliament" of 1261, following the battle of Pelagonia, met there. The Byz. destroyed Nikli in 1296 but did not occupy the area immediately, and the city was not restored. The population retreated to the mountains where two strongholds were created, Mouchli and Cepiana (Tsepiana).

The remains of at least four Early Christian churches have been investigated in the area of ancient Tegea. A fine mosaic floor, probably of the late 5th C., once adorned the basilica built by a certain Thyrsos. It represents the terrestrial world, and includes images of the Four Rivers of PARADISE and personifications of the MONTHS (Maguire, *Earth & Ocean* 24–28). Few remains of the medieval city survive; in the late 19th C. traces of a rectangular fortification wall were still visible (H.F. Tozer, *JHS* 4 [1883] 222f), but these have disappeared. The Church of the Dormition, built in the 11th or 12th C. and crudely restored in 1888, is a cross-in-square with five domes, unusual in the Peloponnesos at this date. The parliament of 1261 met in this church. There is no evidence that Nikli had a palace. In Mouchli there are remains of a small fortress, houses of the 14th–15th C. (N.K. Moutsopoulos, *Byzantina* 13.1 [1985] 321–53), and several ruined churches including a 14th-C. Church of the Virgin (idem, *Peloponnesiaka* 3–4 [1958–59] 288–309). Cepiana has a Church of the Panagia Gorgoepekoos similar to that of the Virgin at Mouchli.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 182, 522–25. B. Konte, "Symbole sten historike geographia tes Arkadias," *Symmeikta* 6 (1985) 112–14. A.K. Orlandos, "Palaiochristianika kai byzantina mnemeia Tegeas-Nikliou," *ABME* 12 (1973) 3–176. –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

NIKOMEDEIA (Νικομήδεια, now Izmit), city of BITHYNIA, the residence of Diocletian and his successors until 330. The foundation of Constantinople brought decline, but Nikomedeia remained a provincial capital and seat of a philosophical school headed by LIBANIOS. Ruined by the earthquake of 358, Nikomedeia never really recovered, though Justinian I restored some public buildings and the highway eastward. The vita of St. THEODORE OF SYKEON reveals many details of local topography and economy; Nikomedeia had a group of influential *scholarii*, a weapons factory (founded by Diocletian), a poorhouse, and numerous churches and monasteries. Its location on the main road to the capital made Nikomedeia a major military base: it played a role in the campaigns of Herakleios, Justinian II, Leo III, and Artabasdos and was defended against Arabs and Paulicians. As a commercial center Nikomedeia was headquarters of *kommerkiarioi* in the 8th–9th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1411A, 1599). Its bishop Theophylaktos (ca.800–15) built a complex of poorhouse and monastery, and an imperial *xenodocheion* was established by the 9th C. Nikomedeia became the capital of OPTIMATOI but was described by IBN KHURDĀDHBEH as ruined, no doubt because the huge ancient city by the harbor had been abandoned as Nikomedeia withdrew to a defensible hilltop. As the Turks advanced toward Constantinople after their capture of Nicaea in 1081, Nikomedeia was the base for Alexios I's attempts to retain control of the coastal regions. The First and Second Crusades both stopped there; ODO OF DEUIL described it as a city whose lofty ruins were overgrown with thorns and brambles.

Nikomedeia saw much fighting after 1204. At first it was controlled by Theodore I Laskaris, who defeated David Komnenos of Trebizond nearby; by 1206, however, the city fell to the Latins, who, finding its walls in ruins, fortified the Church of Hagia Sophia as their main castle. A treaty of 1207 returned Nikomedeia to Theodore and its fortifications were demolished, but the

Latins regained it and held it until ca.1240. Nikomedeia was exposed to the attacks of OSMAN, who inflicted a severe defeat on the Byz. at nearby BAPHEUS in 1302; after that, the agricultural population took refuge within the walls and the Turkomans ravaged the district. In 1304 and 1330, Nikomedeia was blockaded and threatened by starvation; on the latter occasion JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS rescued it with his fleet. The city finally fell to ORHAN in 1337. Nikomedeia preserves much of its fortifications, the long city walls of Diocletian, and the medieval hilltop fortress, which appears to be of the 12th–14th C.

As a metropolitan bishopric Nikomedeia played a major role under EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA, but later yielded in importance to NICAEA.

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 77–104. –C.F.

NIKON "HO METANOEITE" (*μετανοεῖτε*, "you should repent"), saint; born in district of Polemoniake, Armeniakon, ca.930, died Sparta ca.1000; feastday 26 Nov. Son of a provincial landowner, Nikon (*Νίκων*) ran away from home and spent 12 years as a monk at the monastery of Chryse Petra (between Pontos and Paphlagonia). After wanderings in the "eastern regions," he went to Crete in 961; he spent seven years preaching Christianity to the island's inhabitants, many of whom had converted to Islam during the Arab occupation. He then traveled in Greece, finally settling down, probably in the early 970s, in Sparta. There he founded a monastery next to the marketplace and near a stadium. Nikon's view of life was pessimistic: he stressed the vanity of existence, compared life with smoke and childish games, and called for repentance as the seminal way to salvation.

His vita, probably written in the mid-11th C., consists of two parts, the biography and posthumous miracles. The hagiographer, a *hegoumenos* of Nikon's monastery, may have known the holy man personally and may have witnessed some of the miracles. The vita is consistently provincial in approach: predominantly local nobles or minorities (Spartan Jews, MELINGOI, etc.) are mentioned, and the central authority is condemned for entrusting power in the provinces to the worst and cruelest functionaries (ch.58, ed. Sullivan, p.184.18–20). The vita contains valuable information about church construction and decoration, as well as the legend of a Constantinopolitan artist commissioned by a Peloponnesian grandee, John Malakenos, to paint a posthumous portrait of Nikon; the artist found himself unable to paint the icon solely on the basis of a verbal description and only supernatural assistance helped him. The hagiographer has borrowed from the 10th-C. Life of LOUKAS THE YOUNGER.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Nikon, found most frequently in Greek churches, begin to appear not long after his death (e.g., at HOSIOS LOUKAS), and are probably based on the icon commissioned by Malakenos. The saint is characterized by monastic clothing, dark slightly windblown hair low over his forehead, and a full dark beard.

SOURCE. D.F. Sullivan, *The Life of Saint Nikon* (Brookline, Mass., 1987), with Eng. tr. O. Lampsides, *Ho ek Pontou Hosios Nikon ho Metanoeite* (Athens 1982).

LIT. *BHG* 1366–68. D.F. Sullivan, "The Versions of the *Vita Niconis*," *DOP* 32 (1978) 157–73. N. Drandakes, "Eikonographia tou Hosiou Nikonos," *Peleponnesiaka* 5 (1962) 306–19. –A.K., A.M.T., N.P.Š.

NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN, Melchite ecclesiastical writer; born Constantinople ca.1025, died in monastery of St. SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER, near Antioch, between ca.1100 and 1110 (Nasrallah, *infra* 152) or in monastery of Roidiou (Solignac, *infra* 319). According to his own testimony in the *Taktikon,* Nikon was born to a family of *archontes* and served in the army under Constantine IX. He then retired from the world, was tonsured by Luke, former metropolitan of Anazarbos, and settled in the monastery that Luke had founded on the Black Mountain north of Syrian Antioch. After Luke's death, Nikon met with hostility from the other monks when he attempted to impose monastic discipline, and he was eventually forced to leave. After attempting to found his own monastery, he settled in the monastery of Symeon the Younger on the Wondrous Mountain. When the Seljuks conquered Antioch in 1084, he moved to the monastery of the Virgin of the Pomegranate (Theotokos tou Roidiou).

Nikon compiled the *Pandektai,* a collection of statements by the councils and church fathers concerning canon law that was to serve as a compendium for wandering monks. His *Taktikon,* in 40 chapters, is also a collection of authoritative texts on canonical and liturgical problems and includes a *typikon* for the monastery of Roidiou.

Nikon's works were soon translated into Arabic and Church Slavonic.

ED. *Taktikon,* ed. V. Beneševič, vol. 1 (Petrograd 1917). *Pandektai*—fragments in PG 127:513–16, 527–32; 86:69–74; 106:1359–82. Fr. tr. C. de Clercq, *Les textes juridiques dans les Pandectes de Nicon de la Montagne Noire* (Venice 1942).

LIT. J. Nasrallah, "Un auteur antiochien du XIe siècle: Nicon de la Montagne Noire (vers 1025–début du XIIe s.)," *PrOC* 19 (1969) 150–61. Graf, *Literatur* 2:64–69. A. Solignac, *DictSpir* 11 (1982) 319f. –A.K.

NIKOPOLIS (*Νικόπολις*, lit. "city of victory"), the name of several cities and a theme.

NIKOPOLIS IN EPIROS, on the Ambrakian Gulf, in late antiquity capital of Old Epiros (Hierokl. 651.4). In 362 the rhetorician and high official (consul) Claudius Mamertinus lamented the decline of Nikopolis and praised Emp. Julian for its restoration. The city flourished in the 5th and 6th C. The walls of the city, constructed at the end of the 5th C., are well preserved and stand in some places to nearly their full height. Five Early Christian basilicas have been uncovered, all of the 5th–6th C. Basilica A (Doumetios Basilica) is a three-aisled structure with transept; it has mosaics representing the Earth surrounded by Ocean, with many varieties of flora and fauna and inscriptions (Maguire, *Earth & Ocean* 21–24). Basilica B, the so-called Alkison Basilica with five aisles, has mosaics, one of which (in an annex east of the church) names the bishop Alkison. Attacked by the Vandals in 474/5 and the Ostrogoths in 551, Nikopolis was restored by Justinian I. Its fate at the time of the Slavic invasions is uncertain. Constantine AKROPOLITES, in the vita of St. Barbaros, describes an attack of the Hagarenes on Aitolia and the *polis* Nikopolis "that is called locally Maza" (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 1:408.16) during the reign of Michael II, but the accuracy of this late hagiographic evidence is doubtful. Nikopolis is identified as a metropolis in earlier notitiae, but seals of the 8th–9th C. refer only to an archbishop (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 670–72).

LIT. *TIB* 3:213f. E. Kitzinger, "Studies in Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics. I. Mosaics at Nikopolis," *DOP* 6 (1951) 83–122. *Nikopolis*, ed. E. Chrysos, vol. 1 (Preveza 1987). –T.E.G.

THEME OF NIKOPOLIS, located in southern EPIROS and AITOLIA, founded probably between 843 and 899 (it is first mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos), possibly after 886; its capital was NAUPAKTOS. The seal of a *tourmarches* of Nikopolis (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2576) must have preceded the creation of the theme; another seal, of Joseph, *epoptes* of Nikopolis and an official in the Peloponnesos (no.2068), suggests that the region (*tourma?*) of Nikopolis was part of the Peloponnesos before the creation of the theme. Seals of the *strategoi* of Nikopolis are also known, the earliest dating to the second half of the 9th C. (no.2620). Nikopolis was a maritime base in the struggle for southern Italy, and the troops of the MARDAITAI were stationed there, at least in the 10th C. Nikopolis fell within the Bulgarian orbit in the 10th C.: ca.930 the Bulgarians invaded the theme; in 1040 its population revolted against Constantinople, murdered a tax collector, and joined Peter DELJAN. A chrysobull of 1198 mentions the "provincia" of Nikopolis and specially notes the existence in it of EPISKEPSEIS belonging to private persons, churches, and monasteries. After 1204 the region from DYRRACHION to Naupaktos came under Venetian control; by 1214 it was conquered by Michael I Komnenos Doukas of Epiros and became part of the despotate of Epiros.

LIT. *TIB* 3:53–61. D. Triantaphyllopulos, "Monumente und Quellen," *BalkSt* 24 (1983) 135–61. –T.E.G.

NIKOPOLIS ON THE DANUBE, Nikopolis ad Istrum or ad Haemum (the Balkans) was a Roman city in MOESIA south of IATRUS on the Danube, located near the modern Bulgarian village of Nikjup. Constantius II settled in the Nikopolis region a group of baptized Goths (*Goti minores*) who remained loyal to the empire during the 4th–5th C. Its bishops are recorded in 458 and 518. Justinian I is said to have rebuilt the city, and it is mentioned in both Hierokles and Simokattes. Archaeological excavations, however, have revealed the abandonment of ancient Nikopolis already by the 6th C.—ceramics later than the 4th C. are rare; roughly built structures were constructed in the agora in the 4th C.; only one building inscription can be dated in the 4th–5th C.; and coins of the 6th C. are absent. The old city territory of 21.55 hectares was abandoned in favor of a fortification of 5.7 hectares with strong towers erected along the south wall of ancient Nikopolis. Within this "annex" there are indications of only two small buildings. After Simokattes, Nikopolis disappears from written sources.

The name was transferred to a town on the Danube, modern Nikopol. A Hungarian legend ascribed its foundation to Herakleios (G. Seure,

RA 10 [1907] 257 n.3), and modern Bulgarian scholars (e.g., *Istorija na Bŭlgarija*, vol. 2 [Sofia 1981] 350f) consider Nikopolis—without any source evidence—as one of the largest towns on the Danube in the 10th–11th C. It appears, however, only in later texts (e.g., Douk. 149.24). In 1396, when it had become an Ottoman fortress, it was the site of a great battle in which a large crusading army was defeated by Bayezid I (see NIKOPOLIS, CRUSADE OF).

LIT. A. Poulter, "Nicopolis ad Istrum, Bulgaria," *The Antiquarian Journal* 68 (1988) 69–89. Idem, "Nicopolis ad Istrum, a Roman Town but a Late Roman Fort?" *BHR* 11 (1983) no.3, 89–103. T. Ivanov, "Nicopolis ad Istrum: Römische und frühbyzantinische Stadt in Nordbulgarien," *BHR* 16.2 (1988) 48–72. –A.K.

NIKOPOLIS, CRUSADE OF, a great international expedition in 1396 designed to free the lands of eastern Christendom from Muslim occupation. This Crusade was mounted primarily at the instigation of Sigismund of Hungary (1387–1437) in reaction to the Ottoman conquest in 1390 of VIDIN, which was under Hungarian suzerainty. The Crusade was given added impetus by the appeals of MANUEL II for Western aid (Douk. 79.15–81.10) after BAYEZID I began the siege of Constantinople in 1394. In Feb. 1396 Manuel and Sigismund signed an anti-Turkish alliance; the Byz. emperor promised to send ten galleys to the Danube to assist the expedition. In the end, however, the Byz. played no military role in the Crusade because of the blockade of their capital.

In Sept. 1396, a multinational Christian army besieged the key Ottoman fortress of NIKOPOLIS on the south shore of the Danube. The number of Crusaders was variously reported, between 16,000 and 130,000; the lower figure is probably correct (Rosetti, *infra* 633–35). A battle ensued on 25 Sept. when Bayezid arrived to relieve the siege. The Crusaders were decimated. Only a few notables escaped by ship or were released afterward by the Turks in exchange for ransom. The failure of the Crusade was a bitter disappointment for the Byz., as Bayezid intensified his blockade of Constantinople soon after.

LIT. A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London 1934). Barker, *Manuel II* 129–39. R. Rosetti, "Notes on the Battle of Nicopolis (1396)," *The Slavonic Review* 15 (1937) 629–38. S. Papacostea, "Mircea la Nicopol (1396)," *Revista de istorie* 39 (1986) 696–98. –A.M.T.

NILE (Νεῖλος), Egypt's only river; hence in Greek and Coptic texts sometimes referred to simply as "the River" (e.g., Ex 7:15–18). It was identified with the biblical river Gihon, the river of PARADISE that flows through the land of the Ethiopians (*Chron. Pasch.* 1:52.14; Zon. 1:22.6–8; Cedr. 1:24.6). The source of the Blue Nile in the highlands of Ethiopia, where annual rains accounted for the inundation of Egypt, was known (e.g., ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, *Life of Antony*, ch. 32). The source of the White Nile was said to be in mountains farther south, probably based on information gathered from indigenous traders. No Byz. traveler records visiting either site. OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES (ed. Blockley, fr.35) explored the Nile in Lower NUBIA, and Prokopios (*Wars* 1:19.28–29) describes its distance from Axum and mentions the stone gorge (Baṭn al-Ḥagar) south of the Second Cataract. The EXPOSITIO TOTIUS MUNDI (descr. 34–36) describes the Nile valley as provider of grain to Constantinople and extols the benefits of the annual inundation for agriculture. In view of the importance of the yearly inundation, measured by the Nilometers, the Egyptian church (both Monophysite and Chalcedonian) conducted special annual liturgies to bless the Nile waters and pray for a good level of flooding (L. MacCoull, *JThS* 40 [1989] 129–35).

Often depicted in art, the Nile appears on textiles (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 150, 172), floor mosaics (no.252), and in *opus sectile* (Ibrahim et al., *infra* nos. 1–12) as a swamp peopled with nereids, dolphins, and nude boys hunting water fowl, with the occasional crocodile or hippopotamus. On early reliefs (*Age of Spirit.*, no.157) and an ivory pyxis (no.170), the river is embodied as a bearded male figure against a background of lotus. Chorikios of Gaza (Chorik.Gaz. 40.18–23) stresses that the Nile is depicted at St. Stephen's at Gaza not as a personification, "the way painters portray rivers," but with "distinctive currents and symbols." Practical aspects of the Delta are represented by a water wheel on a tomb fresco in Alexandria (*Age of Spirit.*, no.250) and a Nilometer on a TRULLA in Leningrad with control stamps of Emp. Anastasios I (Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, no.1). In medieval art the swamp is replaced by a rushing stream. The 12th-C. Octateuchs (e.g., Vat. gr. 746, fol.153r, unpub.) show the stream in which the infant Moses was found as attended by a woman in a *maphorion*, while in the atrium mosaic of St. Mark's at Venice (Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco*, vol. 2, pl.313) it flows vertically downward from the standard male 11th–12th-C. personification of rivers.

LIT. A. Hermann, "Der Nil und die Christen," *JbAChr* 2 (1959) 30–69. D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil* (Paris 1964). E. Drioton, *Les sculptures coptes du Nilomètre de Rodah* (Cairo 1942). L. Ibrahim, R. Scranton, R. Brill, *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth, 2: The Panels of Opus Sectile in Glass* (Leiden 1976) 120–44. –D.W.J., A.C.

NIMBUS (Lat., lit. "cloud"), a halo. In literary texts the term turns up infrequently; in the 4th C., Servius, in his commentary on VERGIL, defined nimbus as divine brilliance, and later ISIDORE OF SEVILLE described nimbus as light surrounding the heads of angels (K. Keyssner, *RE* 17 [1937] 598f). The Greek term, *phengeion* (from φέγγος, "radiance"), may refer to metal nimbi that were applied to icons from the 12th C. onward. Thus, an inventory of VELJUSA MONASTERY describes a large icon of the Virgin and Child that had two enamel and silver-gilt haloes (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 6 [1900] 118.23–119.1) as well as other icons with silver haloes. In 1365 a priest was condemned for removing and selling a *phengeion* from an icon of the Theotokos (MM 1:475.9–10). In the 15th C. Symeon of Thessalonike spoke of circle-like *phengia* that on holy icons emphasized the grace, brilliance, and *energeia* of God (PG 155:869B); according to Symeon (col.408D), the EAGLE, one of Byz.'s important symbols, could also bear the *phengeion*.

Representation in Art. Artists depicted the nimbus as a colored disk encircling the head of a prominent figure. Christian art inherited it from antiquity, where it had distinguished gods, heroes, personifications, and—from Constantine I onward—the emperor, displacing the rayed corona of SOL INVICTUS. The nimbus enters Christian art slowly, and during the 4th C. is restricted almost exclusively to Christ, the LAMB OF GOD, the PHOENIX, and the emperor. In the 5th C., its use is extended to angels, prophets, the Virgin Mary, and apostles. Simultaneously, Christ's nimbus is ever more consistently differentiated by a cross or a CHRISTOGRAM. By the 6th C., saints, too, were awarded the nimbus, as were certain patrons and bishops (7th C.); some prominent living persons were depicted with a square nimbus. By the 9th C., it had clearly become a sign of sanctity rather than mere prominence and had vanished from any but sacred figures and emperors. Though nimbus means cloud, it was not shown as nebulous. Sharply delineated, it was usually conceived as light and gilded, though it could also be brightly colored, jeweled, or even highly decorated.

LIT. M. Collinet-Guérin, *Histoire du nimbe des origines aux temps modernes* (Paris 1961) 273–436. G. Ladner, "The So-Called Square Nimbus," *MedSt* 3 (1941) 15–45. –A.W.C., A.K.

NIPHON (Νίφων), patriarch of Constantinople (9 May 1310–11 Apr. 1314 [cf. V. Grumel, *REB* 13 (1955) 138f]); born Berroia, died 3 Sept. 1328 (cf. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 3:377). Niphon was *hegoumenos* of the Lavra on Mt. Athos in 1294 (V. Laurent, *REB* 28 [1970] 101) and then became metropolitan of Kyzikos sometime before 1303, when he led that city's defense against the Turks. Although ca.1309 he was accused of theft and simony by Patr. ATHANASIOS I, he was chosen to succeed Athanasios on the patriarchal throne because of his moderate position on the ARSENITE controversy (V. Laurent, *BSHAcRoum* 26 [1945] 251–56). Indeed, the schism was healed at the beginning of his patriarchate. Niphon greatly increased patriarchal revenues by appropriating the administration of several wealthy sees, after deposing their bishops on charges of simony (V. Laurent, *REB* 27 [1969] 219–28). In 1314, however, Niphon was himself deposed on charges of simony and retired to the PERIBLEPTOS MONASTERY in Constantinople. He took his revenge on Andronikos II, who had failed to rally to his defense, when in 1328 he advised Andronikos III to force his grandfather to retire. *Contra* Tafrali (*Thessalonique* 87), he was never archbishop of Thessalonike but was a patron of the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES, constructed there during his patriarchate (J.M. Spieser, *TM* 5 [1973] 168–70, nos. 20–22).

SOURCE. Nikephoros Choumnos, "Elenchos kata tou kakos ta panta patriarcheusantos Niphontos," ed. Boissonade, *AnecGr* 5:255–83.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2000–27. *PLP*, no.20679. M. Rautman, "Notes on the Metropolitan Succession of Thessaloniki," *REB* 46 (1988) 153–59. –A.M.T.

NIPHON, monk who spent most of his life in hermitages on the Holy Mountain; saint; born Loukovi, Epiros, 1315, died Mt. Athos 1411; feast-day 14 June. Son of a priest, he demonstrated a

proclivity for monasticism even as a young child. At age 10, he left home to be trained by his paternal uncle, a monk at the monastery of St. Nicholas of Mesopotamon (in Epiros). After receiving the tonsure and ordination as a priest, a desire for HESYCHIA led Niphon to Mt. Athos. There he lived in a succession of isolated retreats, at first as a disciple of an elderly hermit, later himself attracting youthful disciples. For a few years (ca.1360) he shared his solitary existence with MAXIMOS KAUSOKALYBITES, whose vita he later composed. This work reveals Niphon as an author of little training and no literary talent.

Niphon represents a common type of late Byz. holy man, who eschewed the cenobitic life, preferring the challenge of the hermitage. Allegedly endowed with the gift of prophecy and miraculous powers, he was reputed to have lived to the venerable age of 96. An anonymous vita of Niphon (*BHG* 1371) was written by a contemporary Athonite monk.

ED. F. Halkin, "Deux vies de S. Maxime le Kausokalybe, ermite au Mont Athos (XIVe s.)," *AB* 54 (1936) 42–65.
SOURCE. F. Halkin, "La vie de Saint Niphon ermite au Mont Athos (XIVe s.)," *AB* 58 (1940) 5–27. –A.M.T.

NIPSISTIARIOS (*νυψιστ⟨ι⟩άριος*), a eunuch whose function was to give the emperor a basin to wash his hands in before he left the palace or before other ceremonies. The basin was of gold with precious stones; the *nipsistiarios* wore a robe with a design (?) of a basin (*schemati phialiou*) as a symbol of his service. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the *nipsistiarios* holds the lowest position among the palace eunuchs, but the vita of Patr. Euthymios (*Vita Euthym.* 51.4–7) describes SAMONAS as rising from the post of KOUBIKOULARIOS to *nipsistiarios*. The earliest mention of *nipsistiarios* is on a seal of the 7th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.873). The post is not included in the 14th-C. ceremonial book of pseudo-Kodinos.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:266–68. Oikonomides, *Listes* 301. –A.K.

NIŠ. See NAISSUS.

NISIBIS (Νισίβις, Ar. Naṣībīn, now Nusaybin in Turkey), city in MESOPOTAMIA on the Mygdonios (mod. Jaghjaghah) River. A bone of contention between the Romans and Persians, Nisibis also became the major center of Roman trade with the Sasanians and, from 540, with the pre-Islamic Arabs (Stein, *Histoire* 2:519f). It was the strongest fortress on the frontier, and the Persians repeatedly stormed it in vain. According to legend, it was saved in 338 by the prayers of its bishop Jacob, who incited swarms of insects against the besiegers. In 350 the Persians dammed the Mygdonios and assaulted the walls from their ships; they attempted to send elephants and cavalry through breaks in the ramparts, but the animals became stuck in the muddy river bottom. Jovian's peace treaty of 363 surrendered Nisibis, empty of its inhabitants (as stipulated by the treaty), to Persia. Despite Byz. attempts to regain Nisibis during the 6th C., the city remained Persian. It was taken by the Arabs in 639. The Byz. reappeared in the area in the 10th C.: John KOURKOUAS took Nisibis in 942; the Armenian general Mleh (see MELIAS) captured it on 12 Oct. 972 (D. Anastasievič, *BZ* 30 [1929/30] 403f). It continued to change hands up to the Ottoman conquest.

Until 363 the administrative metropolis of the province of Mesopotamia, Nisibis was the seat of the *doux* of Mesopotamia, a bishopric under the jurisdiction of AMIDA, and a center of Christian culture, even though pagan cults apparently survived there under Persian rule. EPHREM THE SYRIAN was active at Nisibis but had to move to Edessa in 363. In 489 the School of EDESSA was expelled by Zeno and reestablished at Nisibis, where a small school was already present. Its statutes, which survive in Syriac, reveal its character: the core of the curriculum was historical exegesis of the Bible on the principles laid down in the Nestorian interpretation of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. Written sources record church construction: Jacob of Nisibis built the Great Church (i.e., cathedral) in 313–20; its baptistery with elaborate sculpture—erected, according to its Greek dedicatory inscription, in 359 under Bp. Volagesos—survives.

LIT. J. Sturm, *RE* 17 (1937) 739–57. E. Honigmann, *EI*^{2} 3:858–60. Bell-Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin* 142–45. J.M. Fiey, *Nisibe, métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours* (Louvain 1977). A. Vööbus, *The Statutes of the School of Nisibis* (Stockholm 1962). N. Pigulevskaja, "Istorija Nisibijskoj akademii," *PSb* 17 (1967) 90–109. –M.M.M.

NIẒĀM AL-MULK, originally known as Abū ʿAlī al-Hasan, Persian statesman; born near Ṭūs in Khurāsān 10 Apr. 1018, murdered 14 Oct. 1092 near Siḥna, on the way from Iṣfāhān to Baghdad. As supreme vizier of the Seljuk court he supplied to the Seljuks, who had only recently arrived in Iraq, the older political traditions and wisdom that the new conquerors needed to rule their empire. At the request of the sultan Malikshāh, he composed, ca.1091, in Persian, the political treatise *Siyāsatnāma* (The Book of Government), intended as a guide for the running of the state, the management of the nomads, and suppression of religious heresy. Organizing his work around 50 chapters/principles, the author draws on a bewilderingly rich historical repertoire that includes Achaemenids, Alexander, Sasanians, and the Islamic and Turkic worlds in order to illuminate the principles of political conduct. Of particular interest for Byzantinists is his description of the GHULĀM or page system. Niẓām al-Mulk also relates a legend about the caliph MUʿTAṢIM (833–42), who allegedly was taken captive to Rūm but later led a successful expedition, routed a "caesar," sacked and burned Constantinople (?, probably Amorion), founded a mosque there, and released a thousand men from captivity.

ED. *Siasset Namèh*, ed. C. Schefer, 2 vols. (Paris 1891–97). *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings*, tr. H. Darke (London 1960).
LIT. K.E. Schabinger, *Nizamulmulk. Reichskanzler der Saldschuquen 1063–1092 n. Ch.* (Munich 1960), esp. 1–95. –S.V.

NOAH (Νῶε), biblical patriarch; hero of the story of the FLOOD and builder of the Ark. Noah was a righteous man and the progenitor of a new race, according to PHILO. He was interpreted by the church fathers as a prefiguration of Christ: Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of Christ as "the true Noah" (PG 33:981A) and Cyril of Alexandria as "the truest Noah," baptism being the antitype of the flood (PG 69:65B). In the same vein, Asterios of Amaseia (PG 40:448C) exclaimed that Christ in the tomb resembled Noah in his ark and thus put an end to the flood of impurity and granted us the baptism of resurrection. Another episode of Noah's life, his drunkenness and self-exposure, became a classical example of the evils of wine. Some church fathers, however, excused Noah: AMBROSE (ep.28:12) says that Noah was not ashamed of his nakedness because he experienced spiritual joy. The episode was elsewhere used as an anti-Jewish polemic: Ham's attitude toward his father's drunkenness was identified with the Jewish treatment of the Cross, while Shem and Japheth symbolized the Gentiles who honored Jesus. Some elements of Noah's story are reflected in the First Book of ENOCH.

Representation in Art. Noah was more often represented in terms of the events of his life than those of his character or personality. In the CATACOMBS, as in floor mosaics of the 5th–6th C., emphasis was placed on NOAH'S ARK. Simultaneously, however, other events of his life appear in the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome and in the Cotton and Vienna GENESIS MSS. Later cycles, such as in the OCTATEUCHS or the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina and Monreale in Sicily, probably reflect early models of related type.

LIT. J.P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden 1968) 156–82. R. Daut, *LCI* 4:611–20. Weitzmann-Kessler, *Cotton Gen.* 63–68. –J.I., A.K., J.H.L., A.C.

NOAH'S ARK (*κιβωτὸς τοῦ Νῶε*), the ship built by Noah at the time of the FLOOD, on which he saved humankind and all species of animals from extinction (Gen 6–9). It was early seen as a prefiguration of the church, which provided the means of salvation (e.g., Didymos the Blind, PG 39:696A–B). The tripartite division of the Ark (Gen 6:16) was considered a reference to the Trinity (e.g., by Athanasios, PG 28:1064A). That it carried within it Noah, the righteous man judged worthy of salvation, led to a further connection of the Ark, like the ARK OF THE COVENANT, with the Virgin (e.g., Theodore of Stoudios, PG 96:689B), for the Virgin brought forth Christ, the new Noah. This symbolism was visualized in the lost Kosmas/*Physiologos* MS of Smyrna (Kosm. Ind., 1:96f), where the image of the Ark on the waters was combined with the Virgin and Child enthroned.

The Ark is depicted as a chestlike structure in the Cotton GENESIS, and also in the OCTATEUCHS, in which, however, it appears as a boat under construction. Its tripartite division is emphasized in the monumental zigguratlike Ark of the Vienna Genesis, and in a simpler version with sloping sides found in the Vatican MS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES. In the floor mosaic at MOPSUESTIA the Ark appears as a flat-topped chest with four legs (H. Buschhausen, *JÖB* 21 [1972] 57–71, fig.2).

LIT. H. Hohl, *LCI* 1:178–80. Stichel, *Die Namen Noes.* –J.H.L., C.B.T.

NOBELISSIMOS (*νωβελίσσιμος*), a high-ranking DIGNITY. The Latin equivalent *nobilissimus* appeared in the 3rd C. as an imperial epithet; according to a 5th-C. historian (Zosim. bk.2.39.2), Constantine I introduced it as a title for some

members of his family, ranking below that of CAESAR. In disuse for some time under Justinian I (who was himself *nobelissimos* under Justin I), it was applied again to Herakleios's son Martin and later to Niketas, son of Constantine V. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS *nobelissimos* occupied the place between caesar and KOUROPALATES. While a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 444.5–6) described his costume as consisting of a golden cloak (*chlaina*) and diadem (*stephanos*), the later sources do not mention a diadem and the *De ceremoniis* ascribes to him a green or red cloak (Oikonomides, *Listes* 97, n.51). Until the mid-11th C. the dignity of *nobelissimos* was reserved for members of the imperial family (e.g., Michael V's uncle Constantine), but from the end of the 11th C. it was given to supreme military commanders; the future emperor Alexios I was the first among them. In 1074 the title was promised and eventually conferred on ROBERT GUISCARD. Inflated through the 12th C., the title served as the basis for new formations such as *protonobelissimos* and *protonobelissimohypertatos* (e.g., Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 288–97). The title was in use in the 12th C. and survived—contrary to Dölger's hypothesis—until the Palaiologan period (V. Laurent, *EO* 38 [1939] 362–64).

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 17 (1937) 791–800. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 26–33. Bury, *Adm. System* 35f. –A.K.

NOGAY (Νογᾶς), a MONGOL prince, commander in the expeditions of the Golden Horde against Persia in 1262 and 1266; born first half of 13th C., died 1299 near the Dnieper. In 1265, summoned by the Bulgarian tsar CONSTANTINE TICH to help fight the Byz., Nogay crossed the Danube; the army of Michael VIII Palaiologos fled in panic, and the Mongols ravaged Thrace. Michael had to seek Mongol support and gave his illegitimate daughter Euphrosyne as wife to Nogay, a match that probably allowed Michael to retain some authority in DOBRUDJA. Nogay helped the Byz. overthrow the popular Bulgarian leader IVAJLO in 1279. In Bulgaria Nogay established *de facto* Mongol rule. In Nogay's day the Mongols, Byz., and MAMLŪKS formed an alliance opposed to both the Latins and Persia. Nogay was tolerant toward Christianity.

Nogay perished amid internal strife in the Golden Horde: he had placed Toktay on the throne in 1290, but in 1297 Toktay rebelled against the omnipotent prince. After initial success Nogay was defeated in battle and killed by a soldier of Rus'.

LIT. R. Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970) 398–403. G. Vernadsky, "Zolotaja orda, Egipet i Vizantija v ich vzaimootnošenijach v carstvovanie Michaila Paleologa," *SemKond* 1 (1927) 73–84. –A.K.

NOMIKOS (νομικός), a scribe or secretary. The *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS gives the name of *nomikos* to subaltern officials of the EPARCH OF THE CITY; according to the BOOK OF THE EPARCH (1.13) the *nomikos* or *paidodidaskalos nomikos* was the teacher of law elected by the *taboularioi*. *Nomikoi* are often mentioned in an ecclesiastical context; e.g., John Moschos speaks of a *nomikos* of the church of Alexandria (PG 87:3073AB). In acts of the 11th–14th C., ecclesiastical *nomikoi* appear preparing documents, esp. deeds of purchase. There was probably a local distinction of terminology—*taboularioi* were primarily scribes in the bureaus of Constantinople, Thessalonike, and Serres, whereas in Hierissos, Miletos, and Smyrna *nomikoi* were more common. *Nomikoi* fulfilled various ecclesiastical offices, some connected with their notarial duties (*protekdikos*, archdeacon, *bibliophylax*, etc.). They are known also as scribes of books (e.g., J. Darrouzès, *REB* 8 [1950–51] 180). A. Dain (*REB* 16 [1958] 166f) published a formulary for the appointment of an ecclesiastical *nomikos*.

LIT. G. Ferrari, *I documenti greci medioevali di diritto privato dell'Italia meridionale* (Leipzig 1910) 78–83. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 120. K.A. Worp, J. Diethart, *Notarunterschriften in byzantinischen Ägypten* (Vienna 1988). –A.K.

NOMINA SACRA. See ABBREVIATIONS.

NOMISMA (νόμισμα), a word meaning "coin" generally, but specifically used of the standard gold coin of 24 KERATIA which formed the basis of the late Roman and Byz. monetary system. It was thus identical with the coin called in Latin a SOLIDUS. From the late 11th C. onward the standard gold coin was more commonly termed an HYPERPYRON. –Ph.G.

NOMODIDASKALOS. See NOMIKOS.

NOMOKANONES (νομοκανόνες), compilations of secular laws (*nomoi*) and ecclesiastical regulations (*kanones*; see CANONS), the two most important components of CANON LAW. Such compilations, for which the terms *nomokanon* (and *nomokanonon*) are attested from the 11th C., were undertaken over and over again from the time of Justinian I into the post-Byz. period. By far the most important collection of this kind was the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES. Much less frequently copied is the *Nomokanon of Fifty Titles*, in which the SYNAGOGE OF FIFTY TITLES is enlarged by the inclusion of excerpts from the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. These excerpts derive mainly from the COLLECTIO 87 CAPITULORUM; several fragments are also taken from the paraphrase of the Justinianic novels by Athanasios Scholastikos of Emesa. This *nomokanon* was compiled possibly toward the end of the 6th C. in Antioch. Among the other *nomokanones*, the *Syntagma kata stoicheion* of Matthew BLASTARES is particularly notable.

ED. *Nomokanon of 50 Titles*—ed. G. Voellus, H. Iustellus, *Bibliotheca Iuris Canonici Veteris*, vol. 2 (Paris 1661) 603–60.
LIT. Zachariä, "Nomokanones." Beneševič, *Sinagogà v 50 titulov* 292–321. J. Gaudemet, *RE* supp. 10 (1965) 417–29. –A.S.

NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES, the most frequently copied of all *nomokanones* and the most important source of CANON LAW. Zachariä von Lingenthal conjectured that the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* proper was preceded by a *Syntagma of Fourteen Titles* compiled ca.580, which included only the material contained in the CANONS but had the COLLECTIO TRIPARTITA as an appendix. According to E. Honigmann (*Trois mémoires posthumes* [Brussels 1961] 49–64), this *Syntagma* was compiled by the patriarchs EUTYCHIOS and JOHN IV NESTEUTES. It is commonly believed that the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* proper was created in the time of the emperor Herakleios by ANONYMOUS, "ENANTIOPHANES," who integrated into this *Syntagma* parts of the *Collectio tripartita* and other texts going back to the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. In a second prologue, composed by PHOTIOS and dated to 882/3, it is stated that the canons that had been issued in the interval would be taken into account; most of these are in fact contained in this reworking.

At first the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* merely made reference to the canons; their full texts, arranged in chronological order, were given only in a section following the *Nomokanon*. Later, however, the full texts were sometimes integrated into the *Nomokanon*. According to a third prologue composed by a certain Theodore (Bestes) and dated 1089/90, he added secular law texts from the *Basilika* and other sources that had hitherto been cited in the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* only in part. Familiar with this reworking, Theodore BALSAMON composed—probably in 1177 and the following years—a similarly structured "commentary" (introduced by a fourth prologue) in which he mainly addressed the question as to whether the law texts cited in the *Nomokanon* had been taken over into the *Basilika*. Of the various versions mentioned, that of the 9th C. in particular was translated into Slavonic at an early date.

ED. I.B. Pitra, *Iuris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta*, vol. 2 (Rome 1868; rp. 1963) 433–640.
LIT. Zachariä, "Nomokanones" 622–30. Idem, *Kleine Schriften* 2:145–85. V.N. Beneševič, *Kanoničeskij Sbornik XIV titulov so vtoroj četverti VII veka do 883 g.* (St. Petersburg 1905; rp. Leipzig 1974). Idem, *Drevneslavjanskaja kormčaja XIV titulov bez tolkovanij* (St. Petersburg 1906; rp. Leipzig 1974). M.M. Petrović, *Ho Nomokanon eis ID' titlous kai hoi byzantinoi scholiastai* (Athens 1970). –A.S.

NOMOPHYLAX (νομοφύλαξ, lit. "the guardian of law"), an office originated by Constantine IX in 1043 (E. Follieri in *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra*, vol. 2 [Milan 1971] 657–64), 1045 (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 134), or, more probably, 1047 (J. Lefort, *TM* 6 [1976] 284). The future patriarch John (VIII) Xiphilinos was the first to hold the office. Constantine IX created the *nomophylax* as president of the law school in Constantinople; enrolled him among SENATORS; gave him the "chair" right after the EPI TON KRISEON; and established his annual *roga* at 4 *litrai* plus a silk robe, imperial presents on Palm Sunday, and undefined benefits or *siteresia* (A. Salač, *Novella constitutio saec. XI medii* [Prague 1954] 25, par.11). He could be demoted only in a few strictly limited cases. Psellos describes him as the president of the court, the *strategos* of the judges, and the leader of the laws (N. Oikonomides, *FM* 7 [1986] 190).

The office quickly changed character after its creation, and, according to Darrouzès (*Offikia* 314), became a position between the state and church administration. In the 12th C. the post was held by several renowned canonists such as Alexios ARISTENOS, Neilos DOXOPATRES, Theodore BALSAMON, and in the 14th C. Constantine HARMENOPOULOS. In the 14th C. there were both civil and ecclesiastical *nomophylakes*; the ecclesiastical *nomophylax* occupied a position equal to the DIKAIOPHYLAX.

LIT. F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schule von Konstantinopel in Mittelalter* (Leipzig-Berlin 1926) 25–27. Beck, *Kirche* 116. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:483–85; 5.3:26f. –A.K.

NOMOS GEORGIKOS. See FARMER'S LAW.

NOMOS NAUTIKOS. See RHODIAN SEA LAW.

NOMOS STRATIOTIKOS (Νόμος Στρατιωτικός; Lat. *Leges militares,* "Soldier's Law"), a collection of approximately 55 regulations, mainly penal and disciplinary, for soldiers.

Manuscript Tradition. The extensive MS tradition offers numerous recensions from which the original text cannot be reconstructed with certainty; the source-references for the headings are unclear ("Rufus"), imprecise ("Taktika"), or incomplete ("49th book of the *Digest,* title 16"). One sequence of 15 chapters, which occurs in a nearly identical form in the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE (1.6–8), forms a unit; the rest of the chapters originate in the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. Two groups can be distinguished: the first compiled possibly as early as the end of the 6th C., the other attached only later, certainly by the middle of the 8th C. The *Nomos stratiotikos* is found in one variant version of the Appendix of the ECLOGA and appears in the supplements to later law books, often alongside the FARMER'S LAW and the RHODIAN SEA LAW. A few MSS of the TAKTIKA preserve a recension of the *Nomos stratiotikos* wherein the collection is expanded and provided with references to the BASILIKA.

Content of Regulations. The code embodies the basic principles of military law: to enforce discipline and to expel or reject undesirables. Crimes committed in wartime, such as insubordination, desertion, cowardice, or looting (see BOOTY) were punishable by death. Punishment for crimes in peacetime or violations of conditions of service were lighter, often entailing expulsion from the army with the attendant loss of privileges associated with military service. Anyone guilty of a civil offense was deemed ineligible for enlistment. The code effectively defines the reach of military as opposed to civil jurisdiction—only in cases of adultery were soldiers turned over to civil authorities.

ED., TR., and LIT. P. Verri, *Le leggi penali militari dell'impero bizantino nell'alto Medioevo* (Rome 1978). W. Ashburner, "The Byzantine Mutiny Act," *JHS* 46 (1926) 80–109. G. Famiglietti, *"Ex Ruffo leges militares"* (Milan 1980). E.H. Freshfield, *A Manual of Roman Law: The Ecloga* (Cambridge 1926) 122–29. V.V. Kučma, "Nomos stratiotikos," *VizVrem* 32 (1971) 276–84. C.E. Brand, *Roman Military Law* (Austin-London 1968) 128–44. –L.B., E.M.

NONNOS, THEOPHANES. See CHRYSOBALANTES, THEOPHANES.

NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, one of the many poets who came from late Roman Egypt. The life of Nonnos (Νόννος) is obscure; his career is usually dated to the first half of the 5th C. (B. Baldwin, *Eranos* 84 [1986] 60f). His major work is the *Dionysiaka,* detailing in 48 hexameter books the exploits of DIONYSOS in India. The composition of the *Dionysiaka* is "linear," with each episode connected to the next without any coherence in space and time (M. Riemschneider, *BBA* 5 [1957] 68–70); situations and images recur steadily. The epic is unified by a consistent perception of the world as manifold (*poikilos*), changing, and unstable (W. Fauth, *Eidos poikilon* [Göttingen 1981]). The agglomeration of synonyms and riddlelike metaphors creates the impression of an enigmatic world, and, according to Averincev (*Poetika* 136–49), resembles the style of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE. Nonnos was interested in the founding of cities (he tells the story of Kadmos, mentions Byzas, the eponym of Byzantium); he relates the foundation-myth for the law school of BERYTUS and expresses his faith in the civilizing mission of Rome. Themes of ASTROLOGY, prophecy, and eros permeate his work. Nonnos possibly composed a hexametric paraphrase of the Gospel of John (see K. Smolak, *JÖB* 34 [1984] 1–14).

ED. *Dionysiaca,* ed. R. Keydell, 2 vols. (Berlin 1959). *Les Dionysiaques,* ed. F. Vian, P. Chuvin, 4 vols. (Paris 1976–85), with Fr. tr. W.H.D. Rouse, *Dionysiaca,* 3 vols. (London-Cambridge, Mass., 1940–42), with Eng. tr. *Paraphrasis s. Evangelii Ioannei,* ed. A. Scheindler (Leipzig 1881).

LIT. W. Peek, *Lexikon zu den Dionysiaka des Nonnos,* 4 vols. (Berlin 1968–75). V. Stegemann, *Astrologie und Universalgeschichte* (Leipzig-Berlin 1930). G. d'Ippolito, *Studi Nonniani* (Palermo 1964). B. Abel-Wilmanns, *Der Erzählaufbau der Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Frankfurt am Main 1977). M. Riemschneider, "Die Rolle Ägyptens in den Dionysiaka des Nonnos," in *Probleme der koptischen Literatur,* ed. P. Nagel (Halle 1968) 73–83. –B.B., A.K.

NONNOSOS (Νόννοσος), writer of the first half of the 6th C. Nonnosos wrote a narrative (now lost), perhaps in the form of a memoir, recounting his adventures in ETHIOPIA and central and southern ARABIA during a diplomatic mission for Justinian I (530/1); his father and grandfather had been similarly employed by Anastasios I (502) and Justin I (524). Nonnosos's specific task was to bring to Constantinople a certain Qays, ruler of KINDA (I. Kawar, *BZ* 53 [1960] 57–73); Nonnosos subsequently journeyed to AXUM. According to Photios (*Bibl.,* cod.3), sole source for his book's existence, Nonnosos emphasized his own courage during hair-raising adventures. Arabian religion, the local patois, elephants, and pygmies were some of the features of his narrative. His work may have been used by MALALAS and THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR (Theoph. 141–44).

ED. *FHG* 4:178–80.
LIT. R. Laqueur, *RE* 17 (1936) 920f. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:303. –B.B.

NORICUM, Roman province northwest of PANNONIA, divided by 304/5 into two: Noricum Ripense (major centers, Lauriacum and Ovilava) and Noricum Mediterraneum (capital, Virunum). Noricum Ripense, bordering on the Danube, had a more military character than Noricum Mediterraneum, which was protected on the north by the Alps. The *dux* of Noricum Ripense directed both civil administration and the garrisons along the LIMES. The 4th C. was a period of relative prosperity: Noricum had flourishing villas (some survived until the end of the 5th C.), mines were exploited, and new buildings were constructed in Virunum and other places. Christianity penetrated into the province, but pagan shrines (esp. that of Isis Noreia) remained active. In the 5th C. the area was systematically plundered by barbarians; the population sought refuge in fortified castles. EUGIPPIUS in his vita of St. SEVERINUS described the precarious situation of Noricum at this time. Nevertheless, Christianity became firmly established and many small churches were built throughout the region.

Noricum Ripense was abandoned by the "Romans" in 488, but ODOACER retained control over southern Noricum. In the 6th C. the Franks and Lombards competed for dominance in the area and Justinian I had to cede it to the Lombards; at the beginning of the 7th C., the Avars and Slavs penetrated Noricum and urban life ceased. Evidence of urbanism can be found only in Celeia and even there it is on a very limited level.

LIT. G. Alföldy, *Noricum* (London-Boston 1974) 198–227. G. Winkler, *Die Reichsbeamten von Noricum und ihr Personal bis zum Ende der römischen Herrschaft* (Vienna 1969). M. Pavan, "Stato romano e comunità cristiana nel Norico," *Clio* 9 (Rome 1973) 453–96. G. Cuscito, "La diffusione del cristianesimo nelle regioni alpine orientale," in *Aquileia e l'arco alpino orientale* (Udine 1976) 299–345. –A.K.

NORMANS ("Northmen"), western European term for Nordic people, known as VIKINGS in Scandinavia, VARANGIANS in Kievan Rus', and FRANKOI in Byz. From the end of the 8th C. to the 11th C. the Normans plundered and often settled in various countries from Iceland to Kievan Rus'. In 860 Normans sacked Pisa and, according to legend, seized and burned Luni, which they mistook for Rome.

The Norman occupation of southern Italy began in 999 or 1016/17. They first penetrated there from Normandy as mercenaries of Byz. or Lombard princes, then formed several principalities that ROGER II united into a kingdom. Despite the successes of Byz. generals such as Basil BOIOANNES and George MANIAKES, the Normans occupied Byz. themes in Italy between 1040 and 1071. From 1060 to 1072 the Normans conquered Sicily. Their victory in Italy was the result of a turbulent situation in which various forces (Greeks, Germans, Arabs, the papacy, Lombard rulers of Salerno, Capua, etc.) were contending and also the strength of the Norman army. Still peasants under their chieftains in the 10th C., the Normans at the same time acquired the military techniques of knights. Norman alertness and their use of ruses often impressed their adversaries.

The Normans in Italy were closely connected with Byz. During the first century of Norman rule large sectors of their administration were run by Greeks, even former Byz. officials. Many Norman nobles entered Byz. service: in the 11th C. some acted as semi-independent military commanders (HERVÉ FRANKOPOULOS, ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL), whereas in the 12th C. they penetrated the Byz. aristocracy, some (ROGERIOI, PETRALIPHAI, RAOUL) even marrying into the imperial family. In the 12th C. Normans constituted the most populous group of Westerners in the Byz. elite (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 214). On the other hand, the Normans exploited Byz.'s precarious situation and tried to establish their command in the Balkans—first in 1081–85 under ROBERT GUISCARD, who was finally defeated by Alexios I. BOHEMOND unsuccessfully attacked Dyrrachion in 1107–08 and had to sign the treaty of DEVOL acknowledging his

Norman Rules of Sicily

Ruler	*Reign Dates*
ROGER I, brother of Robert Guiscard, count of Sicily	1072–1105
ROGER II, count of Sicily	1101/5–1127
duke of Apulia and Calabria	1127–1130
king of Sicily	1130–1154
WILLIAM I	1154–1166
WILLIAM II	1166–1189
TANCRED OF LECCE	1189–1194
William III (died ca.1198)	1194

allegiance to Byz. During the constant wars of the 12th C. Normans even sent a fleet against Constantinople; in 1147–48 Roger II's fleet devastated central Greece and the Peloponnesos, and the Normans carried off many Byz. silk weavers to Sicily. The Normans' major success was the capture of Thessalonike in 1185, but they were soon routed by Alexios BRANAS. Another region in which the Normans attempted to create a principality was ANTIOCH, reconquered during the First Crusade. At the end of the 12th C. relations between the Normans and Byz. improved as a result of common animosity toward Germany: the Byz. supported TANCRED OF LECCE against Henry VI of Germany until Tancred's death; in 1194 Henry (husband of Roger II's daughter Constance and therefore a legitimate heir to the throne) was crowned king of Sicily, thus ending the rule of the Norman dynasty.

LIT. P. Aubé, *Les Empires normands d'Orient, XI–XIIIe siècle* (Paris 1983). F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols. (Paris 1907; rp. New York 1960, 1969). S. Tramontana, "La monarchia normanna e sveva," in Guillou et al., *Bizantini a Federico II* 435–657. D.M. Nicol, "Symbiosis and Integration: Some Greco-Latin Families in Byzantium in the 11th to 13th Centuries," *ByzF* 7 (1979) 113–35. W.B. McQueen, "Relations between the Normans and Byzantium 1071–1112," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 427–76. –A.K.

NORTH AFRICA, MONUMENTS OF. The northern portions of Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya preserve substantial remains of ecclesiastical, civil, and military construction dating primarily from the 5th and 6th C. Multiaisled basilicas (Tipasa, CARTHAGE), double churches (DJEMILA), and double-apsed basilicas (SUFETULA) are common in the 5th C. Altars are generally placed in the nave. The cult of martyrs was practiced in basilicas. Most were buried in accessible crypts under the altar or apse. Freestanding, centrally planned *martyria* are rare. Churches of the 6th C. often feature paired columns, vaulted aisles, and galleries. After the reconquest of Justinian I the LIMES was heavily fortified (Haïdra, THAMUGADI). FLOOR MOSAICS are found in many private residences and, less commonly, in public baths (Acholla) and churches (Sabratha, Djemila). The use of *spolia* is rare. Local stone is the primary building material; *opus africanum* (small ashlars and rubble between large ashlars set vertically) takes it name from its frequent use in this region. *Tubi fitili*, hollow ceramic tubes, are commonly used for vaulting.

LIT. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 198–206. P. MacKendrick, *The North African Stones Speak* (Chapel Hill 1980) 91–109, 261–83. N. Duval, *Sbeitla et les églises africaines à deux absides*, 2 vols. (Paris 1971–73). K. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford 1978). –W.L., K.M.K.

NOTARAS, LOUKAS, *megas doux* (1449–1453); born Constantinople, died Constantinople June 1453. Son of Nicholas Notaras (Νοταρᾶς), a wealthy courtier and ambassador of Manuel II, Loukas Notaras served the last three Byz. emperors and was related by marriage to the imperial family. He called himself GAMBROS of the emperor. S. Runciman (*Polychronion* 447–49) has suggested that his wife was a daughter of John VII. In 1424, Notaras accompanied George SPHRANTZES on an embassy to Murad II; he served as MESAZON under John VIII and Constantine XI (J. Verpeaux, *BS* 16 [1955] 272). In 1441 he commanded the ship on which Constantine sailed to Lesbos to marry Caterina GATTILUSIO. Notaras did business with Italian merchants, entrusted his money to Italian bankers, and became a citizen of Genoa and Venice (Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 19f, 120f). Despite his Italian ties, he was a rabid anti-Unionist and was recorded by a hostile source (Douk. 329) as preferring Turkish conquest to Union of the Churches. Notaras took an active part, however, in the defense of Constantinople during the Ottoman siege of 1453. According to pseudo-Sphrantzes (Sphr. 406, 432–34), Notaras was accused of treachery by GIUSTINIANI LONGO and sought an accommodation with the sultan after the fall of Constantinople; nonetheless, he and his sons were executed. In 1470 a certain John Moschos wrote a eulogy of Notaras attempting to vindicate him from charges of treason (ed. E. Legrand, *DIEE* 2 [1885/86] 413–24).

ED. Boissonade, *AnecGr* 5:117–58. PG 160:747–68.

LIT. S.A. Koutibas, *Hoi Notarades sten hyperesia tou ethnous kai tes ekklesias* (Athens 1968) 23–39. H. Evert-Kappesowa, "La tiare ou le turban," *BS* 14 (1953) 245–48. A.E. Bakalopoulos, "Die Frage der Glaubwürdigkeit der 'Leichenrede auf L. Notaras' von Johannes Moschos (15. Jh.)," *BZ* 52 (1959) 13–21. *PLP*, no.20730. –A.M.T.

NOTARY, an official whose duty was to register transactions and certify documents. He bore various names (e.g., *notarius* [Lat.], *taboullarios, tabellion, symbolographos, nomikos*), which changed their meaning over the course of time. Late Roman *notarii* were primarily stenographers who recorded the minutes of important meetings, while *taboullarioi* were officials found in numerous departments in the capital and the provinces, often involved in fiscal operations. "Imperial *taboullarioi*" appear on seals of the 6th–7th C. (e.g., Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.914).

From the 6th C. onward, however, the major function of *taboullarioi* became the preparation of documents (a function reflected in the term *symbolographos*), and the guild of *taboullarioi*, as described in the *Book of the Eparch* (ch.1), was a private body under the control of state authorities. The *taboullarioi* were required to have a legal education, excellent command of Greek, and good handwriting. Their guild was more closely involved than others in the state hierarchy: the dean of the notaries was called PRIMIKERIOS; *taboullarioi* were given ranks of precedence and their participation in imperial processions was clearly emphasized, but their clientele was private, including noble families, monasteries, *euageis oikoi*, and old-age homes.

From *taboullarioi* should be distinguished *notarioi* (sometimes with the epithet "imperial"), who are known primarily from seals and who served in various government departments (*genikon, vestiarion, dromos*, etc.) as scribes and secretaries. In the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.414) a figure identified as a *notarios* is shown writing a letter dictated by John I Tzimiskes. Probably by the 14th or 15th C. *notarioi* assumed the role of public notaries rather than that of secretaries, even certifying state treaties.

In the 13th C. and later the NOMIKOI, who had previously been lawyers and teachers of law, drafted documents. They probably differed from *taboullarioi* only in that they were located in provincial chanceries, *taboullarioi* primarily in Constantinople and some other large cities.

LIT. E. Sachers, *RE* 2.R. 4 (1932) 1969–84. H.C. Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores* (Amsterdam 1985). B. Nerantze-Barmaze, "Hoi byzantinoi taboullarioi," *Hellenika* 35 (1984) 261–74. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 172f. H. Saradi-Mendelovici, "Notes on a Prosopography of the Byzantine Notaries," *Medieval Prosopography* 9.2 (1988) 21–49. –A.K., A.C.

NOTATION. Until the introduction of musical signs (NEUMATA) in the 9th C., the church relied on oral tradition for the transmission of its chant repertory. Initially, musical notation was used as only an aid to oral transmission, to establish continuity between the oral and written traditions. The question of why musical notation appeared at that particular time has no simple answer, but surely the rapid growth in HYMNOGRAPHY and the concern for preserving ancient practices were contributing factors.

Two varieties of Byz. notation were developed to accommodate two different styles of chanting. One, a lectionary or ekphonetic notation for the biblical lessons, was in use by the 8th or 9th C. and continued until the 12th or 13th C. Simply a memory aid, it supplies only a part of the information needed to reconstruct the melodies. Unless an explanatory manual is found, this notation will continue to defy precise transcription. The other, a melodic notation for HYMNS and psalms, is found in the following important collections: the HEIRMOLOGION, the STICHERARION, the ASMATIKON, the PSALTIKON, and the *Akolouthia* (or PAPADIKE).

Before ca.1175, Byz. melodic notation was stenographic; the singer was expected to interpret the signs by applying certain established rules (generally unknown to us, but absolutely familiar to him) in order to provide an accurate and acceptable rendition of the music. After ca.1175, the more complex and explicit notation, operating on mathematical principles, rather than on melodic conventions, provided the singer with all the graphic material necessary to execute the chant correctly.

LIT. O. Strunk, *Specimina notationum antiquiorum* (Copenhagen 1966). Tardo, *Melurgia* 145–331. Wellesz, *Music* 246–310. –D.E.C.

NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, a (probably) official list of all civil and military offices of both halves of the late Roman Empire. The purpose of the *Notitia* seems to have been to order the precedence of officials, but it records offices actually held rather than honorary titles. The *primicerius* of the notaries in each half of the empire was supposed to update the *Notitia,* but changes were not made consistently and partial revisions resulted in substantial contradictions in the surviving text. The exact date of the extant version is debated: Hoffmann assigns the military lists of the Western section to the reign of Honorius and those of the Eastern part to Theodosios II; Clemente distinguishes three strata, that of Theodosios I, a revision at the time of Stilicho, and another ca.425–29 (see also W. Seibt, *Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Mitteilungen* 90 [1982] 339–46). Many sections of the *Notitia* contain shield emblems (INSIGNIA) of various offices that are usually thought to represent an official pictorial register, although R. Grigg (*JRS* 73 [1983] 132–41) demonstrated their inaccuracy and questioned their official character.

ED. O. Seeck, *Notitia dignitatum* (Berlin 1876).

LIT. G. Clemente, *La "Notitia Dignitatum"* (Cagliari 1968). D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum,* 2 vols. (Düsseldorf 1969–70). Jones, *LRE* 2:1417–50. P. Berger, *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum* (New York 1981). –A.K.

NOTITIAE EPISCOPATUUM (sing. τάξις or ἔκθεσις), lists of ecclesiastical dioceses. The dioceses are arranged in hierarchical order: first metropolitan sees, then autonomous archbishoprics, and finally bishoprics in clusters, each of which makes up a metropolis. The earliest surviving notitia of Constantinople is that of pseudo-Epiphanios, probably compiled during the reign of Herakleios. Three others belong to the 8th and 9th C., several to the 10th C., and the latest (twenty-first) notitia in the edition of Darrouzès (*infra*) is of the Turkish period. Gerland (*infra,* 18) hypothesized that the original document, called by him the *Urnotitia,* might have been created by the end of the 4th C. The lost notitia of the patriarchate of Antioch was reconstructed by E. Honigmann (*BZ* 25 [1925] 60–88) on the basis of later Greek, Latin, and Eastern sources. The lists of notitiae are not always consistent with the signatures in the minutes of church councils—in the 12th C. the discrepancies are insignificant, in the 14th C. more substantial owing to the general political unrest of the period; one can conclude that the lists of notitiae were traditional and lagged behind actual changes in the hierarchy.

Attempts have been made to interpret the lists in terms of political and economic history: K. Amantos (11 *CEB, Akten* [Munich 1960] 21–23) emphasized that the notitias reflect the decline of Christianity, esp. in the East, during the Arab and Turkish invasions; Ostrogorsky (*Byz. Geschichte* 109–13) asserts that the notitias "correspond fairly closely to the actual situation" and demonstrate the survival of urban centers in Asia Minor in the 7th C. and later. On the other hand, I. Snegarov (*IsvInstBŭlgIst* 6 [1956] 647–55) is very cautious in assessing the usefulness of notitias to clarify the process of christianization of the Balkans in the 7th C.

ED. *Notitiae episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae,* ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris 1981).

LIT. E. Gerland in *Corpus notitiarum episcopatuum Ecclesiae Orientalis Graecae* (Kadiköy-Istanbul 1931). G. Konidares, *Hai metropoleis kai archiepiskopai tou oikoumenikou patriarcheiou kai he 'taxis' auton* (Athens 1934). J. Darrouzès, "Listes synodales et notitiae," *REB* 28 (1970) 57–96. Beck, *Kirche* 148–56. –A.K.

NOTITIA URBIS CONSTANTINOPOLITANAE, an anonymous Latin description of Constantinople compiled ca.425–30 during the reign of Theodosios II. It consists of a preface, a list of 14 regions indicating the most notable buildings and local officials, and a recapitulation stating that Constantinople possessed 5 palaces, 14 churches, 8 public baths and 153 private bathhouses, 4 squares (*fora*), 5 warehouses (*horrea*), 2 theaters, 2 mime theaters (*lusoria*), a hippodrome (*circus*), 4 cisterns, 322 *vici* ("wards"), 4,388 houses (*domus*), 17 docks (*gradus*), and 5 slaughterhouses; also mentioned are 2 senate houses, the Augustaeum, Capitolium, a colosseum, and so on. The local officials named include 13 *curatores* (the 14th region had no *curator*), 14 slave-policemen (*vernaculi*), 560 volunteer firemen (*collegiati*), and 65 night guards (*vicomagistri*). This notitia is the document on which calculation of the population of 5th-C. Constantinople is primarily based.

ED. *Notitia dignitatum,* ed. O. Seeck (Berlin 1876) 227–43. Germ. tr. F.W. Unger, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* (Vienna 1878) 102–09.

LIT. Dagron, *Naissance* 97, 233f, 525–27. Jacoby, *Société* pt.I (1961), 99–102. –A.K.

NOUMERA. See DOMESTIKOS TON NOUMERON.

NOUS. See INTELLECT.

NOVAE (Νόβας), a Roman city of MOESIA II, on the right bank of the Danube; it was located near mod. Svištov in Bulgaria. Archaeological excavations reveal a change in the urban plan in the early 4th C., probably after the rebellion of soldiers in 316/17 (T. Sarnowski, *Archeologia* 30 [Warsaw 1979] 119–28): the central square with its *principia* (headquarters) was transformed into a forum, but the Roman network of streets and public buildings with porticoes continued to determine the shape of Novae. Coin finds are esp. abundant between 330 and 378 (K. Dimitrov, *Pulpudeva* 3 [1978] 199–203), but economic activity was substantial through the 5th C.: from the end of the 4th C. onward, at least four basilicas were constructed (S. Parnicki-Pudełko, *Archaeologia Polona* 21–22 [1983] 269). By 430 Novae was a bishopric. Justinian I tried to maintain the city, but after ca.600 the name Novae disappears from written sources; a seal with a nimbate bust and the monogrammatic name (possibly Celtic) *METR[O]NOU* or *MERT[I]NOU* (L. Mrozewicz, *Archeologia* 32 [Warsaw 1981] 82, no.19) is probably to be dated in the second half of the 6th C. (not the 6th–8th C.).

LIT. M. Chichikova, "Fouilles du camp romain et de la ville paléobyzantine de Novae," *Ancient Bulgaria,* vol. 2 (Nottingham 1983) 11–18. K. Ilski, "Biskupstwo w Novae a zagadnienie chrystianizacji Mezji Dolnej," *Balcanica Posnaniensia: Acta et studia* 1 (1984) 305–10. –A.K.

NOVATIANISM, a rigorist Christian sect, named after Novatianus (died 257/8), a Roman priest. He refused the readmission of *lapsi,* those who had renounced their faith in the face of the Decian persecution (250–51); his followers formed a separatist community. Calling themselves *katharoi* (the pure), groups of Novatians sprang up throughout the empire, but they were particularly strong in Africa, Asia Minor, and Constantinople. More schismatics than heretics, the Novatians modeled themselves closely on the practice of the contemporary church, although they continued to hold that serious sin after baptism could not be forgiven. They agreed with the Orthodox on the question of Arianism, and the emperors generally hesitated to persecute the sect, whose members were commonly admired for their piety. In the 4th C. the Novatian leadership apparently became more lax, and some sect members separated from the group, calling themselves Protopaschites because of their method for calculating the celebration of Easter. Novatianism lost much of its vigor in the 5th C., but the sect survived at least until the early 7th C.

LIT. H.J. Vogt, "Coetus Sanctorum: Der Kirchenbegriff des Novatian und die Geschichte seiner Sonderkirche," in *Theophaneia: Beiträge zur Religions- und Kirchengeschichte des Altertums* 20 (Bonn 1968) 37–56. T.E. Gregory, "Novatianism: A Rigorist Sect in the Christian Roman Empire," *BS/EB* 2 (1975) 1–18. –T.E.G.

NOVEL (νεαρά, Lat. *novella* [*constitutio*], lit. a "new [decree]"), the term for an imperial edict. Known from the 4th C. onward, it was specifically applied to ordinances issued after the CODEX THEODOSIANUS and then to the Justinianic Novels (see NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I) promulgated after the CODEX JUSTINIANUS. The term fell out of use after Justinian I, but reappeared at the time of the "reception" of Justinianic law and was used in the collection of laws issued by Leo VI (see NOVELS OF LEO VI). The emperors of the 10th C., from Romanos I (*Reg* 1, nos. 595, 628) to Basil II (*Reg* 1, nos. 772, 783), used the term relatively often; less frequent in the 11th to first half of the 12th C., it became popular with Manuel I (*Reg* 2, nos. 1341, 1398, 1467, 1535). From this time onward, more general expressions, such as novel or edict (see EDICTUM) were replaced by specific terms, such as CHRYSOBULL, PROSTAGMA, HORISMOS (Dölger, *Diplomatik* 122). If we disregard the two cases in which the archaizing historian Pachymeres used this term (*Reg* 3, no.2040; 4, no.2159), the only novel known from the late Byz. period is the law of Andronikos II of 1306 on ABIOTIKION, regulating intestate succession (*Reg* 4, no.2295).

LIT. A. Steinwenter, *RE* 17 (1937) 1162–71. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 75, n.8. N. van der Wal, "*Edictum* und *lex edictalis*: Form und Inhalt der Kaisergesetze im spätrömischen Reich," *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* 28 (1981) 277–313. –A.K.

NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I. The laws published by Justinian I after the completion of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS were designated as *novellae constitutiones* or new constitutions. In contrast to the other

parts of the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS they were issued for the most part in Greek, and, in contrast to the concise language of the DIGEST and INSTITUTES, they are accompanied by a considerable use of rhetoric and extensive justifications and legitimations. Justinian intended to publish the novels as an "official" compilation; this did not occur, however, perhaps due to the death of TRIBONIAN. The novels are thus transmitted only in private collections; the most extensive, which contains 168 novels (some of which are by Justinian's successors) as well as 13 edicts, is the basis of modern editions. Recensions of the novels from the 6th or 7th C. exist in Latin in the so-called *Authenticum* and the *Epitome Juliani*, in Greek in the SYNTAGMA of novels by Athanasios Scholastikos of Emesa, and the collection of novels by THEODORE SCHOLASTIKOS. The greater part of the texts of the Justinianic novels was incorporated into the BASILIKA.

ED. *CIC*, vol. 3.

LIT. F.A. Biener, *Geschichte der Novellen Justinians* (Berlin 1824; rp. Aalen 1970). P. Noailles, *Les collections de Novelles de l'empereur Justinien*, 2 vols. (Paris 1912–14). N. van der Wal, *Manuale Novellarum Iustiniani* (Groningen 1964).
–M.Th.F.

NOVELS OF LEO VI, a collection of 113 undated imperial ordinances issued by Emp. LEO VI and addressed mostly to Stylianos ZAOUTZES. The first novels are devoted to ecclesiastical affairs, then follow the laws involving individuals (marriage, dowry, manumission, adoption). After novel 66 no system can be ascertained. It is unclear whether they were published as an entire corpus or one after another; in any case, a 10th-C. MS containing only 12 novels has been recently discovered (N. van der Wal, *Tijdschrift* 43 [1975] 257–69). Since Zaoutzes died in 899, the novels must have been issued before this year. N. van der Wal and J. Lokin (*Historiae iuris Graeco-Romani delineatio* [Groningen 1985] 86) suggest that they were published after the BASILIKA, although they contain no direct references to the *Basilika*. M.Th. Fögen (*SubGr* 3 [1989] 23–35) argues instead that the novels were issued one by one, while the codification of the *Basilika* was in progress, to meet problems which arose from the discrepancies between Justinianic law and contemporary needs and CUSTOMS.

The purpose of the novels was to "cleanse" the legal system and abrogate legislation that had become obsolete (G. Michaélidès-Nouaros in *Mnemosynon Perikleous Bizoukidou* [Thessalonike 1960–63] 27–54). It is not yet clear to what extent it was a real program and to what extent an academic exercise. M. Sjuzjumov (*VizVrem* 15 [1959] 33–49) viewed the novels as coherent legislation directed at the needs of large flourishing cities, encouraging private ownership, trade, loans, and partnerships, but ignoring the situation in the countryside.

ED. P. Noailles, A. Dain, *Les Novelles de Léon VI le Sage* (Paris 1944), with Fr. tr. C.A. Spulber, *Les Novelles de Léon le Sage* (Cernăuți 1934) 3–121, with Fr. tr.

LIT. H. Monnier, *Les Novelles de Léon le Sage* (Bordeaux-Paris 1923). K. Fledelius, "Competing Mentalities: the Legislator Leo VI at Work," 17 *CEB, Abstracts* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 116f.
–A.K.

NOVGOROD (Νοβογράδιον or Νεβογαρδάς), town on the upper Volchov; initially a northern base for the RUS' (earliest reference: *De adm. imp.* 9.4) and a prosperous commercial center until the end of the 15th C. A 15th-C. historian (Chalk. 1:122.18–21) speaks of Novgorod as an *aristokratia*, more prosperous than the other Russian cities. Direct and transit trade with Constantinople was most intense in the 10th–12th C. (esp. exports to Novgorod of glass, walnuts, boxwood, and amphorae of wine and oil). The bishopric was founded ca.990 and its incumbents gradually acquired a status somewhat apart from the other bishops of Rus'; the title "archbishop" was used sporadically from the mid-12th C.; in 1385 Novgorod refused the metropolitan of KIEV the right to overrule judgments of the archbishop, a right that KIPRIAN—supported by ambassadors from Patr. ANTONY IV—tried unsuccessfully to reclaim. Cultural ties with Byz., however, were close: the Cathedral of St. Sophia (1045–50) was built by Byz. craftsmen, and it probably included doors made in Constantinople (one of two sets of doors erroneously labeled "Chersonian"—see S. Beljaev in *Drevnjaja Rus' i slavjane* [Moscow 1978] 300–10); the 12th-C. bishops had their seals inscribed in Greek; Byz. liturgical silver from Novgorod is preserved, as are the working notes of a Greek icon painter active in Novgorod ca.1200 (B. Kolčin et al., *Usad'ba novgorodskogo chudožnika XII v.* [Moscow 1981]); and travelers and pilgrims from Novgorod produced accounts of the holy places of Constantinople (e.g., ANTONY of Novgorod).

LIT. E. Rybina, *Archeologičeskie očerki novgorodskoj torgovli X–XIV vv.* (Moscow 1978). H. Birnbaum, *Lord Novgorod the Great* (Columbus, Ohio, 1981). Ditten, *Russland-Excurs* 35–38, 147–53.
–S.C.F.

NOVICE (ῥασοφόρος), in the earlier period also called *archarios* or *neopages*, a person undergoing a period of probation before receiving the TONSURE and taking the monastic habit. In the earliest years of monasticism both PACHOMIOS and BASIL THE GREAT prescribed a brief but unspecified trial period for those wishing to take the monastic habit. The legislation of Justinian I (novs. 5, 132.5) and canon law (canon 5 of the Council of Constantinople of 861) ordained that this probationary period should range from six months to three years; some *typika* specify that the length of the trial period depended on the social rank, age, and experience of the future monk or nun, being shortest for members of the nobility. In the case of gravely ill novices, the trial period was waived and tonsure was immediate.

The minimum age for entrance into a monastery was about 16–18; in some cases younger boys and girls could be admitted. Thus, the *typikon* of CHRISTODOULOS OF PATMOS allowed boys (*paidia*) to be brought up at the monastery; if they decided to take permanent vows, they could later be tonsured (MM 6:83.10–12). Usually beardless youths were not allowed to live in the monastery and resided in monastic *proasteia*. Other categories of individuals who could be denied admission to a monastery were eunuchs, fugitive slaves, and criminals; some *hegoumenoi* were reluctant to admit children seeking to enter monastic life against the will of their parents. On the other hand, a lavish donation (*apotage, prosenexis, anathema,* etc.) might enhance one's chances of admittance, although Balsamon protested against the practice of tonsuring in exchange for a gift of money (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:632.19–28).

The novice sometimes continued to wear secular garb until the time of his or her tonsure; Blastares even imposed a fine on those who donned the monastic habit before the end of the novitiate. Balsamon prohibited a *rasophoros* to return to secular life and to marry (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:746.13–14). Novices were usually assigned to an experienced monk or nun (*anadochos*) as a spiritual mentor: when Symeon the Theologian entered the Stoudios monastery, he placed all his possessions at the feet of his PATER PNEUMATIKOS and was given a place to sleep under the stairs near his master's cell.

LIT. P. de Meester, "Le rasophorat dans le monachisme byzantin," *IzvIstDr* 16–18 (1940) 323–32. Konidares, *Nomike theorese* 88–97. Meester, *De monachico statu* 88–93, 349–62. Panagiotakos, *Dikaion* 51–70.
–A.K., A.M.T.

NOVIODUNUM (Νοβιοδούνος, mod. Isaccea in Rumania), a Roman naval station in MOESIA II, on the right bank of the Danube. Archaeologists have discovered the north wall of the fortress, with one large rectangular and seven semicircular towers; a second rampart was built in the 4th C. Baths (one from the 4th C.) and a basilical building were also excavated. Several Christian martyrs are connected with Noviodunum, among them Menerius or Menedemus (E. Polaschek, *RE* 17 [1937] 1194). A series of coins dated through the reign of Emp. Phokas confirms the functioning of the stronghold to the beginning of the 7th C. It was rebuilt during the reign of John I Tzimiskes. Byz. coins of the late 10th–13th C. have been found as well as seals, including one with the name "*despotes* Isaakios," probably Isaac II (G. Ştefan, *Dacia* 9–10 [1941–44] 482). Near Isaccea, an 11th–12th-C. cemetery was excavated that yielded Byz. coins (of Romanos III and Michael IV) and Byz. glass, bronze, and silver objects (I. Vasiliu, *Peuce* 9 [1984] 107–41). Noviodunum seems to have been an important point on the Byz. defensive system of the Danube in the 11th–12th C. Tatar coins and objects of the 13th–14th C. testify to their presence in Noviodunum.

LIT. I. Barnea, B. Mitrea, "Săpăturile de salvare de la Noviodunum," *Materiale şi cercetări arheologice* 5 (1959) 461–73. I. and A. Barnea, "Săpăturile de salvare de la Noviodunum," *Peuce* 9 (1984) 97–105. A.S. Ştefan, "Noviodunum," *Buletinul monumentelor istorice* 42 (1973) 3–14. A. Kuzev, "Prinosi kŭm istorijata na srednovekovnite kreposti po Dolnija Dunav," *IzvNarMus-Varna* 7 (1971) 77–87.
–A.K.

NOVYE SENŽARY, a town near Poltava in the Ukraine where in 1928 a "hoard" (in fact, objects from a tomb) was found; the objects disappeared during World War II. The "hoard" contained seven solidi (the latest dating to Constans II, probably before 646), weapons and armor fragments (from a saber and a coat of mail), arrowheads, harness items, a glass goblet and bowl, and gold and silver revetment. The glass vessels and a gold ring were probably of Byz. provenance. The location of this tomb, perhaps that of a nomad

warrior, is very close to that of the "hoard" of MALAJA PEREŠČEPINA.

LIT. A.T. Smilenko, "Nachodka 1928 g. v g. Novye Senžary," *Slavjane i Rus'* (Moscow 1968) 158–66. –A.K.

NOXAL ACTIONS (*νοξαλίαι ἀγωγαί*, from Lat. *actiones noxales*), suits against the owner of a delinquent slave, in which the owner—providing the DELICT had occurred without his knowledge or consent—could avoid paying compensation or penalties by surrendering the slave (*noxae datio*) to the person who had suffered the damage. The same option existed in cases of DAMAGE BY QUADRUPEDS (*Institutes* 4.8–9; *Digest* 9.1,4; *Basil.* 60.2,5). Whether the option was actually exercised in Byz. remains in doubt (despite the evidence of *Peira* 61.5).

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:430–33. –L.B.

NUBIA, general designation for the region on Egypt's southern border beginning at Syene (Aswan) and following the NILE and Blue Nile basins to an undetermined point above Soba where it bordered on the kingdom of AXUM. Circa 530, the "kinglet" (*basiliskos*) Silko consolidated power in the north by subduing the BLEMMYES. In the 6th C., Nubia was divided into three kingdoms: Nobatia in the north, Makuria in the middle, and Alodia in the south. Both Justinian I and Theodora sponsored separate Orthodox and Monophysite missions to convert Nubia between 530 and 580. The readiness to accept missions from Byz. may have stemmed from efforts to check Axum, whose Christian ruler, a sometime Byz. ally, had devastated the earlier Meroitic kingdom. The Nubian kingdoms were subject to strong influences from the emerging Coptic church of Egypt, but not to the utter exclusion of Greek Orthodoxy. The Arab conquests cut off Nubia from further contact with Byz., but Greek continued to be used in inscriptions and Byz. influences on church art are generally acknowledged. The two northern kingdoms, united ca.710, remained independent and Christian until 1323. The kingdom of Soba survived until the 15th C. Islamization followed upon their conquests.

Robert de Clari relates that at the court of Isaac II and Alexios IV he saw a Nubian king ("li rois de Nubie") who visited Jerusalem and Constantinople and was planning to continue to Rome and Spain. He ruled over a Christian people who dwelt far south of Jerusalem, baptized their children, and branded with a hot iron the sign of the cross on their brows. This pilgrimage took place ca.1203, and the king can probably be identified as Lalibela, the Ethiopian ruler of the second half of the 12th C. known for his pilgrimage to Jerusalem and active construction of churches (B. Hendrickx, *Byzantina* 13.2 [1985] 893–98; cf. B. Rostkowska in P. van Moorsel, *New Discoveries in Nubia* [Leiden 1982] 113–16).

LIT. P. Shinnie, "Christian Nubia," in *CHAfr* 2:556–88, 764–66. D.G. Letsios, *Byzantio kai Erythra Thalassa* (Athens 1988). –D.W.J., A.K.

NUDE, THE. Unlike classical authors the Byz. tried to avoid describing the naked body: a typical example of Byz. caution is Niketas Choniates' reference to the statue of Athena in Constantinople, which he praises for being covered with a heavy garment. Byz. COSTUME concealed rather than exposed the body. Contrary opinions were rare: thus SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, in a hymn, proclaimed that Christ is present in every limb of the human body, even in the genitalia, and that therefore we should not be ashamed of our bodies. The *History* of Choniates contains no less than 17 words for various organs of the body connected with SEXUALITY and excretory activity. Hagiographical texts often describe the apprehension experienced by pious men before the naked female body and praise holy men who showed themselves indifferent toward nakedness: John Moschos tells a story about a priest who was unable to baptize a beautiful Persian girl until John the Baptist sealed his body from the navel down with the sign of the cross; the priest then baptized the girl without even noticing that she was female (PG 87:2853D-2856B). Suppressed interest in the human body is sometimes revealed by criticism of classical and Islamic imagery.

In Byz. art, the nude is marked less by its rarity than by its cautious treatment. The nude form that is customary in Greek and Roman art survived in late antiquity—as on an ivory diptych in Ravenna (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten,* no.125) where Jonah is shown naked and fully sexed under the gourd—but in Byz. art was employed in greatly reduced numbers or else dressed, as in the same scene in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p. 59). Similarly, Christ appears naked in the baptistery mosaics of Ravenna, his genitals visible through the Jordan, while in and after the 9th C. his groin is obscured. No matter what the period, it is the identity and function of the nude that seems to have determined the frankness with which the body was treated. Some images of female martyrdom, for example, depict mutilated breasts, and women in Last Judgments are suckled by snakes or frogs.

The pudenda are usually concealed by other parts of the body or by foliage in Creation scenes; where they are exposed, as on a ivory-clad casket in Cleveland, Adam and Eve, expelled from Paradise, have identical genitalia. The Byz. knew Hellenistic works of art with naked *erotes*, such as the Tetrapleuron (Nik. Chon. 648.52–54) preserved until the 15th C. in Constantinople; putti on some Byz. boxes are shown fully exposed.

Nudity could suggest an equation with sin and sickness: JOB is covered with sores until he finds the true path. Similarly, the desolation of the Good Samaritan in the ROSSANO GOSPELS (fol.7v) is denoted by his nakedness. Conversely in a scene that called for nudity, the FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA are normally shown half-clothed. Generally, the naked body is treated diagrammatically, emphasizing such linear features as the spine and the diaphragm, though in deliberately classicizing works such as the silver Meleager and Atalanta plate, dating from the reign of Herakleios, its volumetric qualities are observed.

LIT. J. & D. Winfield, *Proportion and Structure of the Human Figure in Byzantine Wall Painting and Mosaic* [= *BAR* Int. Ser. 154] (Oxford 1982) 41–47. A. Kazhdan, "Der Körper im Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing, D. Simon (Munich 1990) 91–105. –A.C., A.K.

NUʿMĀN, AL-. See NAMAAN.

NUMBERS. The Greek notation used to represent numbers consisted of the 24 normal letters of the Greek alphabet plus three archaic letters. The 27 resulting characters were arranged in three series of nine numbers each: units, tens, and hundreds. The three archaic letters were digamma (normally written in MSS as ϛ and from this form known as stigma), koppa, and sampi (see Table). The addition of diacritical marks produced further sets of three series of higher orders. Thus each of the above 27 numbers is multiplied by 1,000 by the addition of a stroke to the lower left; e.g., $\,\bar{\alpha} = 1000$ and $\,\bar{\omega} = 800{,}000$. In this way numbers of any magnitude could, in theory, be expressed symbolically. In fact, the highest numbers normally in use were products of the members of the first set and 10,000. In order to express these products one wrote the smaller number above the letter M; for example, $\overset{\epsilon}{\mathrm{M}} = 50{,}000$ and $\overset{\omega}{\mathrm{M}} = 8{,}000{,}000$.

The Greek Mathematical Notation System

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
units	ᾱ	β̄	γ̄	δ̄	ε̄	ϛ̄	ζ̄	η̄	θ̄
tens	ῑ	κ̄	λ̄	μ̄	ν̄	ξ̄	ο̄	π̄	ϙ̄
hundreds	ρ̄	σ̄	τ̄	ῡ	φ̄	χ̄	ψ̄	ω̄	ϡ̄

Fractional numbers were written as unit fractions in the manner of the Egyptians, except for 2/3, Γ^{β}. There was also a special symbol for 1/2, ʹ or ͵. Since the numerators of the fractions were always 1, they did not need to be expressed. An integer number was often distinguished from a unit fraction by placing a bar over the integer, an acute accent after the fraction; e.g., $\bar{\delta} = 4$ and $\delta' = 1/4$. Fractions whose numerators were not 1 were analyzed as the sum of several unit fractions; e.g., $\delta'\eta' = 1/4 + 1/8 = 3/8$.

From antiquity the Greeks had also employed their letter numbers for 1 through 59 to express the sexagesimal place value system introduced into astronomy by the Babylonians. In this system each place represents a power of 60, a positive power to the left of zero and a negative to the right. The absence of a number in any place was represented by the symbol ō; in pure sexagesimal writing this could not be confused with the integer number represented by omicron, 70, since no number higher than 59 could ever be written in any place. Thus, the motion of Saturn in 30 days, for instance, would be written: $\bar{\alpha}\bar{o}\ \bar{\imath}\bar{\varsigma}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\varepsilon}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\delta}\ \bar{\kappa}\bar{\varepsilon}\ \bar{\lambda} = 1 + 0 \times 60^{-1} + 16 \times 60^{-2} + 45 \times 60^{-3} + 44 \times 60^{-4} + 25 \times 60^{-5} + 30 \times 60^{-6}$.

In the middle of the 13th C. the Indian decimal place value system was introduced into Byz. together with the ten symbols necessary for writing it. The older systems coexisted with this new one until after 1453; and, of course, the sexagesimal system continued to be used in ASTRONOMY, horology, and trigonometry. –D.P.

NUMBER SYMBOLISM AND THEORY. Numbers played an important part in Pythagorean and Neoplatonic philosophy, and Christian theologians inherited the problem of the transition from the monad of God to the multitude in the created world. The mystery of the TRINITY (three hypostases of one nature) and the mystery of Christ (two natures united in one hypostasis) formed the bridge from the One to the cosmos and multifarious mankind. Then the question arose whether the number as such was a substance or only the form/measurement. JOHN OF DAMASCUS, in his polemics against the Monophysites (*Aceph.* 4.3–6, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:412), rejects the idea that number is the principle (*arche*) of division; it is rather a "heaping up" or "pouring forth" of individual "monads," and thus union and not division (*Jacob.* 50.2–3, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:124). John used the argument to support the doctrine of the unity of two natures in Christ.

The Byz. ascribed a particular significance, sometimes mysterious or magical, to various numbers, esp. one (one God, one cosmos, one *basileus*), two (two natures in Christ), and three: besides the Trinity, they observed an angelic hierarchy divided into three orders, the three days of Christ's entombment, triple immersion at baptism, three kinds of law (of nature, of Moses, and of grace), etc. Four characterized the elements, quarters of the world, and cardinal virtues; seven indicated perfection (seven virtues); eight, as the cube of two, was an ideal number. For JOHN LYDOS and many astrologers thereafter the numbers three, nine, and forty defined the stages of conception, mortality, the progress of the soul, and liturgical commemoration (G. Dagron in *Temps chrétien* 419–30). Symbolic interpretation was popular in rhetoric and used for political propaganda. For instance, at the beginning of Constantine IV's reign, the army demanded that he proclaim his brothers Tiberios and Herakleios emperors; the request was justified in terms of number symbolism. The soldiers announced, "We believe in the Trinity, we will crown three rulers" (Theoph. 352.15f).

Number symbolism also played a pervasive role in art and architecture: obvious allusion to the Trinity is made in triple apses, naves, and doors. Biblical descriptions of the four corners of the world, rivers of Paradise, and winds were staples of book illustration, and fivefold symmetry an essential aspect of the NEA EKKLESIA and the PENTAPYRGION. The varying number of apostles at different times in Christ's earthly life was interpreted in a hymn on the cathedral of Edessa as underlying the architectural form of its members. Eight sides, symbolizing the Resurrection, were traditional for baptismal FONTS, while the ideal church, according to the 5th-C. *Testamentum Domini*, included a baptistery 21 cubits long "for the total number of the prophets" and 12 cubits wide "for a type of those . . . appointed to preach the Gospel."

LIT. F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Leipzig-Berlin 1925; rp. Leipzig 1975). E. Reiss, "Number Symbolism and Medieval Literature," *MedHum* n.s. 1 (1970) 161–74. –A.K., A.C.

NUMIDIA (Νουμιδία), a province situated to the west and south of AFRICA PROCONSULARIS. Under Diocletian, Numidia was divided into two provinces: Numidia Militana, comprising the military frontier in the south, and Numidia Cirtensis, the Tell and High Plains around Cirta. In 314 this arrangement was abandoned and the province reunited. Numidia was remote and not particularly wealthy. This atmosphere bred in the province a fervent conservatism and resistance to central authority, manifested by the DONATIST movement and within it the Circumcellions. In 435 Numidia was ceded to the VANDALS. Although returned to the imperial government in 442, the eastern and southern parts of Numidia evidently remained under Vandal control. In the late 5th C. MAURI tribes from the Aures Mountains sacked THAMUGADI and frequently raided as far as Cirta, renamed Constantina.

Byz. authority over the province was established through a series of campaigns (534–41) under Justinian I. The *dux* of Numidia exercised a substantial circumscription, which probably included parts of MAURITANIA and the proconsular province. The military importance of Numidia is evidenced by the fact that some holders of the office went on to become *magistri militum* of Africa. Numerous forts were built under Justinian to secure Numidia against the largely autonomous tribes, although no conflicts are recorded after ca.571. A Latin inscription from Thamugadi mentions the construction of a church, sometime between 642 and 647, by Gregory *patricius* (presumably GREGORY, the exarch) and John, *dux* of Tigisis, the last reference to Byz. official activity in Numidia. The first Arab incursion in 682 resulted in a Mauri-Byz. victory at Thabudeos, but by then imperial authority in Numidia was in name only.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 61f. Diehl, *L'Afrique* 237–54. M. Janon, "L'Aures au VIe siècle: Note sur le récit de Procope," *AntAfr* 15 (1980) 345–51. –R.B.H.

NUMISMATICS (from *νόμισμα*), the study of COINS and of coinlike objects such as coin weights (EXAGIA), tokens, jettons, and medals. In practice, Byz. numismatics is limited to coins and coin weights, for there are no Byz. medals or jettons, and while objects have been published that may have served as tokens, their nature is uncertain and they have yet to be systematically studied. In like manner the discipline does not include Byz. gold and lead *bullae*, although these resemble coins in metal composition and in design; bullae form the domain of SIGILLOGRAPHY. Byz. coins become available to scholars through COIN FINDS, the study of which is almost a specialized subject in itself.

Byz. numismatics is in one respect simple, since for most periods coins have survived in large numbers and the great majority can be assigned to specific emperors. Many of the copper coins from 539 to the end of the 7th C. even bear regnal or indictional dates, and this is occasionally the case for coins of other metals. But the scholar is hampered by the total absence of MINT records and the paucity of commercial documents, so that it is often not known how the coins of different metals were related to each other or even what some of them were called. A statistical study of the proportions of coins struck by the same dies in particular samples of coin allows one to determine, within a wide margin of error, the number of dies originally used for issues and, consequently, their comparable sizes. The attempts, however, of some numismatists (e.g., O. Metcalf, *Byzantion* 37 [1967] 288–95) to turn these into absolute figures with the help of coin-output information from other countries and periods has not met with universal acceptance.

Coins of a single denomination and issue were theoretically uniform in weight and fineness. Weight was originally defined in terms of the number (e.g., 72 for the SOLIDUS) struck to the Romano-Byz. pound (see LITRA). As absolute uniformity was impossible in practice, coins were always a little above or below the average figure; the limits of authorized variation were probably very small in the case of gold coins, less for silver, and probably undefined for copper, where individual specimens of the same issue and in good condition can vary by as much as 50 percent. Original weights are best ascertained by constructing a frequency table of the weights of a number of actual specimens and determining where the largest concentration occurs, but because surviving coins are always worn, even if only slightly, the result will fall short of the original theoretical weight. A further allowance, necessarily somewhat subjective in character, has consequently to be made for wear. Figures for fineness are usually difficult to ascertain. The purity of gold was in the past usually checked by the touchstone, and specific gravity methods, commonly used today, give results sufficiently accurate for scholarly purposes, but more refined procedures (neutron activation, X-ray fluorescence) are employed when possible. Direct chemical analysis is usually avoided, except for copper and silver coins of little value, because of the inevitable injury to the coins.

Because the state issued the coins, their inscriptions and designs could be used for propaganda purposes and they sometimes throw light on imperial claims or policy. (See also "Thematic Content" and "Language" under COINS.) One may instance the introduction of the full title *basileus Romaion* on the silver miliaresion after Michael II recognized Charlemagne as *basileus* (but not *Romaion*) in 812, and that of the title *orthodoxos* on coins of Michael VI (1056–57) and Isaac I (1057–59) in the decade following the breach with Rome in 1054. The way in which emperors were represented shows the way in which they wished their subjects to see them and elucidates the evolution of imperial costume and insignia (G.P. Galavaris, *MN* 8 [1958] 99–117). From the 9th C. onward coin types often consisted of representations of Christ and of the Virgin and other saints, and because these can be dated with greater certainty than most other works of art, the variety of types used and their evolution can be of great value to the art historian.

LIT. P. Grierson, "Byzantine Coins as Source Material," 13 *CEB* (Oxford 1966) 317–33. Idem, *Numismatics* (London 1975) 140–61. *DOC* 3:94–97, 106–76. C. Morrisson et al., *L'or monnayé. I. Purification et altérations de Rome à Byzance* (Paris 1985). –Ph.G.

NUMMUS (*νουμμίον*), a Latin term meaning "coin" but often used for a specific denomination. In the period of the Tetrarchy it was apparently the official name of the large bronze coins of approximately 10 g, which numismatists have long been accustomed to term *folles*. In the 5th–6th C., *nummus* was the name of the lowest denomination in circulation, a tiny, ill-struck copper coin weighing approximately 1 g that in a document of 445 was reckoned 1/7,200 of the SOLIDUS but more frequently was 1/6,000 or 1/12,000. The usual reverse type was an imperial monogram, but its identity as a unit is shown by some nummi of Justinian I bearing instead the letter *A* (= 1). The denomination ceased to be struck at Constantinople in the late 6th C. and in North Africa during the 7th C., but it remained notionally in use as a money of account, 1/6,000 of the solidus, or sometimes as a generic term for small change (*νοῦμμοι λεπτοί*—Psellos in PG 122:956A).

LIT. H.L. Adelson, G.L. Kustas, *A Bronze Hoard of the Period of Zeno I* (New York 1962). J.D. MacIsaac, "The Weight of the Late 4th and Early 5th Century Nummus (AE 4)," *MN* 18 (1972) 59–66. Hendy, *Economy* 475–90. –Ph.G.

NUN. Nuns of the convent of the Virgin Bebaias Elpidos. Miniature in the *typikon* of the Bebaias Elpidos nunnery (Lincoln College, Oxford, gr. 35, fol.12r); 14th C. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

NUN (*μοναχή, καλόγραια*), a woman who renounced the world and entered a cenobitic NUNNERY. As was the case with MONKS, women could become nuns at several stages of life, as young maidens or as middle-aged and elderly widows. Women donned the monastic habit for many reasons: a true vocation, gratitude for a miraculous cure, loneliness, or illness. It was quite usual for women to take vows when they were widowed or when their husbands were confined in a monastery; in the convent they found both spiritual and material support for their old age.

Rules on the duration of the novitiate (see NOVICE) varied from convent to convent; the canonical length was three years, but this was reduced to six months or a year for mature and experienced women of proven character. The minimum age for final profession was normally 16. At the time of her vows it was customary for a nun to take a new name, usually beginning with the same letter as her given Christian name, for example, Theodora–Theodoule. The nun's habit consisted of a black tunic (the *himation*), an outer cloak (the *mandyas*), and veil or headcovering (the *skepe*). Nuns were divided into two classes: the literate were assigned to service as choir sisters; those unable to read were responsible for housekeeping duties.

LIT. A.M. Talbot, "Late Byzantine Nuns: By Choice or Necessity?" *ByzF* 9 (1985) 103–17. R. Janin, "Le monasticisme au moyen âge. Commende et typika (Xe–XVe siècle)," *REB* 22 (1964) 36–42. –A.M.T.

NUNNERY (*γυναικεία μονή, γυναικωνῖτις*). The development of female MONASTERIES paralleled that of their male counterparts. Among the earliest 4th-C. convents were a large nunnery in Egypt organized in accordance with the precepts of PACHOMIOS and a nunnery founded in Asia Minor by Makrina, based on the rule of her brother, BASIL THE GREAT of Caesarea. Nunneries represented a relatively small proportion of Byz. monasteries, perhaps 15 percent, and in later centuries were concentrated in Constantinople, where they esp. attracted women from aristocratic and imperial families. Convents were prohibited on ATHOS and METEORA and discouraged on the other HOLY MOUNTAINS.

Typika are preserved for six nunneries, including KECHARITOMENE, LIPS, BEBAIAS ELPIDOS, and the convent founded by Neilos DAMILAS; their rules are similar to those of male monasteries, and emphasize the ideal of the KOINOBION. The *typika* enjoin strict enclosure and segregation of the sexes, and a twofold division of the community of NUNS into choir sisters and those responsible for housekeeping duties. The officials are also similar, for example, superior (*hegoumene*; see HEGOUMENOS), steward (OIKONOMOS), cellarer, and treasurer. In contrast to monasteries that had resident HIEROMONACHOI to conduct services, nunneries had to bring in priests from outside. Unlike male establishments, nunneries supported few intellectual or artistic pursuits (A.M. Talbot in *Okeanos* 604–18). The important function of convents was the refuge and support they provided to women with a true vocation, and to the sick, widowed, and elderly. (See also MONASTERY, DOUBLE.)

LIT. A.M. Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women," *GOrThR* 30 (1985) 1–20. A. Weyl Carr, "Women and Monasticism in Byzantium," *ByzF* 9 (1985) 1–15. F. Dölger, "Aus dem Wirtschaftsleben eines Frauenklosters in der byzantinischen Provinz," in Dölger, *Paraspora* 350–57. E. Papagianne, "Oi klerikoi ton Byzantinon gynaikeion monon kai to abato," *Byzantiaka* 6 (1986) 75–93. –A.M.T.

NŪR AL-DĪN (*Νουραδίν*), *atabeg* of Aleppo and (from 1154) Damascus and (from 1169) nominal ruler of Egypt; born Feb. 1118, died Damascus 15 May 1174. Son of ZANGĪ, he succeeded his father at Aleppo and devoted himself to fighting the CRUSADER STATES. In 1151 he and MAS'ŪD I seized the remnants of the county of EDESSA, which belonged to MANUEL I. In Nov. 1158 Nūr al-Dīn's envoys attended Manuel's humiliation of Renaud of Antioch at Mopsuestia; Manuel sent a friendly embassy that reached Nūr al-Dīn in Mar. 1159. Manuel needed Nūr al-Dīn to oppose the Crusaders in the princedom of ANTIOCH, so that the latter would rely on Byz. aid. Thus, while in Apr.–May 1159 Manuel, Baldwin III, and Renaud advanced toward Aleppo, negotiations with Nūr al-Dīn continued. In May 1159 Nūr al-Dīn released several Crusader leaders and thousands of other captives. He and Manuel agreed to support the DANIŞMENDIDS against KILIC ARSLAN II; cooperation continued until 1161. In 1164 Nūr al-Dīn crushed an alliance, which included Constantine KALAMANOS (Byz. governor of Cilicia), and captured Kalamanos.

LIT. N. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn, Un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades (511–569 H./1118–1174)*, 3 vols. (Damascus 1967). –C.M.B.

NYMPHAEUM (*νυμφαῖον*), a monumental fountain set against a wall articulated with niches, often decorated with columns and statuary. The *nymphaeum* was adopted from Roman architecture, though its original association with pagan nymphs was lost by the late 4th C., when the term meant no more than a fountain. The NOTITIA URBIS CONSTANTINOPOLITANAE of ca.425 list four *nymphaea* in Constantinople. Of these the most important was the Nymphaeum Maius, which functioned as the termination of the Aqueduct of Valens in the Forum Tauri; it survived as late as the mid-16th C. In addition to decorating public places, *nymphaea* were sometimes incorporated into the ATRIA of churches. A large *nymphaeum* occupied the west side of the atrium of Basilica A at Philippi (ca.500), taking over the function of the traditional smaller *kantharos* (fountain).

LIT. S. Settis, " 'Esedra' e 'ninfeo' nella terminologia architettonica del mondo romano," *ANRW* 1.4 (Berlin 1973) 661–745. Janin, *CP byz.* 200f. –M.J.

NYMPHAION (*Νύμφαιον*, now Kemalpaşa [formerly Nif]), city of Lydia in western Asia Minor. Nymphaion is first mentioned by Anna Komnene in connection with the operations of Eumathios PHILOKALES against the Turks in 1108. It became important as the favorite residence of the Laskarid emperors, esp. John III Vatatzes, who regularly wintered at Nymphaion and died there. Theodore II and Michael VIII, both proclaimed emperor at Nymphaion, also spent winters there. In 1261, the Byz. signed a treaty there with the Genoese (see NYMPHAION, TREATY OF). The city became a major base for defense against the Turks in the late 13th C.; Andronikos II resided there between 1292 and 1294, and in 1296 Nymphaion was headquarters for Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS. It fell to the Turks of SARUHAN in 1315. A bish-

opric since the 12th C., Nymphaion became archbishopric in the 13th C. The council of 1234 convoked in Nicaea to discuss church union was transferred to Nymphaion (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1273–76).

Nymphaion contains the well-preserved palace of the Laskarids, a rectangular structure of four stories, built outside the city, apparently by John III. Its first floor, which has large windows and three rooms, was evidently the main reception area; upper floors, similar in plan, were reached by a monumental exterior stairway. The palace was built of rubble faced with regularly alternating ashlar and brick bands; it was roofed with timber. The castle above the town is Byz. with several phases of construction, mostly of the 13th C.

LIT. C. Foss, "Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 309–12, 316–20. H. Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," *ibid.* 263–68. T. Kirova, "Un palazzo ed una casa di età tardo-bizantina in Asia Minore," *FelRav* 103–04 (1972) 275–305. –C.F.

NYMPHAION, TREATY OF. This agreement between Byz. and GENOA was signed in Nymphaion on 13 March 1261 and ratified in Genoa on 10 July 1261 (just one month before the Byz. reconquest of Constantinople). The text has survived only in two Latin versions. Main articles of the treaty established a permanent alliance of the two powers, and both parties vowed not to conclude separate peace with VENICE; a Genoese flotilla of up to 50 battleships was to be placed at the disposal of the emperor but at his expense; the Genoese received trade privileges, including marketplaces in Ephesus, Smyrna, Atramyttion, and—after the reconquest—in Constantinople; their property received legal protection (also in case of a shipwreck); their conflicts were to be judged by Genoese consuls.

The treaty was directed against Venice and was advantageous for the Genoese, who before 1261 had not done much business with Byz. but traded actively with northern Africa, Provence, and the Levant. In the 1250s their commercial position in these regions became endangered and Genoa was in search of new markets—the alliance with Byz. opened up to them not only Asia Minor and eventually the Balkans, but also the Black Sea and new routes east and north. Michael VIII Palaiologos, who was striving to recover Constantinople from the Latins, was ready to pay a high price for naval support of his attack, choosing to disregard the fact that Genoa was gaining more from the treaty than it was giving in return. In fact, however, Michael VIII did not need Genoese help to recover Constantinople. The treaty of Nymphaion marks the beginning of a strong Genoese presence in the Byz. Empire and the Black Sea area.

ED. C. Manfroni, *Le relazioni fra Genova, l'impero bizantino e i Turchi* (Genoa 1896) 791–809.
LIT. *Reg* 3, no.1890. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 81–91. M. Balard, *La mer Noire et la Romanie génoise: XIIIe–XVe siècles* (London 1989), pt.I (1966), 486–89. –A.K.

NYMPHS, in Greek mythology female spirits of nature, esp. of water and trees. Faithful to classical mythology, HIMERIOS, in his *epithalamios* to Severos (ed. A. Colonna, or. 9:255–58), introduces a band of nymphs dancing together with NEREIDS (the sea nymphs) and dryads (the tree nymphs), with SATYRS, PAN, DIONYSOS, and APHRODITE herself. Nymphs, esp. naiads (water nymphs that live in springs and streams) and hamadryads (wood nymphs), frequently appear in the *Dionysiaka* of Nonnos. As early as the 4th C. (Himerios, or.66.12–13) tree nymphs (dryads and hamadryads) began to be equated with "mountain-haunting demons," and later the image of the nymph as a beautiful female spirit disappeared from Byz. literature. In painting she is almost as rare, appearing only in the most classicizing of contexts: a blue-skinned nymph spies on David the musician in the PARIS PSALTER (fol.1v).

However, the Greek word *nymphe* also meant bride, and the image of the bride (the Church as Christ's *nymphe*) occupied an important place in Christian symbolism. Visual transformations of this sort include the midwives at Christ's nativity modeled, according to Weitzmann (*Gr.Myth.* 206), on the nymphs who wash the newborn Dionysos. –A.K., A.C.

NYSSA (Νύσσα), name of two cities notable in Byz. times.

1. *City in northwest Cappadocia,* south of the Halys near the village of Harmandali. This city entered history when GREGORY OF NYSSA was its bishop (372–76, 378–ca.386). Nyssa was destroyed by the Arabs in 838 but was restored by the time Leo VI transferred the *topoteresia* (garrison post?) of Nyssa from Cappadocia to CHARSIANON. The Turks took it after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The site contains only some remains of its fortifications. Many bishops and one archbishop are mentioned on seals of the 7th–11th C.; they may have come from this Nyssa or Nyssa in Lydia (see below).

2. *City in Lydia* on the north bank of the Meander, now Sultanhisar. A bishopric throughout the Byz. period, it played no role in history, but preserves substantial remains of the late antique city as well as fortifications that appear to be of the 7th/8th C. It fell to the Turks ca.1282.

LIT. **1.** *TIB* 2:246–48.
LIT. **2.** W. von Diest, *Nysa ad Maeandrum* (Berlin 1913). –C.F.

O

OATH (ὅρκος). As an assertion of the truth, a strengthening of an agreement, or a guarantee of future conduct, the oath was widely used in the private and public life of the Byz. Theological discussions concerning the New Testament prohibition against oaths (Mt 5:33–37) appear to have resulted merely in the avoidance of "superfluous" oaths, in the use of oathlike formulas, and the release of the higher clergy from having to swear oaths. In the area of "state law," oaths of office and the closely related oaths of fealty were routinely administered. Emperors required the latter from individuals as well as from social organizations or groups: the oath of fealty often served not only to secure the power of the reigning senior emperor but also to establish dynastic succession (cf. Theoph. 449f). From the Crusaders came oaths of allegiance. The emperor himself often resorted to oaths to strengthen political and even international agreements; the corresponding documents were sometimes referred to as *horkomotika*. In the area of trial law the Romans used a profuse variety of oaths, some of which fell into disuse; yet Empress Irene's pious attempt at abolishing the witness-oath ultimately failed. The oath laid upon one party to a litigation by the other or imposed by the judge was deemed an indispensable form of proof. As a rule an oath was sworn on a Gospel book, often inside a church. The oath formula varied; there were specific oaths for Jews (Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.XIV [1965], 137–56). Perjury was considered a serious crime whose punishment was sometimes left to God as the injured party, sometimes threatened in full severity by the earthly powers.

LIT. Svoronos, *Etudes*, pt.VI (1951), 106–42. Oikonomides, *Documents*, pt.III (1963), 101–28. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 399–425. S.N. Troianos, "Symbole eis ten ereunan ton hypo ton Byzantinon autokratoron parechomenon enorkon engyeseon," *Epeteris tou kentrou ereunes tes historias tou Hellenikou dikaiou tes Akademias Athenon* 12 (1965) 130–68. Koukoules, *Bios* 3:346–75. Pryor, "Oaths" 111–41. E. Chrysos, "Henas horkos pisteos ston autokratora Anastasion," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:5–22. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 335f.
–L.B.

OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS, conventional name for the Egyptian obelisk of Tuthmosis III (1490–1436 B.C.) brought to Constantinople from Karnak no later than the reign of Constantine I and erected on the *spina* (central axis) of the HIPPODROME in 390 under Theodosios I. It rests on a late 4th-C. sculpted marble base, which is slightly more than 7 sq. m. Reliefs on all four sides of the main part of the pedestal show the emperor and his court attending the games. The emperor's central position, and the frontally or symmetrically disposed guards, prisoners, and spectators about him all suggest a ceremonial rather than a realistic intent for the imagery. On the lower part of the base Greek and Latin inscriptions relate how the obelisk was raised in 32 days when Proklos was eparch of the city, probably to mark Theodosios's victory over MAXIMUS and Victor (*extinctis tyrannis*) in 389; other reliefs on this part of the base depict the mechanics of its erection (H. Wrede in *IstMitt* 16 [1966] 178–98). As the best-preserved secular monument of its period in the city, the obelisk base is usually treated as a key work of the Theodosian "Renaissance" (see SCULPTURE). Its political interpretation has been less developed by scholars, although M. McCormick (*Eternal Victory* 45f, 116) has placed its erection and inscriptions in the context of imperial TRIUMPHS.

LIT. E. Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen 1972) 9–33. G. Bruns, *Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel* (Istanbul 1935). Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 65f, 71f. J. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit* (Berlin 1941) 115–21. Grabar, *Sculptures* I, 25–28.
–A.C.

OBLATION. See PROSPHORA.

OBLIGATION (ἐνοχή), in Roman law, the relationship between two people in which one (*debitor*) was obliged to furnish some sort of payment or other effects to the other (*creditor*). Grounds for an obligation were initially classified according to categories of basic human interaction (peaceful or

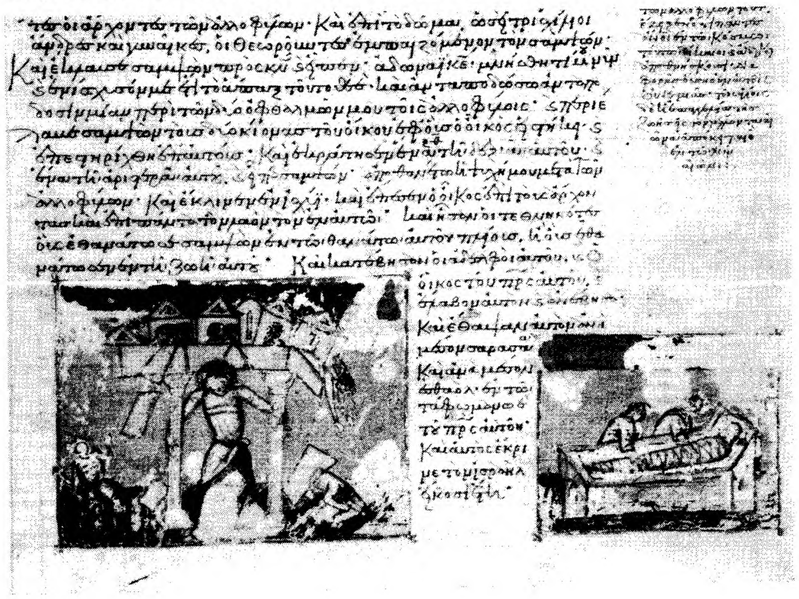
aggressive) into obligations that had been agreed upon (*ex contractu*) and those that resulted from an injury (*ex delicto*). Through the definitions and distinctions worked out by the jurists, this initial concept was developed into a general liability scheme for CONTRACT and DELICT obligations, whose fundamental idea is that not every case of damage should require compensation nor should every agreement lead to contractual responsibilities. The limitation is accomplished technically through the establishment of certain acts and the corresponding right to bring suit (ACTION). Byz. legal science preserved this concept in principle in the Justinianic period (whether—and, in that case, how—it also differentiated and transformed it is extremely controversial) and revived it again in the 10th–11th C. Juridical practice, not at all unsupported by imperial legislation (e.g., *Cod. Just.* VIII 37.10; *Nov. Leo VI* 72), went, at least in the area of contract obligation, in another direction and finally decided to recognize the binding nature and enforceability of every contract whose agreement and nonfulfillment were demonstrable (*pacta sunt servanda*). The delict obligations degenerated, since Byz. criminal law recognized not only public punishment but also the payment of compensation, and because civil and criminal procedures were handled according to very similar regulations and before the same judicial bodies.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:322–440 (§253). Zachariä, *Geschichte* 283–322. Taubenschlag, *Law of GRE* 292–301.
–D.S.

OBOL. See FOLLIS.

OCTATEUCH (Ὀκτάτευχος, lit. "eight-book"), the first eight books of the OLD TESTAMENT comprising the Pentateuch together with Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. These existed as a separate volume from at least the 9th/10th C., the date of the earliest, unillustrated example preserved. Six illustrated Octateuchs survive, one of which, the 11th-C. Florence, Laur. Plut. 5.38, has miniatures only as far as Genesis 3 (Expulsion from Paradise) and is not closely related to the other five MSS. They were made in the mid-11th C. (Vat. gr. 747), the 12th (formerly Smyrna A.1, Istanbul Topkapı gr. 8, Vat. gr. 746), and the late 13th (Athos, Vatop. 602). Their importance lies in their

OCTATEUCH. Miniatures from an Octateuch manuscript (Vat. gr. 747, fol.251r); 11th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The miniatures depict Sampson destroying the temple of the Philistines and the death of Sampson.



extensive cycle of about 375 miniatures, distributed throughout the eight books, but most numerous in GENESIS. They range from common scenes, such as the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, to unique illustrations of obscure texts, such as the Daughters of Zelophehad Given Their Inheritance (Jos 17:3–6) in which the land is surveyed and measured with chains. Some scenes may offer visual clues to the realities of EVERYDAY LIFE in Byz.

The relationship of the MSS to one another and to the 10th-C. JOSHUA ROLL is complex and controversial. Around the Octateuch MSS, Weitzmann arranged examples of related iconography to create a recension, often referred to in studies of OLD TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION. He believes it existed already by the date of the paintings at DURA EUROPOS and derived from the milieu of hellenized Judaism. It is questionable, however, whether the early existence of one or even several scenes related to the Octateuch, as at S. Maria Maggiore in Rome (432–40), should be taken to imply the existence of the entire Octateuch cycle, as exemplified in the surviving MSS. Detailed studies of small groups of scenes in the Octateuch MSS have been made (e.g., those of the CREATION and those related to the KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES MSS—C. Hahn, *CahArch* 28 [1979] 29–40), but an investigation of the entire cycle is still awaited. Two of the MSS, Vat. gr. 746 and 747, remain largely unpublished.

LIT. Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll*. J. Lowden, "The Production of the Vatopedi Octateuch," *DOP* 36 (1982) 115–26. F. Ouspensky, *L'Octateuque de la bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople* (Sofia 1907). D.-C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne* (Leiden 1909). J.C. Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master," *DOP* 36 (1982) 83–114. –J.H.L.

OCTAVA (ὀκτᾶβα, from Lat. "the eighth part"), a tax mentioned in several laws of the *Codex Justinianus* from 227 to 457–65. The term must designate a charge of 12.5 percent, but it is difficult to determine whether it was a tax levied in the *portorium* (harbor), that is, a predecessor of the later KOMMERKION, or, as Millet (*infra*) suggested, a sales tax. Another difficulty is the high rate of the *octava*: Millet, contradicting his own theory, demonstrated that the regular sales tax in Egypt was only 2 percent; the normal customs tax in the Roman Empire was also 2 or 2.5 percent (F. Vittinghoff, *RE* 22 [1953] 380), significantly lower than the *octava*. Antoniadis-Bibicou (*infra* 73) theorizes that in the late Roman Empire the difference between the tax on merchandise and customs duties was confused and the same official was entrusted with the collection of both. A tax collector called *octavarius* or *oktabereos* appears in laws and in an inscription of the 4th–5th C. (Grégoire, *Inscriptions*, no.10) in which he seems to be somehow connected with the storage (?) of *kommerkion*.

LIT. G. Millet, "L'octava: Impôt sur les ventes dans le Bas-Empire," in *Mélanges Gustave Glotz*, vol. 2 (Paris 1932) 615–43. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 59–74, 163f.
–A.K.

ODE. See KANON; ODES.

ODELJAN, PETER. See DELJAN, PETER.

ODES, certain songs or prayers in song form (i.e., Odes/Canticles), principally from the Old Testament, were central in the liturgy and offices. They are gathered together at the end of PSALTER MSS, emphasizing the liturgical/devotional character of that book. The selection of odes varies, but includes a basic nine (Ex 15:1–19; Dt 32:1–43; 1 Kg 2:1–10; Hab 3:2–19; Is 26:1–20; Jon 2:3–10; Dan 3:26–45, 52–88 [LXX numbering]; Lk 1:46–55, 68–79). Why further odes such as those of Hezekiah (Is 38:10–20) and Manasses (apocryphal) were added in certain MSS is unclear, although it implies a variety of liturgical usage. Some illustrated MSS, such as the Khludov Psalter, show by the minuscule rescript (12th C.?) of the original 9th-C. text of selected odes that the book's usage changed over time.

Illustration. The illustration of odes is an important aspect of Byz. Psalter illustration. Weitzmann has suggested that the illustrations to the odes, like the texts themselves, were taken over from their original context, i.e., in MSS with illustrations to Exodus, Deuteronomy, etc. The subjects selected for representation are usually popular narrative compositions (e.g., CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, THREE HEBREWS in the Fiery Furnace), or single figures of the "composer" of the song (e.g., Hannah, Habakkuk) making a gesture of speech or prayer.

LIT. H. Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum," *Biblica* 30 (1949) 28–65, 239–72, 433–52 [title varies]. K. Weitzmann, "The Ode Pictures of the Aristocratic Psalter Recension," *DOP* 30 (1976) 65–84. –J.H.L.

ODESSOS. See VARNA.

ODOACER (Ὀδόακρος), also Odovacer, ruler of Italy (from 23 Aug. 476); born ca.433, died Ravenna 16 March 493. Of Hunnic or Skirian origin (B. Macbain, *ClPhil* 78 [1983] 323–27), he became leader of the rebellious Germanic troops who overthrew ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS in 476. His position, domestic and foreign, was controversial. He was proclaimed king (*rex*) by the barbarians, but on the official inscription commemorating restoration of the Coliseum the title is omitted. Odoacer wanted to receive the recognition of Constantinople and sent Zeno the regalia of the deposed Western emperor, but Zeno was reluctant to give his approval, remembering Odoacer's earlier correspondence with the rebel ILLOS. Thus, Zeno gave Odoacer the title *patrikios*, but advised him to accept the authority of JULIUS NEPOS. The murder of Julius Nepos relieved the ambiguous situation, and Odoacer punished the assassins and seized control of Dalmatia. Zeno tried to incite the Rugians against Odoacer, but in a preemptive attack (487) Odoacer defeated them and sent gifts from the booty to Zeno, still hoping for a reconciliation (M. McCormick, *Byzantion* 47 [1977] 212–22). Zeno then invited THEODORIC to invade Italy; the Ostrogoth leader defeated Odoacer in a difficult campaign and besieged him in Ravenna. The two antagonists seem to have agreed to share the rule of Italy, but Theodoric had Odoacer murdered. Odoacer and his wife Sunigild were Arians (W. Lackner, *Historia* 21 [1972] 763f).

LIT. A.H.M. Jones, "The Constitutional Position of Odoacer and Theoderic," *JRS* 52 (1962) 126–30. J. Moorhead, "Theoderic, Zeno and Odovacer," *BZ* 77 (1984) 261–66. A. Chastagnol, *Le Sénat romain sous le règne d'Odoacre* (Bonn 1966). –T.E.G.

ODO OF DEUIL, French Benedictine monk; born ca.1100, died 8 Apr. 1162. Of modest origins, Odo became Abbot Suger's confidant and abbot of St. Corneille in Compiègne (1150) and St. Denis (1151). He served Louis VII as secretary and chaplain on the Second Crusade, during which he composed *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* (On the Journey of Louis VII to the East), a history filled with sharp observations of Byz. laced with religious hostility (e.g., pp. 54–56, 68–70). The account was intended as a guide for future expeditions, whence his careful attention to Byz. food supplies (e.g., pp. 28–30, 76–82) and his insistence that Byz. treachery ruined the Crusade (e.g., pp. 12–14). His position made him privy to confidential deliberations, e.g., on negotiations with Manuel I (pp. 26–28) or an assault on Constantinople (pp. 58, 68–72). He records differences between Byz. and French etiquette and costume (pp. 24–26; *proskynesis*, called *polychronia*, is performed for all Byz. grandees, p.56), music (p.68), and coinage and exchange rates (pp. 40, 66). He describes the Latin suburb of Philippopolis (p.42), the imperial pleasure pavilion outside BLACHERNAI (p.48), and Byz. magnates' richly decorated private chapels (pp. 54–56). He also gives a magnificent description of Constantinople (pp. 64–66).

ED. *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. V.G. Berry (New York 1948; rp. 1965), with Eng. tr.

LIT. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:436f. Zabarov, *Krest.poch.*, 125–36. –M.McC.

ODYSSEUS, in Greek mythology king of Ithaca and the central figure of the *Odyssey*. After the Trojan War he wandered many years in hostile seas, endured hardships, and was finally reunited with his wife, Penelope. Church fathers gave an allegorical interpretation to the voyages of Odysseus as a journey of the soul across the earthly sea; Odysseus bound to the mast (while exposed to the songs of the Sirens) was compared to Christ on the Cross. The adventures of Odysseus were the subject of many Byz. interpretations (MALALAS), paraphrases (A. Ludwich, *Zwei byzantinische Odysseus-Legenden* [Königsberg 1898]), and vernacular poetry (Beck, *Volksliteratur* 191). In the 12th C. Byz. writers started to emphasize the cunning and versatility (*poikilia*) of Odysseus, in addition to his endurance. For Niketas Choniates, Odysseus exemplifies the talented and wretched Andronikos I Komnenos, while EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 2:540.3–14) gives a similar characterization of Odysseus: he is not just "inventive," not only a boxer and wrestler, but also a peasant wielding the sickle, helmsman, carpenter, hunter, diviner, cook, provider of medicine (or poison), rhetorician, and astronomer—qualities that appear in the portrait of Andronikos by Choniates.

LIT. H. Rahner, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* (Zurich 1945) 414–86. A. Basilikopoulou, "Andronikos ho Komnenos kai Odysseus," *EEBS* 37 (1969–70) 251–59. –A.K.

ODYSSEY. See HOMER.

OFFERTORY. See PROSPHORA.

OFFERTORY TABLE (*τράπεζα προσφορῶν*), a round, rectangular, or lunate *sigma*-shaped slab, already in pagan times used as a secondary ALTAR or for sepulchral purposes; in Christian use these tables were often inscribed with the names of martyrs. Between the 3rd and early 7th C. most were carved in marble or colored stone (Sodini-Kolokotsas, *Aliki II* 194–206). *Sigma*-shaped tables derived from the traditional shape of Roman banquet TABLES and were decorated with friezes showing scenes of HUNTING and ANIMAL COMBAT. Christian versions emphasized soteriological themes such as Jonah, the sacrifice of Isaac, and the Raising of Lazarus; these are thought to reflect examples in precious metals. Another important group of sigma tables is characterized by a border of 6–17 lobes (*Age of Spirit.*, no.576). The general form of these slabs is retained in examples in the refectories of the Great Lavra and Vatopedi on Mount Athos (Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.*, figs. 64–67).

LIT. O. Nussbaum, "Zur Problem der runden und sigmaförmigen Altarplatten," *JbAChr* 4 (1961) 18–43. G. Roux, "Tables chrétiennes en marbre découvertes à Salamine," *Salamine de Chypre IV* (Paris 1973) 133–96. C. Metzger, "Rebords de tables ornés de reliefs du Musée du Louvre," *CahArch* 26 (1977) 47–62. –L.Ph.B.

OFFICES (*ἀξίαι διὰ λόγου*, also *ὀφφίκια*, *ἀρχαί*, *ζώναι*), high administrative positions, to be distinguished from DIGNITIES (titles), although sometimes the borderline is difficult to draw and some offices were in fact transformed into titles. The late Roman offices are listed in the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM; the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS records 60 offices that he divides into seven groups: STRATEGOI, DOMESTIKOI, JUDGES, SEKRETIKOI, *demokratai* (leaders of DEMOI), STRATARCHAI, and "others." *Strategoi* and *domestikoi* had primarily military functions; judges, *sekretikoi*, and *demokratai* were civil officials; while various *stratarchai* and "others" had military, police, or civil duties. Some offices were only honorary titles. An additional group of offices was held by the court EUNUCHS who kept order in the palace. The term *offikialios* that in the late Roman Empire designated only subaltern officials was by the 9th C. expanded to include all functionaries, probably with the exception of *strategoi*. The term *offikion* was in use also within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, where it denoted the administrative charge as opposed to the clerical order granted by a sacramental ordination.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 36–39. Oikonomides, *Listes* 302–04. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 1. –A.K.

OFFICES, MONASTIC. See HOURS, LITURGICAL.

OFFICINA, a Latin word meaning "workshop" and in a technical sense a subdivision of a MINT. Many late Roman and Byz. coins of the 3rd–8th C. bear numerals or other marks showing, presumably for control purposes, in which *officina* they were struck. Such a mark, when the system became fully organized in the course of the 4th C., usually took the form of a Greek NUMBER placed either at the end of the reverse legend or in the field. These marks vary in number according to the importance of the mint and the metal of the coins; the 6th-C. mint at Constantinople, for example, had ten *officinae* for gold SOLIDI but only five for coins of copper. The use of numbered *officina* marks ended in the 8th C.; although in the 12th–15th C. some coin series bear privy marks in the form of letters or symbols in the field, or exhibit small differences in design that seem to indicate subdivisions of a mint, it is unclear how far these corresponded to the *officinae* of earlier times. On one issue of folles of Constans II of 642–43 the *officina* numerals are accompanied by the letters ΟΦΑ, presumably for *ὀφικίνα* (*ophikina*), although this Greek form of the word is not otherwise known.

LIT. E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, 1 (Paris 1901) 970–1044. *DOC* 2:33–53, 3:77–81. Hendy, *Coinage* 157–87. Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 26. –Ph.G.

OGHUZ. See TURKOMANS; TURKS; UZES.

OHRID (Ἀχρίς), city in southwestern Macedonia, located on the northeastern shore of a large lake. Archbishop THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid (died 1108) wrote that ca.900 the city was a center of the building activity of KLIMENT OF OHRID, but no independent source verifies this late evidence. The city is first mentioned in 11th-C. sources: a Byz. historian (Skyl. 353.61–62) wrote that the palace of the Bulgarian *basileis* was erected there. Ohrid was probably the capital of the empire of SAMUEL OF BULGARIA and of the Bulgarian patriarchate. In 1019/20 Basil II occupied it and made it one of four *kastra* (together with PRESPA, Mokros, and Kitzabis) of the autocephalous Bulgarian archbishopric (H. Gelzer, *BZ* 2 [1893] 42.13)—but the name "metropolis of Achris" emerges only in a late notitia (*Notitiae CP* 17.30). The 12th-C. author Anna Komnene (An. Komn. 3:84.13–14) considered the name Ohrid as a barbarous term for the ancient lake of Lychnidos; neither she, however, nor Michael of Devol, in his supplement to Skylitzes (Skyl. 358.94–95), who mention both the lake and the city of Lychnidos, equate Ohrid with the city of Lychnidos, which was a bishopric in the 4th–5th C., replaced in the 6th C. by JUSTINIANA PRIMA (it is unknown after 519—M. Fluss, *RE* 13 [1927] 2114f). Another—evidently fictitious—12th-C. tradition claimed Ohrid as the successor of Justiniana Prima (G. Prinzing, *BBulg* 5 [1978] 269–87). In the 13th C. Ohrid was contested between Bulgaria and Epiros; returned to Byz. control, it was then conveyed to STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN by the treaty of Aug. 1334 and fell to the Turks in 1394.

The letters of the city's two most prominent archbishops, Theophylaktos and Demetrios CHOMATENOS, reflect the changing situation of the church in Ohrid: in the 11th C. the archbishop tried in vain to secure imperial support against the local officials; in the 13th C. his successor defended the privileges of the archbishopric against the patriarchate in Nicaea.

LIT. S. Vailhé, *DHGE* 1 (1912) 321–32. I. Snegarov, "Grad Ohrid," *Makedonski pregled* 4 (1928) 91–138. B. Panov, "Ohrid vo krajot na XI i početokot na XII v.," *Arheološki Muzej na Makedonija. Zbornik* 6/7 (1975) 181–95. P. Angelov, "Demografskijat oblik na grad Ohrid XIII–XIV vv.," *Vekove* 10 (1981) no.5, 16–22. V. Laurent, "Un prélat fantôme. L'archevêque d'Ochrida Anthime Métochite," *REB* 15 (1957) 207–11. –A.K.

OHRID. Church of the Virgin Peribleptos. Fresco on the west wall depicting the Dormition of the Virgin.

Monuments of Ohrid. The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Ohrid, perhaps originally built in the 10th C. by BORIS II, seems to have been rebuilt as a domed basilica and redecorated in the 11th C. by the archbishop LEO OF OHRID. A Great Feast cycle decorates the nave; in the conch of the apse an enthroned Virgin holds Christ in a shieldlike mandorla; Christ officiates at the Proskomide below. The liturgical nature of the BEMA program is emphasized by the unusual sequence of scenes from the lives of ABRAHAM and Sts. BASIL THE GREAT and JOHN CHRYSOSTOM on the bema walls (A. Epstein, *JÖB* 21 [1981] 315–29). In the chapel above the *diakonikon* are scenes of the martyrdom of the Apostles and on the exterior west wall of the nave is a scene of the PHILOXENIA OF ABRAHAM (12th C.?). The outer narthex-portico with its flanking domed bays was added in 1313/14.

The Church of the Virgin Peribleptos (now St. Kliment), was built by the *megas hetaireirarches* Progonos Sgouros and his wife Eudokia in 1294/5, according to a fresco inscription over the entrance (J. Ivanov, *Bŭlgarski starini iz Makedonija*[2] [Sofia 1931; rp. 1970] 38, no.8). The domed cross-in-square plan includes a tripartite sanctuary and a narthex covered by a central domical vault flanked by groin vaults. The masonry consists of alternating stone and brick courses, the latter arranged in lively decorative patterns; the main apse has niches. The program of wall paintings contains, along with scenes typical of contemporary Byz. church decoration, a Passion cycle and Gospel scenes in the upper zones, the life of the Virgin in the lower zone of the nave, and the life of John the Baptist in the *diakonikon*. On the walls and vaults of the narthex are PREFIGURATIONS of the Virgin, the Vision of Christ as Angel (based on the Easter Homily of Gregory of Nazianzos), an image of the winged John the Baptist, and illustrations of the Nativity Hymn attributed to John of Damascus. In the wall painting in the south vault of the narthex the souls of the righteous are held in the HAND OF GOD. The frescoes are the first documented work of the artists MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS, whose names are inscribed on depictions of military saints painted on the west dome piers.

The large number of small-scale scenes and the extended narratives (e.g., the DORMITION), the developed compositions involving elaborate architectural backgrounds, and the numerous participants with their exaggerated gestures mark a mature Palaiologan style, although the crude red and blue colors and the over-voluminous bodies reveal a provincial variant. The same painters were responsible for icons made for the iconostasis at a somewhat later date (Ascension, Dormition, etc.); these are now housed in the nearby Gallery of Icons. During the later 14th C. the church was enlarged with side chapels and outer aisles (ambulatory wings) and adorned with new frescoes and icons (V. Djurić in *ZbLikUmet* 8 [1972] 143–45). The remains of St. KLIMENT OF OHRID were transferred here at the end of the same century.

Other surviving medieval monuments in Ohrid include the Virgin Bolnička (14th and 15th C.), the Virgin Čelnica (9th C.?), St. John the Theologian-Kaneo (1270s or 80s?), Old St. Clement (14th C.), Sts. Constantine and Helena (1365–67), St. Naum (originally a triconch of the 9th C., rebuilt as a cross-in-square church), and St. Nicholas Bolnički (14th C.).

LIT. D. Bošković, K. Tomovski, "L'architecture médiévale d'Ohrid," *Zbornik na trudovi* (Ohrid, Naroden Muzei), ed. D. Koco (Ohrid 1961) 71–100. R. Hamann-MacLean, H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien* 2.3 (Giessen 1963), pls. 1–28, 160–81. V. Djurić, *The Church of St. Sophia in Ohrid* (Belgrade 1963). Miljković-Pepek, *Mihail i Eutihij* 43–51, 183–88 and pls. 1–49. Djurić, *Byz.Fresk.* 22–25. –A.J.W., G.B.

OIKEIAKOS (οἰκειακός), properly "belonging to the household," a term often interpreted as "private" (Bury, *Adm. System* 120f). As an epithet it was applied to the PARAKOIMOMENOS, *vestiarion*, or PROTOSPATHARIOS; in the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. it was used as a noun to designate a category of courtiers or functionaries; the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS defines some of them as *oikeiakoi* of the LAUSIAKOS. Their functions are unclear—only Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 149.17) lists some *oikeiakoi* as judges. R. Guilland (*REB* 29 [1971] 95–110) suggested that in the 11th C. the *epi ton oikeiakon* replaced the *eidikos* (see EIDIKON) as chief of the imperial private treasury; on the other hand, N. Oikonomides (*TM* 6 [1976] 136) considered him a functionary who administered the land of the fisc. It is not clear when the office of chief of the *oikeiakoi* appeared. It obviously existed ca.1030 (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 92), but it could have been created earlier since Laurent dates the seals of this official predominantly to the 10th C. His duties varied: they could be combined with those of the KOMES TES LAMIAS in the department of the GENIKON (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.404), the enigmatic chief of the barbarians (nos. 523–27), or with judicial duties (no.852). He also fulfilled various fiscal functions. In the 13th–14th C. he became *logothetes* of the *oikeiakon* who usually served as a diplomat and judge, e.g., Glabas, *logothetes* of the *oikeiakon*, was KRITES KATHOLIKOS in 1344 (*Docheiar.*, no.23.8–9).

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 43–45. –A.K.

OIKEIOS (οἰκεῖος), a term used in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 191.27) for the emperor's close relatives. It is probable that the epithet *oikeios* was linked to the honorific title DOULOS: a man titled *oikeios* would call himself the *doulos* of his majesty. By the end of the 12th C. it became a semiofficial title; thus, in 1196 a *logothetes ton sekreton* is called *oikeios* of the emperor (*Lavra* 1, no.67.24). It was in use through the 15th C., applied primarily to civil dignitaries such as the *papias* (*Dionys.*, no.2.11), *krites* (*Xerop.*, no.26.29), or *megas chartoularios* (*Docheiar.*, no.23.7). Sometimes it was employed as sufficient characterization without additonal titulature (*Docheiar.*, no.49.1; *Dionys.*, no.3.5). Maksimović (*ByzProvAdmin* 22–25) considers *oikeioi* as men in a kind of vassalage to the ruler.

LIT. J. Verpeaux, "Les oikeioi," *REB* 23 (1965) 89–99. –A.K.

OIKETES. See DOULOS.

OIKISTIKOS (*οἰκιστικός*), an enigmatic functionary of the GENIKON mentioned in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS and the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escurial. E. Stein (*ZSavRom* 49 [1929] 506), who previously connected the *oikistikos* with the late Roman *numerarius scrinii operum,* later rejected this view, indicating that the word *oikistikon* was used in the papyri in the sense of "account." A treatise on TAXATION (Dölger, *Beiträge* 91) describes the *oikistikos* as an official who had among his duties the registration of tax exemptions (*logisima*); in this connection an 11th-C. seal names a certain *protovestes* Stephen, "*oikistikos* of the new ORTHOSEIS" (Nesbitt, *infra,* no.4). Oikonomides (*Listes* 313) suggests that the *oikistikos* was connected with the administration of the *oikoi* (imperial domains). By the 11th C. the *oikistikos* became chief of an independent department, perhaps called *oikistike sakelle,* mentioned on a seal of the 11th/12th C. (V. Laurent, *BZ* 33 [1933] 356f; cf. *Ivir.* 1:160). *Oikistikoi* and their protonotaries are mentioned in the lists of officials in 11th-C. chrysobulls, for the last time in 1088 (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.6.67). Both seals and charters (MM 4:316.8) show that the 11th-C. *oikistikos* had judicial functions in various themes (Thrakesion, Boukellarion, Armeniakon, Chaldia).

LIT. J.W. Nesbitt, "The Office of the Oikistikos," *DOP* 29 (1975) 341–44. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:188–90. –A.K.

OIKOMODION (*οἰκομόδιον*, Slavic *komod*), a tax probably originating from the principal tax of the Bulgarian fiscal system under Samuel of Bulgaria (one modios of wheat and one of millet per household possessing a pair of oxen: Skyl. 412.67–73), which was continued in Bulgaria by Basil II. From the 11th C. onward (first mention 1019), it is attested throughout Byz. and appears to have been a regular yearly SECONDARY TAX; in the 14th C. it was roughly proportionate to the main land tax (TELOS) (1/2 modios of wheat [Gr. *sitos*] and 1/2 modios of barley [Gr. *krithe*] for an annual *telos* of 1–3 hyperpyra: hence the name SITOKRITHON). It is often mentioned together with the OINOMETRION, which must have had a similar meaning but concerned wine.

LIT. J. Bompaire, "Sur trois termes de fiscalité byzantine," *BCH* 80 (1956) 625–31. N. Oikonomides in *Dionys.* 153f. G. Cankova-Petkova, *Za agrarnite otnošenija v srednovekovna Bŭlgarija XI–XIII v.* (Sofia 1964) 91–95. –N.O.

OIKONOMIA (*οἰκονομία*, lit. "husbandry"), a term with three primary meanings in Byz. First, it referred to the wise or responsible management, "stewardship," or administration of something, sometimes synonymous with PRONOIA. Second, *oikonomia* was that component of doctrine dealing with the divine plan of salvation or Incarnation history (Eph 1:9–10), in contrast with the study of the Trinity, which is *theologia* proper. The theological concept of *oikonomia* was based on the idea of relationship between righteous God and sinful man that required God's dispensations of GRACE and mercy culminating in the "economic" sacrifice of the Son. God's *oikonomia* operated through sacraments and revelations. Western theology emphasized God's justification in the action of *oikonomia* (via grace), whereas the Orthodox stressed man's participation in the divine being, deification (THEOSIS), the direct encounter of man with the Holy Spirit, the mystical redemption, rather than the principles of Roman law that attracted early Western theologians (A.E. McGrath, *Iustitia dei,* vol. 1 [Cambridge 1986] 3f).

Finally, *oikonomia* referred to moral concession as opposed to the rule of order or TAXIS (Ahrweiler, *Idéologie* 129–47). In Byz. canonical literature *oikonomia* is understood as the canonical power of the church by which, under certain circumstances, the strict letter of ecclesiastical law was relaxed. Its purpose was to avoid the severity of the law, to eliminate the obstacle to salvation caused by a rigid legalistic implementation. Thus it was not understood as a legal norm, as *dispensatio,* the Latin Western translation of the term denoting simple exception or dispensation from a law. Indeed *oikonomia,* according to NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, was ultimately an "imitation of the divine mercy" (ep.32, 236.379–80). This prudent disposition of church stewardship, which aims at the general well-being of the Christian community and each individual—as long as doctrine or truth is not compromised—prompted the church to recognize the episcopal dignity of repentant Iconoclast bishops (except those who had initiated the heresy) and to receive them to its communion (Mansi 12:1030); or, as in the case of the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, to "economize" by accepting Leo as a penitent following his fourth marriage, to Zoe Karbonopsina (*RegPatr,* fasc. 2, nos. 625–29).

There were frequent debates concerning the meaning of *oikonomia* (e.g., during the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY and the "tetragamy" affair). Monastic rigorists, like THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, maintained that *oikonomia* could be admitted only in connection with repentance of the transgressor and a formal cancellation of the act, performed uncanonically. Others adopted a more lenient attitude, but the principle of *oikonomia* was never denied by anyone.

LIT. P. Raï, "L'économie dans le droit canonique byzantin des origines jusqu'au XI^{e} siècle," *Istina* 18 (1973) 260–326. J.H. Erickson, "*Oikonomia* in Byzantine Canon Law," in *Law, Church, and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner,* ed. K. Pennington, R. Somerville (Philadelphia 1977) 225–36. H. Thurn, *Oikonomia von der frühbyzantinischen Zeit bis zum Bilderstreit* (Munich 1961). J. Horn, "Oikonomia," in *Oikonomie,* ed. T. Stemmler (Tübingen 1985). G.G. Blum, "Oikonomia und theologia," *OstkSt* 33 (1984) 281–301. A. de Halleux, " 'Oikonomia' in the First Canon of St. Basil," *PBR* 6 (1987) 53–64. C. Cupane, "Appunti per uno studio dell'oikonomia ecclesiastica a Bisanzio," *JÖB* 38 (1988) 53–73. –A.P.

OIKONOMOS (*οἰκονόμος*), a cleric, usually a priest, responsible for managing the property, income, and expenditure of a see or religious foundation. The Council of Chalcedon (451) required every bishop to appoint an *oikonomos* from his clergy and not to administer the affairs of his see in person (canon 26). The ruling was repeated and elaborated by the Second Council of Nicaea (787), which extended the requirement to monasteries (canon 11).

Under Justinian I, the Great Church of Constantinople was served by nine *oikonomoi,* each with a subordinate staff of CHARTOULARIOI (*Cod.Just.* I 2.24). Of the nine, it was presumably the head of the "home office" (*enoikion skrinion*) who evolved into the single patriarchal *oikonomos* of the 9th C. and later. By the 10th C., the appointment came increasingly under imperial control, being granted even to laymen until Isaac I formally renounced the right to appoint. By this time the epithet *megas* had become attached to the title. Byz. lists of patriarchal OFFICES always name the *megas oikonomos* as the patriarch's highest-ranking subordinate; however, this precedence was not uncontested and became something of an honorable anachronism after 1204, with the decline and occasional redundancy of the office.

Oikonomoi were also attached to large public churches of Constantinople such as St. Mokios (*TheophCont* 365.21–23). The institution was also widespread among imperial foundations, both monastic and otherwise. The NEA EKKLESIA had its own *oikonomos* and the PANTOKRATOR complex had four.

The *oikonomos* or steward of a monastery was a senior monk responsible for the management of its properties, esp. agricultural estates, and the maintenance of monastic buildings. He was usually ranked second in the hierarchy of a monastery and often became *hegoumenos.* The *oikonomos* of a convent might be a eunuch priest (KECHARITOMENE), a layman (LIPS), or a nun (DAMILAS, BEBAIAS ELPIDOS). The *oikonomos* at Lips was paid an annual salary of 36 gold pieces, plus an allotment of wheat, barley, and wine.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 100, 106f, 133. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 16f, 35–39, 303–09. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos.49–59. Meester, *De monachico statu* 159f, 281–83. –P.M., A.M.T.

OIKOS (*οἶκος*), a term with a number of meanings, primarily referring to the house and household, but also used in a hymnographic context.

1. *Oikos as a Fiscal and Economic Term.* The basic meaning HOUSE was applied in a broader sense to the aristocratic mansion in urban and rural areas (such as the *oikos* of DIGENES AKRITAS), in contrast to *oikema,* the term regularly employed in *praktika* and other documents for a peasant dwelling; when used in this manner, *oikos* is virtually synonymous with PROASTEION. J. Gascou (*TM* 9 [1985] 28–37) views the 5th–6th-C. Egyptian *oikos* as a "semipublic institution," representing a delegation of the state's fiscal authority, whereas later Byz. law emphasized the privacy of the *oikos*: "No one can be dragged out of his private *oikos,*" states the scholiast to the *Synopsis Basilicorum* K. II:45 (Zepos, *Jus* 5:323.17). *Oikos* might also mean household, the house of God (i.e., a church), or an imperial (*theios*) estate. EUAGEIS OIKOI were pious institutions. Metaphorically, the word could be applied to the entire community of the faithful: "We are one *oikos,*" says SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN (*Hymn* 15:127), "the house of David" (15:118).

2. *Oikos in an Astrological Context.* In this sense, *oikos* means the domicile of a planet, or planetary house. According to Malalas (Malal. 175.6–9), the mythical Erichthonios constructed a hippodrome that reflected the structure of the cosmos, that is, had the sky, the earth, and the sea; its 12 gates conformed to the 12 *oikoi* of the Zodiac. Hephaistion of Thebes often speaks of *oikoi* of planets

(Mars, Venus, etc.), indicating their correspondence with the signs of the Zodiac. –A.K.

3. *Oikos as a Hymnographic Term.* Finally, *oikos* also meant a stanza of a KONTAKION; the initial letters of each *oikos*, which were built on the same metrical pattern throughout the *kontakion*, normally formed an ACROSTIC, either alphabetic or giving the author's name. Originally meaning any stanza of the 20 to 30 forming the complete text, the term eventually referred to the second element of the reduced form of the *kontakion* (consisting only of the *koukoulion*, or prooimion, and one stanza, the *oikos*). This combination of *kontakion* and *oikos* was sung after the sixth ode of the KANON during the ORTHROS.

LIT. **1.** P. Magdalino, "The Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*," in *Byz. Aristocracy* 92–111. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 272–83. Oikonomides, "Évolution" 138–41. –A.J.C.
LIT. **3.** Wellesz, *Music* 241f. Mitsakis, *Hymnographia* 217–30. –E.M.J.

OIKOUMENE (*οἰκουμένη*, lit. "the inhabited [earth]"), an ancient concept that had various meanings in Byz. The word *oikoumene* was used, as in antiquity, to designate the earth as a whole: thus Eustathios of Thessalonike (*Eust.Comm.Il.* 2:496.16–17) stated that Poseidonios and Dionysios Periegetes envisaged the *oikoumene* as spherical, Demokritos considered it elongated, and Hipparchos trapezoidal. Byz. ASTRONOMY accepted the concept of a spheroid earth, and PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.36) defended—against KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES—the image of a spherical COSMOS.

Oikoumene also referred to the inhabited or civilized world, an area identical with the Roman Empire or the region of the MEDITERRANEAN SEA; remote areas were described as located beyond the *oikoumene* (e.g., Greg. 2:992.15–16). Already in patristic literature the word acquired a specific Christian connotation: the *oikoumene* was the world as the scene of Christ's activity and of the celebration of the Christian sacraments, which were performed not in a single city or in a single "theater" but in the whole *oikoumene* (Photios, ep.284, ed. Laourdas-Westerink 3:69.2300–02). Accordingly, the title of ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH (*oikoumenikos patriarches*), adopted by the archbishop of Constantinople in the 6th C., expressed his claim to PRIMACY in the Christian church that led to a serious conflict with Rome. Fewer political repercussions arose from the title *oikoumenikos didaskalos* (see DIDASKALOS), arrogantly assumed by one of the principal teachers of theology in Constantinople.

LIT. A. Mastino, "*Orbis*, kosmos, oikumene: Aspetti spaziali dell'idea di impero universale da Augusto a Teodosio," in *Popoli e spazio romano* (Naples 1986) 63–162. –A.K.

OIKOUMENIOS (*Οἰκουμένιος*), 6th-C. biblical exegete, author of the earliest Greek commentary on the APOCALYPSE. The text of his exegesis was not discovered until 1901 by F. Diekamp. He was identified by S. Pétridès (*EO* 6 [1903] 308f) as the *comes* Oikoumenios who was the addressee of two letters of SEVEROS of Antioch. He is called rhetor and philosopher in the MSS of his commentary. He notes at the beginning that he wrote his commentary more than 500 years after the completion of the Apocalypse, that is, ca.550. His identification with the 10th-C. bishop Oikoumenios of Trikka in Thessaly is now rejected.

His interpretation of the Apocalypse is mostly metaphorical and oriented to the future, but in some passages he refers to the events of Christ's life: thus the sun-clothed woman who gives birth to a male child is interpreted by Oikoumenios (as by many others) as the symbol of the Virgin and Jesus. More original (and distinct from the exegesis of ANDREW of Caesarea) is his interpretation of the thousand-year reign of Christ. It is construed not as a period in future but as a metaphorical description of the day of the first *parousia*: only then, says Oikoumenios, was the devil fettered, but after Christ's crucifixion he was again set free. Unlike Origen and Eusebios, Oikoumenios did not consider Augustus as a peacemaker but rather as "the beast," that is, the devil; Oikoumenios believed that the new era of human history began with "the pious Constantine."

ED. *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse*, ed. H.C. Hoskier (Ann Arbor 1928).
LIT. G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie* (Munich 1972) 84–86. A. Spitaler, "Zur Klärung des Ökumeniusproblems," *OrChr* 31 (1934) 208–15, with add. J. Schmid, ibid. 216–18. C. Durousseau, "The Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse of John," *Biblical Research* 29 (1984) 21–34. A. Monaci Castagno, "I Commenti di Ecumenio e di Andrea di Cesarea," *Memorie dell'Accademia delle scienze di Torino: Classe delle scienze morali* 5 (1987) 303–426. –B.B.

OIKOUMENON (*οἰκούμενον*), a fiscal term, synonymous with TELOS, *stoichikon telos* (e.g., *Zogr.*, no.29.76), or *oikiakon telos* (Guillou, *Ménécée*, no.35.42, 45); sometimes *telos* designated an individual payment while *oikoumenon* meant the sum charged to a fiscal district.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 311f. –A.K.

OIL (*ἔλαιον*), usually made from OLIVES, was one of the most important ingredients of the DIET; vegetables were eaten with oil or cooked in oil: thus, Symeon SETH speaks of lentils cooked with oil, garum (a fermented fish sauce), and salt (115.16–17), and of truffles cooked in oil with pepper and garum (109.7–8). Strict ascetics are said to have abstained from oil; normally oil was avoided on fastdays or as penance (Theodore of Stoudios in PG 99:1724C). In addition to its use in food preparation, oil was employed in the concoction of medicines and ointments and as a fuel for LAMPS (in the illumination of churches, palaces, houses, etc.); Eustathios of Thessalonike (PG 136:640A) relates that in lighthouses wax and oil were burned in glass vessels that protected them from the wind. Sailors followed the custom of pouring oil onto stormy seas to calm them (Koukoules, *Bios* 5:338, 380).

The word *elaion* was expanded to include "fish" oil (from dolphins) and mineral oil. The *Geoponika* (9.18.1–2) mentions *elaion* produced from terebinth, sesame seeds, and nuts. Oil was also pressed from flax seeds (see LINEN) and from various fruits and flowers (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 267).

In liturgical practice ANOINTING with sacramental oil was administered before or after baptism, and the sacrament of UNCTION entailed anointing of the sick for healing and/or the forgiveness of sins. Individuals seeking miraculous HEALING often anointed themselves with oil sanctified by proximity to a saint's relics or tomb; anointment was also part of the ritual of CORONATION. The development of the symbolism of oil was enhanced by the similarity of the word *elaion* to *eleos*, mercy: thus it symbolized mercy and grace, and related concepts such as cheerfulness, good works, spiritual riches.

LIT. E. Jeanselme, L. Oeconomos, *Aliments et recettes culinaires des Byzantins* (Anvers 1923) 4, 13. –A.K., A.M.T.

OINAIOTES, GEORGE, writer of first half of 14th C. Together with his older kinsman George GALESIOTES, he prepared a vernacular paraphrase of the *Imperial Statue* of Nikephoros BLEMMYDES. Oinaiotes (*Οἰναιώτης*) was identified by S.I. Kourouses (*Gabalas* 99–121) as the anonymous author of the so-called Florentine collection of 179 letters (Florence, Laur. S. Marco 356). His correspondents included Theodore METOCHITES, Andrew LOPADIOTES, and John GABRAS. To date only four of the letters have been published (G.H. Karlsson, G. Fatouros, *JÖB* 22 [1973] 207–18). Although many of his letters are rhetorical exercises, others describe topics such as his illnesses, his vineyards, his problems as a landlord, a trip to Mt. GANOS (where he had close ties to the monks), and his intellectual pursuits, such as borrowing books by JOHN XIII GLYKYS. His classical education is reflected in frequent citation of ancient authors, esp. Homer, Plato, and Aristotle. Oinaiotes was interested in ASTRONOMY and received instruction from a physician (*aktouarios*), perhaps JOHN AKTOUARIOS, according to S.I. Kourouses (*Athena* 78 [1980–82] 260–69).

ED. Paraphrase—ed. Hunger-Ševčenko, *Blemmydes* 19–117, 149–206.
LIT. J.E. Rein, *Die Florentiner Briefsammlung (Codex Laurentianus S. Marco 356)* (Helsinki 1915). Hunger, *Lit.* 1:206. *PLP*, no.21026. –A.M.T.

OINOMETRION (*οἰνομέτριον*, lit. "a measure of wine"), a secondary tax mentioned in several *praktika* of the early 14th C. A chrysobull of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan of 1346 issued for the monastery of Iveron exempted the monks from "the recently introduced *oinometrion*" (Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no.6.42), thus indicating a relatively late date for its appearance. The *oinometrion* was levied in proportion to the tax called TELOS (usually one METRON [local measure] for each nomisma of the tax) and is listed in the *praktika* together with the OIKOMODION. Dölger (*Byzanz* 258f) hypothesized that both surtaxes were collected by tax officials for their services in measuring grain and wine, respectively; his hypothesis was rejected by J. Bompaire, who considered *oinometrion* as a rent for vineyards. It may also have been a rent in kind imposed on peasants, the amount of which depended not only on the size of their vineyards but on intangible factors. A fragment of a *praktikon* of the late 13th C. (*Esphig.*, no.7.8) calculates *oinometrion* in cash and places it after KASTROKTISIA, not *oikomodion*; it should perhaps be interpreted as evidence that in the early 14th C. the tax changed its nature, and payment in kind replaced that in money.

LIT. J. Bompaire in *Xerop.* 151. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 119f. –A.K.

OKTOECHOS (ὀκτώηχος, lit. "eight-toned"), a LITURGICAL BOOK containing the hymns of daily ORTHROS, VESPERS, EUCHARIST, and Saturday *mesonyktikon* (see HOURS) for the mobile cycle for every day of the year except for Lent, Easter, and Pentecost, which are covered by two other books, the TRIODION and the PENTEKOSTARION. A "proper," or set of hymns for each of the seven days of the week in each of the eight different musical MODES, that is, 56 "propers" in all, the *oktoechos* cycle takes eight weeks to complete, one mode per week, and is repeated throughout the year from All Saints' Day (the first Sunday after Pentecost) until progressively replaced by the *triodion* during Lent. This complete cycle of the "Great" or "New" *Oktoechos* is now known as the *Parakletike*, the term *oktoechos* being reserved for the Sunday hymns. When the *oktoechos* cycle overlaps with the MENAION or the *triodion*, the liturgical TYPIKON regulates which hymns will be sung.

The name *oktoechos* was used for these hymns from at least the 11th C. The oldest *oktoechos* poetic pieces were originally scattered in disparate collections of KANONES, STICHERA, and KATHISMATA, of which MSS of the 8th–9th C. have survived. Anthologies of *oktoechos* hymns for Sundays date from the 8th C.; those of the weekday cycle were added later. Though St. JOHN OF DAMASCUS contributed to the *Oktoechos* and is often named as its author, the book was completed only after his death. There is only one surviving illustrated *Oktoechos*, a MS of the DECORATIVE STYLE group (Messina, San Salvatore 51). Its eight miniatures, all of which include the figure of John of Damascus, accompany the *stichera anastasima*.

TR. *Paraclitique ou Grande Octoèque*, tr. D. Guillaume, 2 vols. (Rome 1977–1979). Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 365–67.
LIT. *Dimanche, office selon les huit tons: Oktoéchos* (Chevetogne 1972). A. Cody, "The Early History of the Octoechos in Syria," in *East of Byzantium* 89–113. A. Weyl Carr, "Illuminated Musical Manuscripts in Byzantium: A Note on the Late Twelfth Century," *Gesta* 28 (1989) 41–52. –R.F.T., N.P.Š.

OLD KNIGHT (Ὁ Πρέσβυς Ἱππότης), 14th-C. poem, possibly written in Cyprus. This anonymous compilation in Greek unrhymed POLITICAL VERSE of the opening episode of the French prose romance *Guiron le Courtois* was drawn probably from the compilation of Rusticiano da Pisa (1272–98). Only 306 lines, at a purist language level, survive. The episode describes the arrival of Brannor le Brun (the Old Knight) at King Arthur's court and his challenge to the younger knights of the Round Table—Palamedes, Gauvain, Galahad, Tristan, etc.

ED. "La 'table ronde' en Orient: Le poème grec du vieux chevalier," ed. P. Breillat, *MEFR* 55 (1938) 308–40.
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 138. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

OLD TESTAMENT (Παλαιὰ Διαθήκη), the first part of the BIBLE. It was inherited by Christians from the Jews and available to them in the so-called Septuagint, the translation by 70 (or 72) "wise men"; other translations (by Theodotion, Aquila, Symmachos, etc.) survive only in insignificant fragments. The Greek Old Testament includes the Hebrew canonical books (the PENTATEUCH; historical books; poetic books, such as the PSALTER and Proverbs of SOLOMON; and the books of PROPHETS) and the so-called deuterocanonical books. The authority of these last works was questioned by major church fathers such as Jerome and John of Damascus, but the Western church accepted the canon in full. Jugie (*infra*) demonstrated that, down to the Council of Ferrara-Florence, the Byz. did not reject the canonicity of the deuterocanonical books; at least this point never emerged as a subject of discussion between the two churches.

The text of the Old Testament survives in complete editions (sometimes together with the NEW TESTAMENT; esp. famous are the 4th-C. uncial MSS, Codex Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus) and in separate collections (OCTATEUCH, historical books, Psalter, Prophets). The validity of the Old Testament was questioned by certain heretics, but the official church emphasized its inspired character. Its prohibition of idolatry created special difficulties for the ICONOPHILES. The Old Testament occasioned broad exegeses, homilies, and paraphrases as well as APOCRYPHA. Among many others, Nikephoros Kallistos XANTHOPOULOS wrote poems on the Old Testament and on the later history of the Jews, while Matthew of Ephesus (Manuel GABALAS) used several of its books (JOB, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes) for "the moral education of the soul" (S. Kourouses, *Manouel Gabalas* [Athens 1972] 167).

LIT. E. Würthwein, *Der Text des Alten Testaments* (Leiden 1979). A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (Berlin 1914). M. Jugie, *Histoire du canon de l'Ancien Testament dans l'église grecque et l'église russe* (Paris 1909; rp. Leipzig 1974). M. Roberts, "The First Sighting Theme in the Old Testament Poetry of Late Antiquity," *ICS* 10 (1985) 139–55. M. Simonetti, "Note sull'esegesi veterotestamentaria di Teodoro di Mopsuestia," *VetChr* 14 (1977) 69–102. –J.I.

OLD TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION. Study of the Byz. contribution to Old Testament illustration raises both practical and theoretical problems. The material is widely dispersed and still only partially known; despite the existence of photographic collections a significant part remains relatively inaccessible. This situation makes it difficult to gain a thorough knowledge of even the surviving material. In addition, what has been published has sometimes been selected on the basis of theories that have influenced the choice of illustrations, as well as interpretations drawn from them.

The Byz. illustrated some scenes and figures of the Old Testament because these had already been adopted, like the text itself, by the Christians of the first centuries. Thus many of the most familiar Old Testament scenes, such as the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA or JONAH and the Whale, were already widely known by the 3rd or 4th C. These compositions remained substantially the same throughout the Byz. period. That some of these illustrations originated in JEWISH ART has been strongly argued, and that some contain elements of Jewish exegesis is certain; but the syncretistic nature of religious cults, esp. in this crucial period, and the possibility of parallel developments, must be taken into account, esp. in view of the fact that later synagogue FLOOR MOSAICS sometimes reflect the decoration of churches. Clearly many Old Testament scenes and figures (as those of the New Testament) were derived quite simply from formulas in contemporary Hellenistic-Roman art, along with other visual sources.

Some Old Testament scenes—esp. those cited in the COMMENDATIO ANIMAE—were popular initially in funerary contexts, such as catacombs or sarcophagi, as suitable images of a hoped-for salvation in Christ. This is characteristic of the 4th–6th C., and to a large extent they were replaced by Christological resurrection scenes. In early monumental art the Old Testament was also important, notably in the great basilicas of Rome, where scenes were selected to prefigure and parallel the New Testament story. In the 9th C. and later, this monumental role almost disappears, with the exception of anomalies such as the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina at PALERMO and MONREALE, where the basilical nave was probably used in a deliberately archaizing way. The one distinctively Byz. development of the scheme was in the use of the Old Testament PROPHETS in the upper parts of churches as hierarchically arranged foretellers of the Gospel.

The situation in MSS is rather different. With the exception of GENESIS illustration, the pre-9th C. evidence is scanty and restricted, though thereafter it is relatively full and diverse. This body of illustration can be further enriched if account is taken of Old Testament scenes that have, metaphorically speaking, migrated from the Old Testament itself to MSS such as the *Christian Topography* of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES or the SACRA PARALLELA. The origin of such scenes, however, remains controversial.

To judge from the MS evidence, which is the most plentiful, the Byz. rarely if ever thought in terms of a unit of text, or of illustration, called the Old Testament. Only a single MS survives that suggests an overall plan for its illustration: the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS. Typically the Byz. thought in terms of smaller units: the OCTATEUCH, PSALTER, PROPHET BOOK, or JOB, for example. These represent the convenient volumes in which the Old Testament circulated. They were illustrated, and probably used, in different ways.

Traced over the centuries, the illustration of narrative themes from the Old Testament seems to follow two curves with contrasting profiles. In the public domain, exemplified by the decoration of the walls of churches and monasteries, the 4th–6th C. probably represents a peak, the 9th–12th C. certainly was a trough, and the 13th–14th C. a second peak. This is to be explained by the emphasis after Iconoclasm on large-scale images of the principal events of Christ's life, whereas those in the 13th–14th C. preferred far more numerous images on a smaller scale, as exemplified by the JOSEPH cycle in the narthex at SOPOĆANI and the ELIJAH cycle in the prothesis at Morača. By way of contrast, in the private domain represented by the illustration of books, it is the

9th–12th C. that represents the peak of popularity. This fluctuation suggests that the Byz. perception of Old Testament illustration would have been significantly different in, for example, the 5th, 10th, or 14th C., even if its iconography remained substantially the same. That there is any direct connection between the decline of interest in Old Testament illustration in monumental art and its rise in MSS is improbable. It appears to be part of the general pattern of Byz. art.

LIT. Weitzmann, *Studies* 45–75. Idem, "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination: Past, Present, and Future," in *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton 1975) 1–60. Idem, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex, a Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*[2] (Princeton 1970). –J.H.L.

OLEG, ruler of Rus'; died after 911. Norman by birth, Oleg succeeded Rurik in Novgorod (in 879 according to the *Primary Chronicle*) and later subdued the territories to the south. KHAZAR documents relate that Oleg (named *HLGW* in the texts), incited by Romanos Lekapenos (?), sacked TMUTOROKAN (N. Golb, O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* [Ithaca-London 1982] 104–05). Golb and Pritsak (pp.61–71) questioned the traditional opinion that Oleg captured Kiev and dated this event to the time of IGOR, ca.930. The *Primary Chronicle, sub anno* 907, describes Oleg's expedition against Constantinople and the treaty concluded between him and Byz.; the text of the treaty is also cited later in full and dated in 911/12. (The majority of scholars now reject the assumption of two separate treaties.) The treaty guaranteed the rights of Rus' envoys, merchants, and mercenaries in Byz.; exchange of captives; and extradition of state criminals.

The silence of the Greek sources about Oleg's expedition has caused a heated discussion of its historicity: H. Grégoire insisted on the legendary character of the chronicle's evidence (*La Nouvelle Clio* 4 [1952] 281–87), whereas G. Ostrogorsky (*SemKond* 11 [1940] 47–62) and many other scholars considered it reliable. R. Jenkins interpreted a passage in pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS describing the "Ros-dromitai" as referring to Oleg's expedition (*Speculum* 24 [1949] 403–06), but the passage is too vague to warrant any firm conclusion.

LIT. A.N. Sacharov, *Diplomatija drevnej Rusi* (Moscow 1980) 83–180. V.D. Nikolaev, "Svidetel'stvo chroniki Psevdo-Simeona o Rusi-dromitach i pochod Olega na Konstantinopol' v 907 g.," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 147–53. A. Vasiliev, "The Second Russian Attack on Constantinople," *DOP* 6 (1951) 161–225. A. Karpozilos, "Hoi Ros-Dromitai kai ho mythos tes ekstrateias tou Oleg," *Dodone* 12 (1983) 329–46. Idem, "Ros-Dromity i problema pochoda Olega protiv Konstantinopolja," *VizVrem* 49 (1988) 112–18. –A.K.

OL'GA, princess of Kiev (Ἔλγα in Greek sources, Christian name Helena); died 11 July 969. Wife and, from 945, heiress of IGOR, Ol'ga tried to develop trade and political relations with Byz.; both her baptism and her journey to Constantinople should be placed within this framework. The evidence concerning both events is, however, contradictory. Her journey took place in 946, according to G. Litavrin (*Istorija SSSR* [1981] no.5, 173–83), or in 957, according to the traditional view. G. Ostrogorsky (*Byzanz und die Welt der Slawen* [Darmstadt 1974] 35–52) suggested that Ol'ga was already Christian when she traveled to Constantinople and was received by CONSTANTINE VII; so she must have been baptized in Kiev in 954/5. D. Obolensky (*GOrThR* 28 [1983] 157–71) and J.-P. Arrignon (in *Occident et Orient au Xe siècle* [Paris 1979] 167–84) hypothesize that Ol'ga's baptism took place in Kiev after her return from Constantinople; B. Pheidas (*EEBS* 39–40 [1972–73] 630–50) insists that she was baptized in Constantinople during her journey, although Constantine VII, who described her visit in detail (*De cer.* 594–98), did not mention the fact. In any case, Ol'ga's visit to Constantinople did not lead to a strong alliance; in 959 she sent envoys to OTTO I THE GREAT, and Libutius was appointed bishop in the country of the Rus'.

LIT. G. Litavrin, "Putešestvie russkoj knjagini Ol'gi v Konstantinopol'. Problema istočnikov," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 35–48. O. Pritsak, "When and Where was Ol'ga Baptized?" *HUkSt* 9 (1985) 5–24. –A.K.

OLIVE (ἐλαία). Olives provided a staple food, and, when crushed in an OLIVE PRESS, yielded cooking OIL and oil for lamps. Until the Arab conquest, Syria was the major area of olive production, replaced from the 7th C. onward by a narrow strip along the Aegean littoral in Asia Minor and Greece as well as southern Italy, but not in Anatolikon (LEO OF SYNADA, ep.43.7–8). English historians of the 12th C. report that no other place in the world produced so many olives as the southern Peloponnesos (H. Lamprecht, *Untersuchungen über einige englische Chronisten des zwölften und des beginnenden dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* [Torgau 1937] 117). The Farmer's Law does not mention the olive tree. In the acts of Athos, olive trees are infrequent, the climate of Macedonia being too severe for olive cultivation (Laiou, *Peasant Society* 26), and the *praktika* only rarely mention 2–6 trees in single households. More numerous were olive trees in the Smyrna region; thus, a small monastery of St. Panteleemon in 1232/3 possessed 150 olive trees located both inside and outside the monastery walls (MM 4:57.15–16); a donation and a sale of 44–46 trees are mentioned (MM 4:116.30–31, 137.26); in the theme of Mylassa and Melanoudion an entire "olive *proasteion*" is attested (MM 4:320.22). Olive trees can be grown in poor soil and on rocky terrain; sometimes soil under them was irrigated (MM 4:130.13–15), although they can be grown without IRRIGATION. Besides restrictions caused by temperature, the olive tree has other disadvantages: its fruit is produced only in alternate years and, when picked, is easily bruised.

LIT. J.W. Nesbitt, "Mechanisms of Agricultural Production on Estates in the Byzantine Praktika" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wis., 1972) 9–12. –A.K., J.W.N.

OLIVE PRESS. The production of oil from OLIVES was fairly complicated, involving removal of the kernel (which, if crushed, imparts a distasteful flavor) and the separation of OIL and dregs. Several oil presses discovered in Syria illustrate the type used in the 5th–7th C. One featured a horizontal beam extending from a niche in a wall across the room and over successive vats to a tall π-shaped housing for a winch. The beam was suspended from the center of the housing and was attached to the winch below. In front of the winch was a vat with two stone rollers at the end. The olives were first piled into this vat and then crushed with the rollers. The lees were collected and removed to a nearby vat. The olive paste was collected in round baskets that were placed in the second vat, one on top of another, under the horizontal beam. By tightening the rope of the winch, the beam was lowered and the olive paste was crushed, the oil flowing into the vat below. The oil was then drawn into another vat, situated to one side and filled with water. Impurities fell to the bottom while the oil came to the surface and was then drawn off into another vat. Given the complex methods involved, the final product was probably often of inferior quality, retaining impurities such as skin and parts of the kernel.

LIT. K.D. White, *Farm Equipment of the Roman World* (Cambridge 1975) 225–33. Tchalenko, *Villages* 1:363–71. O. Callot, *Huileries antiques de Syrie du Nord* (Paris 1984). I. Bojanovski, "Antička uljara na Mogorjelu i rekonstrukcija njenog torkulara," *Naše Starine* 12 (1969) 27–54. –J.W.N.

OLIVER, JOVAN, semiautonomous Serbian prince; died after 1355, probably as the monk John Kalybites, whose death on 20 Jan. was noted in a 14th-C. Serbian Gospel (R. Grujić, *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva* 11 [1932] 233–37). Of Greek origin, Oliver (ὁ Λίβερος) held a series of positions at the Serbian court that he described in a Serbian inscription in the Lesnovo monastery (see GAVRIIL OF LESNOVO): grand *kephale* (*čelnik*), grand "servant" (*sluga*), grand *stratopedarches* (*voevoda*), grand *sebastokrator,* and grand *despotes* "of the entire Serbian land and of Pomorie" by the will of Kralj (King) Stefan (probably STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN). The date when he received the title of *despotes* has been a matter of discussion: J. Fine (*Late Balkans* 343, n.3) argues that the title was granted ca.1340 by Dušan, while B. Ferjančić (*Despoti* 159–66) prefers 1347 and John VI Kantakouzenos. It has been suggested that by 1340 Oliver married Maria (Mara) Palaiologina, widow of Stefan Uroš III Dečanski. He obtained control over the province of Ovče Polje, on the border between Byz. and Serbia, was the ally of Kantakouzenos during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, and acted as his patron at Dušan's court. On some of Oliver's coins his name is accompanied by that of Dušan or of STEFAN UROŠ V; others bear his name alone, suggesting that after Dušan's death Oliver gradually gained independence.

LIT. J. Radonić, "O despotu Jovanu Oliveru i njegovoj ženi Ani Mariji," *GlasSAN* 94 (1914) 74–109. –A.K.

OLYMPIAS (Ὀλυμπιάς), saint; born Constantinople between 361 and 368, died Nikomedeia 25 July 408; feastdays 24, 25, and 29 July. Born to an aristocratic family, in 386 Olympias married Nebridios, prefect of Constantinople, who soon died. When she refused to take as a second husband Elpidios, a relative of Theodosios I, the state

confiscated her property, restoring it in 391. Olympias possessed estates in Thrace, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, as well as mansions in Constantinople, and used her wealth to support the church and esp. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. Ordained deaconess by Patr. Nektarios, she founded a convent near Hagia Sophia. After Chrysostom's exile, Olympias refused to accept his successor. She herself was banished to Nikomedeia, where John wrote her several letters of consolation before her death (*Lettres à Olympias*, ed. A. Malingrey [Paris 1947]). She was buried at the monastery of St. Thomas of Brochthoi on the Asiatic shore of the Bosporos.

Destroyed during the NIKA REVOLT of 532, Olympias's convent was rebuilt by Justinian I and inaugurated in 537. Under the pressure of an early 7th-C. Persian invasion, Sergia, *hegoumene* of the convent, received permission from Patr. SERGIOS I to transfer Olympias's remains to her nunnery; she then wrote an account of the translation of the relics. The fate of the convent is unknown. The deeds of Olympias are briefly narrated by PALLADIOS in both his *Lausiac History* and the *Dialogue* on Chrysostom's life; her anonymous vita was based on the same sources.

SOURCES. H. Delehaye, "Vita Sanctae Olympiadis et narratio Sergiae de eiusdem translatione," *AB* 15 (1896) 409–23; 16 (1897) 44–51. Fr. tr. J. Bousquet, *ROC* 11 (1906) 225–50; 12 (1907) 258–68. Eng. tr. E.A. Clark, *Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends* (New York 1979) 107–57.

LIT. *BHG* 1374–76. *PLRE* 1:642f. Janin, *Églises CP* 381. Dagron, *Naissance* 501–06. –A.K.

OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, Neoplatonist philosopher; born ca.500, died after 564/5. A pupil of AMMONIOS, Olympiodoros ('Ολυμπιόδωρος) taught philosophy in Alexandria and achieved fame as the "Great Philosopher." His commentaries on Plato's *First Alcibiades*, *Gorgias*, and *Phaedo* survive in the form of students' lecture notes, as do those on Aristotle's *Categories* and *Meteorologica*. He is also thought to be the author of the commentaries on the astrological work of PAUL OF ALEXANDRIA ascribed to a certain Heliodoros (L. Westerink, *BZ* 64 [1971] 6–21). It is less likely that he wrote an extant treatise on an alchemical text of ZOSIMOS. Olympiodoros was later thought to be a Christian because ANASTASIOS OF SINAI confused him with another Olympiodoros, an early 6th-C. deacon who wrote a series of commentaries on the Bible.

ED. *Commentary on the First Alcibiades of Plato*[2], ed. L.G. Westerink (Amsterdam 1982). *The Greek Commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*, ed. idem, vol. 1 (Amsterdam–New York 1976). *In Platonis Gorgiam commentaria*, ed. idem (Leipzig 1970). *CAG* 12.1 (Berlin 1902), 12.2 (Berlin 1900).

LIT. Westerink, *Prolegomena*, xv–xix. –B.B.

OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES (in Egypt), 5th-C. historian, poet, and philosophy enthusiast. For 20 years Olympiodoros traveled adventurously around the world with a parrot that could dance, sing, and speak his name. In 412 he went on an embassy to the Hunnish king Donatus; the latter's subsequent death has raised suspicion that Olympiodoros procured it. The next decade saw him in Athens and back in Egypt. His secular history, written in Greek, was a source for PHILOSTORGIOS, SOZOMENOS, and (evidently) ZOSIMOS. It covered the period 407–22 in 22 books and was dedicated to Theodosios II. PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.80), the sole source of the extant 46 fragments, is harsh on Olympiodoros's lack of style and form; nor did his militant paganism endear him to the patriarch. Olympiodoros certainly violated some classicizing canons, notably by including unadorned Latinisms. His preference for facts and figures over stylistic flights, making him the most scientific of late Roman historians, can hardly be praised too much. Possible samples of his poetry are the line quoted in fragment 43 and the contemporary epic *Blemyomachia*, preserved in P. Berol. 5003; he is known (fr.35.2) to have visited the BLEMMYES.

ED. Blockley, *Historians* 2:151–220, with Eng. tr. *Frammenti storici*, ed. R. Maisano (Naples 1979), with It. tr. *Blemyomachia*, ed. E. Livrea (Meisenheim an Glan 1978), with It. tr.

LIT. F. Paschoud, "Le début de l'ouvrage historique d'Olympiodore," in *Studia in honorem Iiro Kajanto* (Helsinki 1985) 185–96. B. Baldwin, "Olympiodorus of Thebes," *AntCl* 49 (1980) 212–31. E.A. Thompson, "Olympiodorus of Thebes," *CQ* 38 (1944) 43–52. F.M. Clover, "Olympiodorus of Thebes and the Historia Augusta," in *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1979/81* (Bonn 1983) 127–56. –B.B.

OLYMPIOS ('Ολύμπιος), exarch of Ravenna (from 649); he was a *koubikoularios* sent to Italy by CONSTANS II with orders to secure approval of the TYPOS OF CONSTANS II and, if possible, to arrest

Pope MARTIN I. Olympios arrived in Rome by 1 Nov. 649 and found the LATERAN SYNOD still assembled. Despite his coercion, the bishops refused to confirm the Typos. According to the *Liber pontificalis* (*Lib.pont.* 1:339), when the frustrated Olympios tried to have Martin assassinated at mass, God blinded his *spatharios* at the crucial moment; Olympios was consequently reconciled with Martin. His subsequent actions are obscure, but later accusations against Martin suggest that Olympios rebelled against the emperor. Perhaps in 651 Olympios reached an accord with the Lombard king Rothari (L. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, vol. 2.1 [Gotha 1900] 244). The *Liber pontificalis*, however, says only that some time after making peace with Martin, Olympios collected his army and "set off to Sicily against the Saracens dwelling there," that his army was devastated (perhaps by plague), and that Olympios himself died from disease. Most scholars believe that in 652 Olympios crossed over to Sicily to oppose Arab invaders. When and if he actually reached the island is unclear, and Stratos (*JÖB* 25 [1976] 63–73), pointing out the problems of an Arab presence in Sicily at this time, proposed that in fact Olympios intended to attack Byz. forces in southern Italy.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 3:104–11, 275f. –P.A.H.

OLYMPOS, MOUNT, in Bithynia, modern Ulu Dağ, alt. 2,327 m, a HOLY MOUNTAIN southeast of Prousa that was an important monastic center, esp. in the 8th–10th C. It is occasionally called the "mountain of the monks" (*oros ton kalogeron*). The term *Olympos* ('Όλυμπος) was sometimes extended to include monastic communities in the plain of Prousa, primarily to the north and west as far as the Sea of Marmara. During the first centuries of Christianity Olympos was inhabited only by a few hermits; the first monastery was established by the 5th C. Over the centuries the region is known to have included about 50 monasteries, only one of which (Peristerai) appears to have been female. The monasteries had no formal connection and, with the exception of Agauros, which had four or five dependencies or METOCHIA, were quite independent of each other. Unlike Athos and Latros, it was not a monastic federation headed by a PROTOS OF ARCHIMANDRITE.

The monks of Olympos were active in the struggle against ICONOCLASM; many of the signatories of the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787) were *hegoumenoi* of monasteries in this region. As a result a number of the communities suffered persecution, esp. under Leo V, and were forced to disperse, at least temporarily. Because of their isolation the monasteries of Olympos suffered from Arab raids in the 9th C. An important group of monasteries continued to function on Olympos in the 10th C., and it occupied first place in the lists of holy mountains established by historians of this period (Genes. 58.21–22, *TheophCont* 418.23, 430.18–19). Romanos I sent two kentenaria of gold to the monks of Olympos (*TheophCont* 440.3–4). Leo VI and his son Constantine (VII) made a pilgrimage to the mountain (*TheophCont* 463f); in the 11th C. disgraced officials (e.g., the *protovestiarios* Symeon during the reign of Michael IV [Skyl. 396.28–32] and Michael PSELLOS in 1054) retired to Olympos. The growth of ATHOS and the invasion of the Seljuks inflicted a blow on Olympos, but separate monasteries in this area were still known in the 14th C.

Among the monasteries of the region were ATROA, MEDIKION, PELEKETE, CHENOLAKKOS, HELIOU BOMON, Sakkoudion, and the lavra of Symboloi(a). Many monastic saints, such as PLATO OF SAKKOUDION, THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, IOANNIKIOS, the patriarch of Constantinople METHODIOS, and EUTHYMIOS THE YOUNGER spent part or all of their careers at Olympos.

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 127–92. B. Menthon, *Une terre de légende. L'Olympe de Bithynie* (Paris 1935). –A.M.T.

OLYNTHOS ('Όλυνθος), city in the CHALKIDIKE, north of Potidaia. The late antique and medieval periods are known primarily from excavations. A coin of Justinian I suggests that the settlement survived at least through the 6th C. Late Roman remains were also discovered nearby, at Hagios Mamas south of Olynthos (D. Robinson, G. Mylonas, *AJA* 43 [1939] 69), including a fine undated column decorated with reliefs, and at Mariana, north of Olynthos (a coin of Constantius II, a tower, traces of a wall: D. Robinson, *AJA* 37 [1933] 602). The settlement revived in the 11th C.: coins, pottery of the 11th–14th C. similar to that of Thessalonike (*infra* 5:285–91), and iron objects

have been discovered. The 12th-C. Church of St. Nicholas had mosaic pavement.

LIT. *Excavations at Olynthus*, ed. D. Robinson, vol. 9 (Baltimore 1938) 360f; vol. 12 (1946) 318–22; vol. 14 (1952). –T.E.G.

OMAR. See ʿUMAR.

OMOPHORION (*ὠμοφόριον*), a long scarf, a vestment that only bishops were permitted to wear. It was about 3.5 m long, made of white wool, linen, or silk, and decorated with embroidered crosses. It was worn over the PHELONION, looped loosely over the shoulders so that one end hung down in front and one in back. It was said as early as the 5th C. (letter I.136 of Isidore of Pelousion, PG 78:272C) that the *omophorion* must be made of wool, not linen, since it represented fleece of the lost sheep that Christ the GOOD SHEPHERD raised on his shoulders to carry back home—the bishop thus assuming the role of Christ among his flock. Hence, at that point in the liturgy when the text of the Gospel was to be read, the bishop was required to take off the *omophorion* out of respect for the voice of Christ, the true shepherd.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 664–74. Bernadakis, "Ornements liturgiques" 133f. Papas, *Messgewänder* 212–50. Walter, *Art and Ritual* 9–13. –N.P.Š.

OMURTAG (ʾΟμουρτάγ), Bulgar khan (814/15–ca.831), son of KRUM. Omurtag ended Krum's hostilities, most probably in 816 (W. Treadgold, *RSBS* 4 [1984] 213.20), by concluding with Leo V a 30-year peace treaty; its contents are partially preserved in a PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTION (no.55) erected by Omurtag. The agreement defined the boundary between Byz. and Bulgaria; required the temporary evacuation of frontier fortresses, probably to permit construction of the "Great Fence of Thrace" (J. Bury, *EHR* 25 [1910] 283); stipulated the Byz. surrender of Slavic fugitives from Bulgaria; and arranged for the exchange of captives. Michael II probably revalidated the treaty, perhaps in 820 (Proto-Bulgarian inscription no.43) or possibly later, in return for Omurtag's decisive intervention in 822 on Michael's behalf against THOMAS THE SLAV (*TheophCont* 65.7–13). Despite evidence that he martyred Byz. captives taken in 813, Omurtag enjoyed harmonious relations with Byz. and instead contended successfully with the Franks for control of the Slavs in Pannonia. During his reign Byz. influence on Bulgarian court culture increased: Omurtag's inscriptions are written in Greek, often containing Byz. titles and formulations as well as the INDICTION dating system; his ambitious building program, including the reconstruction of PLISKA, reflects Byz. architectural schemes and techniques.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:292–331. Beševliev, *Geschichte* 275–88. I. Dujčev, "A propos du traité byzantino-bulgare de 814/815," in *Studia in honorem Veselini Beševliev* (Sofia 1978) 500–03. –P.A.H.

ONEIROKRITIKA (*ὀνειροκριτικά*), eight popular handbooks on dream interpretation surviving from the Byz. era. Two are anonymous (Paris, B.N. gr. 2511 [ca.1400], Paris, B.N. suppl. gr. 690 [11th C.]), while others are ascribed to the prophet DANIEL, ASTRAMPSYCHOS, ACHMET BEN SIRIN, Germanos (I or II?), and Manuel II; another is assigned to Patr. Nikephoros I, although the same work is attributed to both Gregory of Nazianzos (Milan, Ambros. O 94 Sup.) and Athanasios of Alexandria (Venice, Marc. gr. 608). These fictitious designations of authorship are designed to lend credibility and prestige. The handbooks date from the 9th to 13th C., although the dream book attributed to Daniel may be as early as the 4th C.

Reflecting the Byz. belief in the divinatory and divine nature of dreams, the *oneirokritika* played an integral role in Byz. MAGIC, superstition, and DIVINATION. The masses used the dream books, while the upper classes consulted professional dream interpreters (for such sessions, *erotemata*, see *oneirokritikon* of Achmet, 15f). The format in all *oneirokritika* is uniform: the listing (usually alphabetical) of dream symbols, followed by their various interpretations. The reader selected the proper interpretation by comparing the dream's content with his circumstances, for instance, social status, occupation, and physical condition. The interpretations derived from literary motifs, mythology and religion, cultural traditions, hypothetico-deductive reasoning, antinomies, puns, and, most importantly, the interpreter's unconscious associations, based on his cultural values and conditioning. Accordingly, these interpretations provide a wealth of information on Byz. culture and society, for example, popular natural science, medicine (S.M. Oberhelman, *BHM* 61 [1987] 47–60), religion, sexual mores, class prejudice, and attitudes toward women.

LIT. S.M. Oberhelman, "Prolegomena to the Byzantine *Oneirokritika*," *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 487–504. Idem, *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet* (Binghamton 1989), chs. 1–2. Idem, "The Interpretation of Dream-Symbols in Byzantine Oneirocritic Literature," *BS* 47 (1986) 8–24. D. Gigli, "Gli onirocritici del cod. Paris Suppl. Gr. 690," *Prometheus* 4 (1978) 65–78, 173–88. R.G.A. van Lieshout, *Greeks on Dreams* (Utrecht 1980) 165–216. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.2:123–276. – S.M.O.

ONOMASTICS. See NAMES, PERSONAL; PROSOPOGRAPHY.

ONOUPHRIOS (ʾΟνούφριος), saint; a hermit who is believed to have lived ca.400; feastday 12 June. According to the legend he started his spiritual career as a monk in a cenobitic monastery in Hermopolis, near Egyptian Thebes; then he fled to the desert, lived 60 years in solitude, and died there. The author of his Life presents himself as Paphnoutios, a monk who allegedly wandered in the desert and came across Onouphrios, a naked and hairy man who told Paphnoutios the story of his life and deeds. It remains uncertain whether he can be identified with the anachorete Paphnoutios who lived in the region of Herakleopolis, near Thebes (Festugière, *Hist. monachorum* 102–10). The Life is poor in concrete data; the author emphasizes that during his long stay in the desert Onouphrios received "the immaculate communion" from an angel (p.28D). Later Onouphrios was praised by a certain Nicholas Sinaites (perhaps in the 9th C.) and by THEOPHANES OF SICILY, Manuel PHILES, and Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS. Coptic, Arabic, Armenian, and Latin versions of Onouphrios's Life also survive.

Representation in Art. The desert father with his immensely long white beard is generally depicted naked, his entire body covered with hair or with some desert plant shielding his private parts. Sometimes he wears a loincloth made out of palm fronds. His encounter with Paphnoutios is illustrated in a 12th-C. fresco at VELJUSA.

SOURCE. *AASS* June 3:24–30. F. Halkin, "La vie de saint Onuphre par Nicholas le Sinaïte," *RSBN* 24 (1987) 7–27.
LIT. *BHG* 1378–1382c, 2330–2330a. J.M. Sauget, M.C. Celletti, *Bibl.Sanct.* 9 (1967) 1187–1200. G. Kaster, *LCI* 8:84–88. –A.K., N.P.Š.

OPHELEIA (*ὠφέλεια*, lit. "aid"), a secondary tax mentioned primarily in *praktika* of the 14th C. and once in a chrysobull of Michael VIII of 1275 (*Xerop.*, no.10.43). In documents the term *opheleia* usually followed the OIKOUMENON and was equivalent to 10 percent of it, although a lower rate was possible: thus a *praktikon* of 1321 established the *opheleia* at 1 nomisma and the *oikoumenon* at 35, that is, only 3 percent (*Xénoph.*, no.15.21–22). The purpose of *opheleia* is not indicated in the *praktika*: Dölger (*Schatz.* 191) hypothesized that it was introduced for the use of public roads and equipment; he also identified *opheleia* with SITARKIA and ZEUGARATIKION (Dölger, *Byzanz* 257, n.88). Neither theory can be proved.

LIT. Chvostova, *Osobennosti* 99–101. Dölger, *Sechs Praktika* 31. J. Lefort in *Esphig.* 101. –A.K.

OPISTHOTELEIA (*ὀπισθοτέλεια*), a rare term designating deferred payment, back taxes. The term was first used by a 9th-C. historian (Theoph. 489.27) who related that in 810 Emp. Nikephoros I demanded *opisthoteleiai* from *archontes* for eight years. The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. J. Karayannopulos, *infra* 322.30–38) describes the method of imposition: if in the process of conducting an ORTHOSIS an EPOPTES granted a tax alleviation (SYMPATHEIA) and deleted several STICHOI from the cadaster, his successor after a certain lapse of time could suggest to the peasants of the same *chorion* that ownership be restored; in this case they had to agree to pay *opisthoteleia* for three years. If they refused, the fiscal official (*epoptes*?) gave ownership of the land in question to a third person (a higher bidder?). The payment of *opisthoteleia* could be substantial in a litigation over an estate (*Peira* 36.24, 58.5). After the 11th C. only Harmenopoulos mentions this type of arrears.

LIT. J. Karayannopulos, "Fragmente aus dem Vademecum eines byzantinischen Finanzbeamten," in *Polychronion* 328f. G.G. Litavrin, "OPISTHOTELEIA (K voprosu o nadelenii krest'jan zemlej v Vizantii X–XII vv.)," *VizVrem* 39 (1978) 46–53. –A.K.

OPPIAN, author of the *Halieutika*, a didactic epic on fishing; born Korykos in Cilicia, fl. late 2nd C. GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS (431.2) rightly dates Oppian to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Oppian was a school author, widely read and fairly often quoted

by the Byz. In the 5th C. a prose paraphrase of *Halieutika* appeared. There was considerable interest in Oppian in the 12th C. PROCHOPRODROMOS (4:215–24), for example, criticized his family for advising him to read Oppian rather than becoming a baker. John TZETZES wrote a commentary on Oppian (A. Colonna in *Lanx satura Nicolao Terzaghi oblata* [Genoa 1963] 101–04) as perhaps did EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE (A.R. Dyck, *ClPhil* 77 [1982] 153f). Constantine MANASSES composed a *Life of Oppian* in 15-syllable verse, which is considered the oldest surviving vita (A. Colonna, *BollCom* 12 [1964] 33–40). It includes anecdotal material preserved in Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* praef. 6), where the emperor Caracalla offered Oppian a golden coin for each verse of his poem. In the Palaiologan period Maximos PLANOUDES included Oppian in his collection of epic poetry (Florence, Laur. gr. 32.16).

The Byz. attributed to Oppian two more didactic epics as well (*Souda* 3:547.15–20), the *Kynegetika* (on hunting) and the *Ixeutika* (on catching birds with birdlime), which were actually written by pseudo-Oppian (born in Apameia on the Orontes in Syria, fl. early 3rd C.). The *Ixeutika* is now lost, but the *Kynegetika* is preserved among others in a richly illuminated MS of the third quarter of the 11th C. (Venice, Marc. gr. 479—J.C. Anderson, *DOP* 32 [1978] 192–96). The majority of the miniatures illustrate specific aspects of HUNTING, but a smaller group have mythological subjects and attest to medieval attitudes toward ANTIQUITY. This MS belonged to BESSARION. Two post-Byz. copies in Paris (B.N. gr. 2736, 2737) are dependent upon it.

ED. *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*, ed. A.W. Mair (New York 1928) xiii–531, with Eng. tr. *Anonymou paraphrasis eis ta Oppianou Halieutika*, ed. M. Papathomopoulos (Ioannina 1976). U.C. Bussemaker in F. Dübner, *Scholia in Theocritum* (Paris 1878) 243–375, 426–49.

LIT. Furlan, *Marciana*, vol. 5. R. Keydell, *RE* 18 (1939) 702f, 707f. D. Robin, "The Manuscript Tradition of Oppian's *Halieutica*," *BollClass* 2 (1981) 28–94. F. Napolitano, "Esegesi bizantina degli 'Halieutica' di Oppiano," *Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti, Rendiconti*, n.s. 48 (Naples 1973) 237–54. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 93–151. I. Spatharakis, "The Working Methods of the Artist of ps.-Oppian's Cynegetica," *Diptycha* 4 (1986–87) 28–48.

–P.A.A., R.S.N.

OPPIDO (Ὄππιδον), a town and Greek bishopric in the TOURMA of Salines in Calabria. A rich archive of Greek charters of 1050–64/5 from this bishopric, also named Hagia Agathe, contains 47 documents that shed light on the administration, ethnic character, and economy of this region of Byz. Italy: the *tourma* was divided into *droungoi*; the center of a DROUNGOS was a CHORION protected by a tower (PYRGOS). Oppido itself is described as an *asty* or KASTRON. The population bore primarily (70 percent) Greek names; these "Greeks" included Armenians and probably Turks. Latin names made up 17 percent and Arabic names 13 percent of the total. The economy of the region was agrarian, the acts listing fields, vineyards, fruit trees, mulberry trees; the production of salt is also mentioned. The cultivation of olives was unknown. There is some evidence of a village community. Each landholder's possessions were scattered, but it remains disputable whether such scattered holdings were often (or ever) extensive (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 37 [1976] 273).

LIT. A. Guillou, *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathé (Oppido) (1050–1064/1065)* (Vatican 1972). –A.K.

OPSAROLOGOS (Ὀψαρολόγος, lit. "Fish Book"), a short anonymous ANIMAL EPIC in prose, of uncertain date and context, satirizing late Byz. legal processes. King Whale presides over a court before which Mackerel has been denounced for conspiracy; Mackerel is found guilty and shorn of his beard. Surviving in one MS only (Escorial Ψ IV 22), this FABLE, with its knowledge of technical terminology for court procedures, has much in common linguistically and thematically with the PORIKOLOGOS.

ED. *Das mittelgriechische Fischbuch*, ed. K. Krumbacher, *SBAW* (1903) 345–80, with Germ. tr.
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 178f. –E.M.J.

OPSIKION (Ὀψίκιον), one of the four original THEMES of Asia Minor in the 7th C., derived its name from the Latin *obsequium*, denoting a body of *comitatenses*. Their headquarters was ANKYRA, from which their *komes* commanded the troops of all northern Asia Minor from the Dardanelles to the Halys. The theme, perhaps attested in 626, certainly existed by 680. Opsikion played a major role in history from the 7th to the 9th C.: in 715 it revolted and installed Theodosios III as emperor; it was the base for the revolt of ARTABASDOS, its former commander, in 742; its *komes* David suffered blinding for opposing Constantine V in 766; and its troops supported Michael II against THOMAS THE SLAV in 821. In the mid-8th C., OPTIMATON and BOUKELLARION were detached to become separate themes. Thereafter, Opsikion stretched from the Dardanelles to the edge of the central plateau, its capital was NICAEA, it had an army of 6,000, and its general was paid 30 pounds of gold. In the 12th C., the western part was called "Opsikion and Aigaion"; the theme apparently survived under the Laskarids.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 127–30. *TIB* 4:59–62. Angold, *Byz. Government* 244f. –C.F.

OPSONION (ὀψώνιον). In addition to their pay (ROGA) soldiers on campaign received provisions in kind (*TheophCont* 265.8–12), called either *opsonia* or *siteresia* (Delehaye, *Saints stylites* 201.14–18), together with fodder for their horses (*chortasmata*). These provisions were distributed monthly (Skyl. 426.19; Kek. 276.24–278.1) or at the beginning of a campaign (*De cer.* 695.2–3). *Opsonion* or *siteresion* referred also to a provisions allowance granted in cash to soldiers; an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 487.34–38) relates how Michael VI Stratiotikos sent Nikephoros Bryennios and John Opsaras to the Anatolikon theme with money to be distributed among the soldiers as their *siteresion*. In a wider sense, *siteresia, stratiotika opsonia, opsonismos* (and other terms) came to mean soldiers' salaries (Attal. 60.19) or, in effect, the entire expenditure necessary to equip and sustain a soldier (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 149). However, *opsonia* or *siteresia* were not restricted to the military but could also mean payments in cash or kind to monasteries (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.7.39–40, 62.13) or the salaries of civil officials.

LIT. Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 260–64. Haldon, *Praetorians* 314. –E.M.

OPTIMATOI (Ὀπτιμάτοι), theme of northwestern Asia Minor, comprising the region opposite Constantinople, including both sides of the Gulf of Nikomedeia (L. Robert, *JSav* [1979] 286–88) and stretching inland past the Sangarios. Its capital was NIKOMEDEIA. Optimatoi derived its name from the Latin *optimates*, a term used in the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE to designate an elite corps of FOEDERATI, perhaps of Gothic origin. Originally part of OPSIKION, Optimatoi appears as a separate theme in the late 8th C. According to 9th-C. Arab geographers, it contained the city of Nikomedeia and three fortresses, and had a force of 4,000. These were not regular troops but were employed to serve the army, caring for pack animals and mules (*De cer.* 475f). When the imperial troops of Constantinople went on campaign, an *optimatos* was assigned to each. Constantine VII consequently describes Optimatoi as having nothing in common with the other themes. Its commander was a *domestikos* who ranked below all the thematic *strategoi*. Seals of the 8th and 9th C. give him the title *strator, spatharios*, or *protospatharios*; in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos he is, however, *anthypatos patrikios*. Unlike the other themes, Optimatoi was not divided into *tourmai* and *droungoi*. The theme long survived: John III Vatatzes reconstituted it after retaking the region from the Latins in 1240.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 130–33. Haldon, *Praetorians* 96–100, 213. Angold, *Byz. Government* 244f. –C.F.

OPUS ALEXANDRINUM. See PAVEMENT.

OPUS INTERRASILE (lit. "pierced work"), a means of fashioning gold and silver akin to fretwork or filigree. The craftsman started with a solid band of metal and cut away part of the material. The cutting pierced the band to produce an openwork design, often displaying simple geometric forms, busts, or figural scenes. The technique is known from at least the 3rd C. and was particularly popular for BRACELETS and PENDANTS. It was also used for small plaques intended to be sewn on clothing or a piece of fabric.

LIT. D. Buckton, "The Beauty of Holiness: *Opus interrasile* from a Late Antique Workshop," *Jewellery Studies* 1 (1983–84) 15–19. Kent-Painter, *Wealth* 57. E. Coche de la Ferté, *Les bijoux antiques* (Paris 1956) 93f. –S.D.C.

OPUS LISTATUM. See BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS.

OPUS MIXTUM. See BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS.

OPUS SECTILE (σκούτλωσις, συγκοπή, μαρμάρωσις), inlay—usually of marble, but sometimes mother of pearl and/or glass—cut into shapes following a geometric or figural design, applied to walls and floors. Elaborate figured wall deco-

OPUS SECTILE. Pavement; 12th C. South church of the Pantokrator monastery, Istanbul.

ration in this medium was used in the 4th C. (G. Becatti, *Edificio con opus sectile fuori Porta Marina* [= *Scavi di Ostia* 6] [Rome 1969]), and crates of glass *opus sectile* for a sanctuary of Isis were found at KENCHREAI. HAGIA SOPHIA (Constantinople) preserves vast expanses of *opus sectile* in RINCEAU patterns; an *opus sectile* panel with a jeweled cross is located above the west door. Wall decoration in this expensive medium was, however, usually geometric, as in the bemas of S. Vitale, RAVENNA, and POREČ (A. Terry, *DOP* 40 [1986] 147–64). Painted imitation of *opus sectile* was ubiquitous on walls in provincial buildings.

From the 4th to the 6th C. *opus sectile* was more widespread, if less varied, on floors than on walls. It was usually laid in rectangular panels of simple geometric designs in colored marbles or white marble and slate. More luxurious than FLOOR MOSAIC, *opus sectile* frequently paved sanctuaries, while mosaic was used in less important areas of the church.

Wall decoration in *opus sectile* appeared only occasionally after the 6th C., for example, at DAPHNI and the CHORA MONASTERY, although its painted imitation was widespread. An 11th-C. *opus sectile* icon of St. Eudokia was found at the LIPS MONASTERY. *Opus sectile* floors were common in major Byz. churches of the 10th–12th C., such as the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY, Constantinople. They differ from earlier floors in having large scale curvilinear designs, parts of which are filled in with intricately laid small pieces and sometimes figures.

LIT. P. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *He technike 'opus sectile' sten entoichia diakosmese* (Thessalonike 1980). U. Peschlow, "Zum byzantinischen *opus sectile*-Boden," in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Kurt Bitte*, ed. R. Boehmer, H. Hauptmann (Mainz 1983) 435–47. S. Eyice, "Two Mosaic Pavements from Bithynia," *DOP* 17 (1963) 373–83. –R.E.K.

ORACLES (*χρησμοί*), divinely inspired prophecies or individuals who uttered oracular responses. Oracles were still being given in the 4th C. Theodoret of Cyrrhus notes that Emp. Julian consulted the oracles at DELPHI, DELOS, Dodona, and elsewhere before his invasion of Persia (T. Gregory, *Classical World* 76 [1982–83] 290f). Porphyry in his lost treatise *On the Philosophy of the Oracles* collected many anti-Christian oracular utterances, among them a prediction that the cult of Christ established by St. Peter would last only 365 years (H. Chadwick in *Mémorial A.J. Festugière* [Geneva 1984] 125f). An oracle at Didyma (HIERON), declaring that it could give no truthful utterance until unimpeded by Christians, served to justify the persecutions of Diocletian. Porphyry, as well as other Neoplatonists, found in the so-called CHALDEAN ORACLES (*logia*) the foundation of their world view. Christianity rejected the pagan oracles, claiming them to be the work of witches and demons, but tried to appropriate the tradition of renowned oracles: churches were erected on the sites of ancient temples famous for their oracles and Christian writers circulated bogus oracles, such as the one in which the Apollo of Kyzikos confessed that his temple was now the house of the Theotokos. The Jewish SIBYLLINE ORACLES were revised to convey a Christian message. A set of oracles attributed to Emp. Leo VI was popular in Byz. (C. Mango, *ZRVI* 6 [1960] 59–93), and Byz. apocalypses made use of the genre.

Oracles mentioned in sermons or commentaries on homilies attributed to GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and JOHN OF EUBOEA (or John of Damascus) were depicted as statues in MSS of the 11th and 12th C.; these include the figure of Apollo (that at Dodona and of the Kastalian spring at Delphi), and the oracle consulted by King Cyrus in the Persian capital. One, called the Despoina Pege and prefiguring the Virgin, is represented as a Byz. empress. Sometimes clusters of oracle figures are shown dancing, playing instruments, or falling in the manner of IDOLS. Thoroughly medieval in detail, these images still suggest some awareness of classical statuary.

LIT. J. O'Meara, *Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine* (Paris 1959). K. Buresch, *Klaros* (Leipzig 1889). Trombley, "Trullo" 6. K. Weitzmann, "Representations of Hellenic Oracles in Byzantine Manuscripts," in *Mél.Mansel* 1:397–410. –F.R.T., A.K., A.C.

ORANS, or *orant* (Lat., lit. "praying"), the name given to the early Christian posture of prayer: the body upright and frontal, and the open hands lifted to shoulder height to either side. Used to represent piety on many 3rd-C. pagan and Christian sarcophagi, the posture was adopted for innumerable catacomb figures, whether tomb owners or Old Testament characters (e.g., DANIEL) depicted at the moment of their salvation from death. Though rare after the 8th C., when prayer was shown by the inclined profile posture of PROSKYNESIS, the *orant* posture was retained throughout Byz. art for the Virgin Mary in the form often known as the VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA or VIRGIN PLATYTERA.

LIT. T. Klauser, "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst II," *JbAChr* 2 (1959) 115–45. –A.W.C.

ORARION (*ὀράριον, ὡράριον*), a narrow white stole of silk (originally linen) worn as a vestment by deacons when officiating; it rests on the left shoulder and hangs down in front and back. Its name derives probably from the Latin *orarium*, a cloth for wiping the brow. Its liturgical use is attested by the late 4th C. (Council of Laodikeia, canons 22 and 23, ed. P.-P. Joannou, *Fonti. Fascicolo IX. Discipline générale antique [IVe–IXe s.] 1:2. Les canons des Synodes Particuliers* [Grottaferrata 1962] 139f), though we have no sure artistic representations before the 9th C. (PARIS GREGORY). The *orarion* symbolized the humility of Christ, who washed the feet of the disciples and dried them with a towel (Isidore of Pelousion, PG 78:272C), and at the same time the wings of angels. A homily attributed to John Chrysostom describes deacons running in the church with fine linen cloth on their left shoulder in imitation of angels; they expelled catechumens who were not allowed to see the fatted calf being eaten (PG 59:520.17–27). The *orarion* often had woven into it the words of the deacons' pronouncement from the TRISAGION, "Hagios, hagios, hagios." Its two ends also symbolized the Old and New Testaments. In the modern rubrics for the liturgy attributed to Chrysostom, the deacon is required to present the *orarion* to the priest before vesting and to kiss it while putting it on.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 601–20. D. Pallas, "Meletemata leitourgika-archaiologika 1. To orarion tou diakonou," *EEBS* 24 (1954) 158–84. –N.P.Š., A.K.

ORB. See SPHAIRA.

ORDEAL. The use of ordeal as a means to prove the guilt or innocence of an individual is mentioned in sources of the 13th C.: Demetrios CHOMATENOS (Zepos, *Jus* 7:531f) and John APOKAUKOS (M.T. Fögen, *RJ* 2 [1983] 85–96) testify to its use in private cases, while George AKROPOLITES and PACHYMERES mention the use of ordeal at the treason trial of the future emperor Michael VIII. There were two major kinds of judicial ordeal: single combat and holding a red-hot iron. Ordeal by combat is also mentioned in the romance of PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA (P. Pieler, *JÖB* 20 [1971] 216f). Before enduring ordeal by hot iron the suspect had to spend three days in fasting; his hands were bound to prevent the application of ointments. The ordeal consisted of walking three paces while holding a piece of red-hot iron. Ordeal was considered a barbaric practice and was probably borrowed from Westerners (either before or after 1204).

Appeal to divine judgment was also common in Byz. in the case of the election of a bishop or *hegoumenos* or solution of a theological controversy and often took the form of depositing two or three pieces of paper (inscribed with names or statements) in a church or on a saint's relics. A 14th-C. historian (Greg. 1:166.14–23) relates that during a religious dispute in Atramyttion (1283?) the parties agreed to determine the truth by setting fire to two documents containing their creeds; each party expected its *biblos* to remain undamaged but both burned to cinders.

LIT. Angold, *Byz. Government* 172–74. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 21–26. Gy. Csebe, "Studien zum Hochverratsprozesse des Michael Paläologos im Jahre 1252," *BNJbb* 8 (1931) 59–98. –A.K.

ORDERIC VITALIS, Benedictine historian; born Shropshire 16 Feb. 1075, died St. Evroul, Normandy, on 3 Feb., in 1142 or later. Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica,* initially a history of his abbey, grew into a universal chronicle focusing on Norman achievements; the original MSS show how Orderic continuously (ca.1114/15–1141) revised the text. Orderic had access to wide-ranging information and strove for accuracy, although chronological mistakes were made. He conflates traditions on the Norman establishment in southern Italy (2:56–64, 98–104), but his information improves after monks from St. Evroul migrated to St. Eufemia in Calabria (e.g., 2:100–02). He described Anglo-Saxon emigration to Constantinople and connected Michael VII's fall with resentment of the power of the senate (2:202–04). His monastery provided oral sources (e.g., on the pilgrimage of Abbot Thierry [1050–57] to the Levant, 2:68–74; on Normans with family ties to St. Evroul who participated in Robert Guiscard's war with Byz., 4:10–38). Independent recasting of oral testimony may explain a parallel with Anna KOMNENE (4:36–38; cf. *Alexiad* 1:156.15–157.2). For the First Crusade he depends mostly on Baudry of Bourgueil, but, despite semilegendary overtones, Orderic adds details attributable to personal connections (e.g., on Nicaea, 5:50–59; Hugh Bunel's service with Alexios I, 5:156–58; Alexios's role in releasing Arpin of Bourges from prison thanks to Byz. merchants in Cairo, 5:350–52). He also treats Bohemund's siege of Dyrrachion (6:100–02), Constantinople's relations with the Crusader states (6:128–32, 502–08), and an insurrection on Byz. Cyprus (6:130–32).

ED. M. Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* 6 vols. (Oxford 1969–80), with Eng. tr.

LIT. M. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford 1984). –M.McC.

ORDERS, MINOR. See ACOLYTE; ANAGNOSTES; SUBDEACON.

ORDINATION. See CHEIROTHESIA; CHEIROTONIA.

ORGAN (*ὄργανον*). The organ was not used in the Byz. church, but did play an important part in imperial ceremonies, such as banquets, chariot races, weddings, and processions (cf. the organ depicted in the miniature, Entry of the Ark into Jerusalem, in the Vatican Book of Kings [Lassus, *Livre des Rois,* fig.85]). For these purposes the instrument was decked out in gold and costly decoration. Most sources refer to the bellows-type organ. An Arabic source (al-MAS^{c}ŪDĪ) suggests that three (or two) bellows fed air into a large reservoir below the pipe-chest. The Blue and Green FACTIONS at court each had an organ, but the instrument otherwise remained a rarity. At his palace the emperor had both AUTOMATA and true organs, in which at least one emperor (Theophilos) took an interest. Nothing is known of the pipework, sound, compass, precise function, or repertory of the organ in the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS of the Great Palace or indeed of any others, though one 9th-C. source, the Arab HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ, does refer to "60 copper pipes" in what appears to have been a large table organ. Byz. organs sent as gifts to the West helped revive interest in the instrument. Organs became objects of visual as well as aural show, eliciting wonder for their intricate technology and respect as extravagant diplomatic gifts or signs of royal power—a notable example being the organ sent to the Frankish king Pepin in 757.

LIT. P. Williams, *A New History of the Organ: From the Greeks to the Present Day* (London 1980) 29–33. J. Perrot, *The Organ from Its Invention in the Hellenistic Period to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (London 1971) 169–83. –D.E.C., A.C.

ORGYIA (*ὀργυιά*), name of several units of length and measures of land.

1. The shorter *orgyia* of 6 *podes* (= 96 DAKTYLOI = 1.87 m) had its origin in the ancient Greek *orgyia* of 1.89 m. Called also *haple* (simple) *orgyia,* it was used in commerce and handicraft.

2. A longer *orgyia* of 9 *basilikai* SPITHAMAI (= 108 *daktyloi* = 2.10 m) was commonly used in the measurement of land. This *orgyia* had its origin in the ancient Philetairic *orgyia* of 2.10 m. Out of concern for the taxpayers, Michael IV ordered the use of a longer *orgyia* (9.25 *basilikai spithamai* = 111 *daktyloi* = 2.17 m) for fields of best and middle quality, while the *orgyia* of 9 *spithamai* was retained for fields of poor quality. The *orgyia* used in measuring land was sometimes called *geometrike* or *basilike orgyia.*

3. From the 14th C. onward the use of different *orgyiai* of local validity can be demonstrated, sometimes called *kanna* (It. *canna*).

On the basis of setting marks for the columns in the Church of St. John at the Stoudios monastery, and other calculations, T. Thieme (in *Le dessin d'architecture dans les sociétés antiques* [Leiden 1985] 291–308) suggested that the basilica had been planned using two modules within a system of *orgyia* and *daktyloi.*

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 22–26. –E. Sch., A.C.

ORHAN (*Ὀρχάνης*), second Ottoman ruler (1326–62); born 1281?, died 1362. During 1326–27, Orhan incorporated what remained of Byz. Bithynia north and west of the Sangarios River. As his father OSMAN lay dying, Orhan conquered PROUSA (6 Apr. 1326), henceforth his capital. He then began a general northeastern advance, which Andronikos III tried but failed to oppose in June 1329. NICAEA surrendered to Orhan (2 Mar. 1331), but NIKOMEDEIA held out until 1337.

After 1345 Orhan was often entangled in Byz. dynastic politics. In May 1346, he married Theodora, daughter of John VI, and remained an ally of the Kantakouzenoi until 1357. Four times he dispatched Turkish troops into Europe to assist them (1348, 1350, 1352, 1356). During the final conflicts between Matthew I Kantakouzenos and John V Palaiologos from 1352 to 1356, Orhan simultaneously supported the initiatives of his eldest son, Süleyman Pasha, in conquering and settling southeastern Thrace. During 1357–59, Orhan adopted a conciliatory policy toward John V to gain his help in rescuing Halil, his youngest son by Theodora, from Phokaian pirates. Orhan favored an engagement between Halil and John V's daughter Irene, which occurred in Constantinople in summer 1359, following the boy's ransom. This liaison, however, produced no lasting peace (İnalcık, "Edirne" 189–95). With Orhan's assent, Turkish expansion in Thrace resumed late in 1359 and continued throughout the rest of his reign.

LIT. Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 197–201, 232–48. G. Arnakis, *Hoi protoi Othomanoi* (Athens 1947) 162–97. –S.W.R.

ORIBASIOS (*Ὀριβάσιος*), physician; born Pergamon ca.325, died after 395/6. Oribasios received early training from Zeno of Cyprus, a famous iatrosophist, as EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS relates in his short biography of Oribasios. While young JULIAN was confined to Asia Minor, Oribasios became a close friend of the future emperor. In 355, Julian took Oribasios to Gaul with him as personal physician and librarian. An extant letter from Julian to Oribasios (358/9) shows that Oribasios supported Julian's religious policies. A Byz. legend, found in the vita of Artemios and in Kedrenos, records that Oribasios brought from Delphi to Julian an "oracle" describing the desperate situation of the shrine (T. Gregory, *GRBS* 24 [1984] 355–66). Julian had ordered Oribasios to summarize GALEN, a task completed after 361; these *epitomai* have not survived. Oribasios also composed a medical synopsis, partially extant. He accompanied Julian on the Persian expedition (363) and was present at the emperor's deathbed; later Oribasios recorded events of that campaign in a private *Synopsis for Eunapios.* Emperors in the following decade forced Oribasios into exile, but he returned to Constantinople by the mid-370s.

Oribasios established the method for using ancient medical authors: quoting verbatim from carefully cited works and pairing each quotation with another of similar content, not necessarily from the same tract or author, as is seen in his streamlining of Galen's writings. Oribasios's version of Galen generally was followed by AETIOS OF AMIDA and PAUL OF AEGINA and was the form in which PHOTIOS knew Galen's works. Arabic physicians used Oribasios in translation, and by the 5th C. he was rendered into Latin. Oribasios ensured Galen's enormous influence on later Byz., western medieval, and Arabic medicine.

ED. *Collectionum medicarum reliquae,* ed. I. Raeder, 4 vols. (Leipzig-Berlin 1928–33).

LIT. H. Schröder, *RE* supp. 7 (1940) 797–812. J. Scarborough, "Early Byzantine Pharmacology," *DOP* 38 (1984) 221–24. B. Baldwin, "The Career of Oribasius," *Acta Classica* 18 (1975) 85–97. S. Faro, "Oribasio medico, quaestor di Giuliano l'Apostata," in *Studi in onore di Cesare Sanfilippo* 7 (Milan 1987) 263–68. –J.S.

ORIENS (*Ἑῴα*), diocese of the Eastern Prefecture from the 4th to 7th C., administered by the *comes Orientis* at ANTIOCH and comprised of the provinces of Syria I and II, Theodorias, Phoenicia Maritima and Libanensis, Arabia, Palestina I, II, and III, Isauria, Cilicia I and II, Euphratensis and southern Euphratensis, Osrhoene, Mesopotamia and southern Mesopotamia, Armenia IV, and, until 536, Cyprus. Egypt was removed from Oriens and made a separate diocese by Valens. Oriens was an important military, commercial,

industrial, and agricultural region that also included notable intellectual and university centers, esp. in Syria and Palestine. Oriens ceased to exist as an administrative unit in the 7th C., with the disappearance of the office of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT and the reorganization of provinces into THEMES.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 373f. Jones, *Cities* 540–47, tables XXVIII–XLI. –M.M.M.

ORIGEN (Ὠριγένης), surnamed Adamantios, theologian; born Alexandria? ca.185, died Tyre? probably 254. A professor of the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL from ca.202, he was excommunicated in 231/2 but found refuge in Caesarea Maritima, where he continued his teaching career. His traditional identification with the Neoplatonist Origen, a disciple of AMMONIOS, is not valid (K.O. Weber, *Origenes der Neuplatoniker* [Munich 1962]).

Origen was a very prolific writer (Jerome claims that Origen produced 2,000 works), but because of the later condemnation of his teachings most of his works survive only in fragments or in Latin translation. Origen laid the foundations for the further development of Christian theology by introducing such concepts as HOMOOUSIOS, *theanthropos* (God-man), and HYPOSTASIS. He treated the questions of SACRAMENTS and ESCHATOLOGY and the doctrines of angels and demons, the soul, and sin. He developed allegorical or typological exegesis of Scripture and in polemics against Celsus defended the truth of Christianity. His *First Principles* is the first systematic treatment of Christian theology, and the *Dialogue with Herakleides* is a rare case of a stenographic record reporting a lively discussion of the Father-Son relationship. Unlike CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, Origen proceeded from the idea of God, not the Logos, and he understood the Trinity hierarchically, so that Jerome accused him of subordinationism (a charge that ATHANASIOS of Alexandria refuted); he emphasized the unity of the soul and the human body in Christ after the Incarnation so that Christ's soul lost the possibility of sin; he taught the preexistence of souls and the eschatological *apokatastasis* (restoration) when all individuals will be purified.

Discussions about Origen's theology began immediately after his death, and his student Pamphilios of Caesarea defended Origen from his critics. Then, ca.400, Epiphanios of Salamis and Theophilos of Alexandria attacked him, while John of Jerusalem and Rufinus of Aquileia supported him. In addition to being accused of subordinationism, Origen was attacked for believing in the preexistence of souls and for terminological inconsistency. Some of his tenets were accepted by Egyptian and Palestinian monks who stressed the ascetic and mystical elements of his teaching; extreme supporters of his ideas claimed that in the final account each intellect is equal to Christ (hence their name *isochristoi*); a more moderate group (*protoktistoi*) taught that Christ is above other intellects; their opponents claimed that the *protoktistoi* introduced Christ's humanity as the fourth *hypostasis* in the Trinity. In 542/3 Justinian I issued an edict condemning Origen and his work, and anathemas were signed by Pope VIGILIUS and certain patriarchs. The *isochristoi* were condemned by the Council of Constantinople of 553; Origen was also named by the council, linked not to the *isochristoi* but to the affair of the THREE CHAPTERS.

ED. *Origenes Werke*, ed. P. Koetschau et al., 9 vols. (Leipzig 1899–1959). For complete list of ed., see *CPG* 1, nos.1410–1525.

LIT. H. Crouzel, *Bibliographie critique d'Origène* (The Hague–Steenbrugge 1971–80). Idem, *Origène* (Paris 1985). Quasten, *Patrology* 2:37–101. P. Nautin, *Origène: sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris 1977). –T.E.G.

ORIGINAL SIN (*προπατορικὴ ἁμαρτία*), the hereditary sin to which every human being is subject at conception as the result of the sinful choice of ADAM AND EVE. Because of the ancestral fall of man, predisposition to EVIL is already present in infants and can increase as the person matures, owing to his or her personal guilt (an idea particularly stressed by AUGUSTINE). As a result of original sin, all humanity remained excluded from PARADISE until the "original virginity" (the expression of a certain John the Monk, sometimes confused with John of Damascus, PG 96:1405C) of mankind was restored by the INCARNATION. In individual cases it is BAPTISM that cleanses man from the defilement of original sin (e.g., pseudo-Athanasios, PG 28:636A).

From the legal point of view the Byz. church accepted the same teaching about original sin as did the Latin church, and the canonists Zonaras and Balsamon formulated the doctrine in accordance with Augustine. Byz. theologians, however, with rare exceptions (e.g., Prochoros KYDONES), provided different emphases. In strong contrast to GNOSTICISM and esp. MANICHAEANISM, they (esp. JOHN OF DAMASCUS) stressed that man's nature remained, even after the Fall, an image or icon of God, whereas the likeness (*homoioma*) to God, based on GRACE, was lost and could be recovered only by ascetic purification and union with God. Adam's sin had an impact on all members of the human race, not in terms of personal guilt but as a punishment imposed collectively on mankind for the generic human sinfulness revealed in individual sins. Photios even considered the concept of original sin heretical (J. Gross, *BZ* 52 [1959] 304–20), while Symeon the Theologian interpreted it as removing oneself from the vision of God and from deification (J. Gross, *BZ* 53 [1960] 47–56). All in all, the concept of original sin was elaborated in Byz. less systematically than in the more legalistic West.

LIT. A. Gaudel, M. Jugie, *DTC* 12.1 (1933) 317–63, 413–32, 606–24. J. Gross, *Geschichte des Erbsündendogmas*, vols. 1–3 (Munich 1960–71). –G.P.

ORIKE (ὁρ⟨ε⟩ική), a supplementary or secondary tax of uncertain nature mentioned in many chrysobulls of the 14th C. In 1318 Andronikos II granted a certain George Troulenos ownership of an estate in the region of Serres and exempted *xenoi* ("aliens") and ELEUTHEROI settled on this land from all state EPEREIAI save for SITARKIA, KASTROKTISIA, *orike*, *phonos* (PHONIKON), and TREASURE TROVE (Guillou, *Ménécée*, no.8.15–17). A series of documents conferred upon the monastery of MENOIKEION, mostly by Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, exempts the monastery from *orike*, as well as *sitarkia*, *kastroktisia*, and (sometimes) ENNOMION; Dušan's chrysobull of 1345 (no.39.31–34) contains a longer list that also includes *ennomion* on beehives, the tithe on sheep and swine, and PARTHENOPHTHORIA. Charters from other archives sporadically mention the *orike*: in 1327 Andronikos II exempted the monastery of St. Nicholas near Serres from payment of *sitarkia*, *kastroktisia*, *orike*, and MITATON on their yokes of oxen (*doulika zeugaria*), adding, however, that *sitarkia* must be paid to the fisc (*Chil.*, no.113.28–33). Dušan exempted the monasteries of Philotheou (*Actes de Philothée*, ed. W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korablev [St. Petersburg 1913; rp. Amsterdam 1975] no.9.75), Esphigmenou (*Esphig.*, no.22.32), and Iveron (Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no.7.92) from *orike*; the *orike* is always listed together with *kastroktisia*. Finally, the chrysobull of 1342 issued at the request of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander abolishes the payment of *sitarkia*, *orike*, and *kastroktisia* levied in the amount of 50 hyperpera (*Zogr.*, no.31.21–25). It is thus plausible to hypothesize that the *orike* was a charge somehow connected with Slav territories. There is no direct evidence that it was a tax on hilly pastures (so Dölger, *Schatz.* 146f), an interpretation based solely on etymology.

A *praktikon* of 1321 mentions a (different?) charge called *oreiatikion* (*Lavra* 2, no.109.970,985) that was paid by the whole district (*perioche*) together with *ennomion*. The sum seems to have been insignificant.

LIT. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 473f. –A.K.

ORNAMENT (κόσμος). The most important categories of ornament in Byz. are floral patterns (including "inhabited" vine and acanthus rinceaux), animal figures, interlace, and the medallion style, originally a special case of interlace, in which tangent or interlaced circular medallions enclose other motifs, often human or animal figures. While these types are to some extent characteristic of every Byz. art form, except perhaps icon painting (though icons often received elaborately ornamented metal covers), the most lavish and innovative ornament is found in floor mosaics, textiles, and architectural sculpture. The major achievements in these areas date from the 5th to 6th and 10th to 12th C., but through their influence on other media and in later centuries, they effectively set the pattern for the historical development of Byz. ornament.

FLOOR MOSAICS of the 4th–6th C. display a repertory of floral and geometric forms essential to the development of INTERLACE, which reached an advanced level of complexity in the 5th C., as in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. Complex interlace seems to have lost popularity in the 6th C. but survived to influence the 8th-C. development of Islamic ornament. Another important mosaic pattern was the inhabited RINCEAU, frequently used in borders, and, in the 6th C., as a large-scale floor decoration in its own right (C. Dauphin, *Art History* 1 [1978] 400–23). Medallion compositions, which the most stylized of the rinceaux closely resemble, first appear in the 6th C.

at Beth Sh'an (see SKYTHOPOLIS) and Kabr Hiram, although they derived from earlier forms of interlace. The medallion style occurs in almost every medium, exercised a major influence on the arts of western Europe and the Islamic world throughout the Middle Ages, and was transmitted to China and Japan. Its influence is explained by its extreme adaptability, in terms of purpose as well as medium: not only a pattern in itself, it was a way of incorporating figures or even entire scenes into an ornamental scheme without diminishing their pictorial integrity.

Tessellated pavements passed out of fashion by the 7th C. and OPUS SECTILE became and remained the favored technique of luxurious floor decoration. *Opus sectile* preserved many of the interlace and medallion patterns developed in floor mosaics (PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY, Constantinople); it was instrumental in transmitting these patterns to the West (S. Marco, VENICE). The fullest expression of the medallion style is to be found, however, in SILK textiles. In TEXTILES, as in mosaics, the medallion style derived from interlace patterns traceable at least as far back as the 4th C. Coptic tapestries display a variety of ornament, including floral and interlace patterns that closely parallel those found in mosaics.

The ornament of architectural members as well as of borders and HEADPIECES in illuminated MSS was largely floral, sometimes in the form of GARLANDS or PALMETTES. Although its formal basis was once again Greco-Roman, antinaturalistic tendencies predominated. By the 6th C. the dominant style was close textured and often deeply undercut, with strong contrasts of light and shadow and an emphasis on delicately carved forms that combined sharpness with fluidity (St. POLYEUKTOS and HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople; S. Vitale, RAVENNA). Even further conventionalized by the 10th C., these forms were then freely combined with interlace and medallion patterns (HOSIOS LOUKAS, Theotokos church and *katholikon*).

A uniquely Byz. contribution to architectural ornament was the use of rectangular stone plaques with motifs in low relief (T. Ulbert, *Studien zur dekorativen Reliefplastik des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes* [Munich 1969]). The motifs included lozenges and other simple geometric shapes, crosses, small-scale interlace and medallion compositions, and ANIMAL COMBATS featuring both real or exotic creatures; these animals also appeared singly or symmetrically paired. The earliest examples date from the 6th C. but derive from 4th- and 5th-C. RELIEF sculpture, and ultimately from Roman sarcophagi and architectural decoration. Originally applied to parapets and chancel screens, in later centuries both older and contemporary plaques were set in the walls of buildings, such as the old Metropolis church in Athens and S. Marco in Venice (Grabar, *Sculptures II*, pls. LXV–LXX, XLVIII–LII). These carvings embody what is perhaps the most important principle of Byz. ornament: that a pattern need not cover and transform an entire surface but could be set off from its surroundings as a self-contained unit in the manner of a picture. Both figures and rather complex interlace patterns were treated in this way, recalling earlier floor mosaics in which interlace was confined to panels rather than carpeting the entire floor.

This restraint, together with the popularity and longevity of the medallion style, suggest, if not a rejection of intricacy as the basis of ornamental design, a tendency to subordinate it to an easily readable scheme. Nevertheless, despite a general tendency toward greater elaboration and fantasy beginning around the 12th C., containment and comprehensibility characterize much of Byz. ornament throughout its history. Indeed, they are arguably the features which most clearly distinguish Byz. ornament from the contemporary styles of western Europe and the Islamic world.

What we see in Byz. ornament is not necessarily what the Byzantines themselves saw. They valued craftsmanship and luxurious materials, but seem to have had a special regard for naturalistic effects. These were achieved in two ways: through actual representations, as of flowers or vines, and through the materials themselves, esp. the colored marbles used in *opus sectile*. The latter were not only praised for their intrinsic beauty, but frequently evoked comparison with rivers, gardens, and other natural features.

Many Byz. ornamental themes demand, or at least admit, a symbolic interpretation. The eucharistic and scriptural significance of the grapevine (Jn 15:1–7) helps explain the prominence of vine rinceaux in church decoration. The same motif was used, however, in synagogues, and to a lesser extent in secular buildings, including private dwellings. SHEEP and DEER had obvious religious connotations (Ps 42:1; Jn 10:7–18), but other creatures used in ornamental contexts may lack overt significance. No convincing interpretation has yet been advanced for the many scenes of animal combat found esp. in architectural sculpture. Not in itself symbolic, the medallion style with its series of linked frames allowed the incorporation of religious imagery into ornamental patterns. This potential was realized first in the 6th-C. Annunciation and Nativity silk in the Vatican, and thereafter in every ornamental medium throughout the history of Byz. art.

LIT. J. Trilling, *The Medallion Style* (New York–London 1985). O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* (Berlin 1913). –J.T.

OROPOS (Ὠρωπός, Rupo, Ripo), settlement and fortress on the east coast of ATTICA. Although Oropos was an ancient site, little is known of the medieval settlement until around 1200, when it is attested as belonging to the church of Athens. The fortress may have been built ca.1204. The site flourished in the 13th C., when it had close connections with both Athens and EUBOEA. The fortification was probably destroyed ca.1400, when it fell briefly into the hands of Albanians. It remained in Athenian control (until 1456) and was taken by the Turks in 1460. No remains of the fortification survive, but there are many churches in the vicinity, most dating from the period of Frankish domination (A.K. Orlandos, *DChAE*^{2} 4 [1927] 29–41; M. Chatzedakes, *DChAE*^{4} 5 [1969] 57–103).

LIT. *TIB* 1:229. –T.E.G.

OROSIUS, PAUL, Latin theologian and writer; born probably Braga, northern Portugal, died after 418. Around 412 Orosius migrated to Hippo, where he met AUGUSTINE, who sent him to JEROME at Bethlehem. While in Palestine Orosius, who had already made a theological mark with his *Commonitorium* against the Priscillianists and Origenists, combatted PELAGIANISM at a Jerusalem synod in 415, subsequently defending his own orthodoxy in the *Apology*. Back in Africa, Augustine set him to work on what is now known as the *History against the Pagans*, seven books of world history from the Creation to 417. This work was designed to reinforce the argument of the *City of God* that pagan charges that Rome's problems were the result of deserting the old gods were unfounded. The work is plainly written, but inevitably derivative (not always honestly) and of little independent value until Orosius reaches his own times. Its influence was ubiquitous (approximately 200 MSS survive), being sufficiently regarded in Byz. for Romanos II to present in 959 a copy to Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥman III in Spain, who commissioned an Arabic translation.

ED. PL 31:663–1216. C. Zangemeister in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna 1882). *The Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, tr. R.J. Deferrari (Washington, D.C., 1964).

LIT. B. Lacroix, *Orose et ses idées* (Montreal 1965). F. Fabbrini, *Paolo Orosio: Uno storico* (Rome 1979). H.-W. Goetz, *Die Geschichtstheologie des Orosius* (Darmstadt 1980). D. Koch-Peters, *Ansichten des Orosius zur Geschichte seiner Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main 1984). –B.B.

ORPHANAGES (*ὀρφανοτροφεῖα*). As part of their spirit of PHILANTHROPY, Byz. showed particular compassion for orphans as well as for widows, the sick, poor, and elderly. Some orphans were provided for through ADOPTION, others were cared for in monasteries or in orphanages, which were either independent or administered by a monastery. The director of an *orphanotropheion* was usually called an ORPHANOTROPHOS. The earlier *orphanotropheia* served not only as orphanages proper, but also as hostels, and the boundary between them and XENODOCHEIA was not clearly fixed (Justinian, nov.131.15). The most famous orphanage in Constantinople was that of St. Paul in the Acropolis region, which was in existence by the 6th C. Alexios I Komnenos restored it on a grand scale; the complex also included a school for orphans and refuges for the blind, crippled, and elderly. Orphans stayed in orphanages until old enough to marry; state legislation protected their rights. The sources also refer to a *brephotropheion*, or "foundling home," in Constantinople.

LIT. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 13–15, 241–56, corr. Dagron, *Naissance* 512. Janin, *Églises CP* 567–69. –A.M.T., A.K.

ORPHANOTROPHOS (*ὀρφανοτρόφος*), director of an ORPHANAGE. The term *orphanotrophos* is first mentioned in Leo I's novel of 469 as an office invented by the *patrikios* Zotikos. The earlier *orphanotrophoi* belonged to the clergy, and two 5th-C. patriarchs (one of them AKAKIOS) were former *orphanotrophoi*. In the provinces the office still re-

mained in the hands of priests and monks, such as the humble monk Kandidos in 1162 (*Lavra* 1, no.64.30). In the capital, however, *orphanotrophoi* became members of the secular hierarchy; in the 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij *patrikios* and *orphanotrophos* follows the *chartoularios* of the VESTIARION. In the Palaiologan period, Manuel Philes defined *orphanotrophos* as "the treasurer of imperial means" (Philes, *Carmina*, ed. A. Martini, no.43.59). Some *orphanotrophoi* were influential personages: an addressee of Theodore of Stoudios was the *patrikios* and *orphanotrophos* Leo; at the end of the 10th C. the *orphanotrophos* John was simultaneously judge (*krites*) of the Armeniakon; JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS administered the empire under Romanos III, Michael IV, and Michael V; Michael Hagiotheodorites was *orphanotrophos* and *logothetes tou dromou* in 1166–70, and at the beginning of the 13th C. John Belissariotes was *orphanotrophos* and *logothetes ton sekreton*. Thereafter, the office was in decline, and a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 185.17–20) notes that the *orphanotrophos* had no particular functions.

According to the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, the staff of the *orphanotrophos* included the CHARTOULARIOI of two orphanages (probably those of Zotikos and of St. Paul in Constantinople), the *arkarios* (cashier), and KOURATORES. The *orphanotrophos* is mentioned in formulas of exemption.

LIT. R. Guilland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin: L'Orphanotrophe," *REB* 23 (1965) 205–21. –A.K.

ORPHEUS, mythical musician. In late antiquity Christian apologists like Tatian, Theophilos, and Justin attacked Orpheus as a "false" singer. He was made into a pupil of Moses, who ultimately accepted the God of Israel. On the other hand the story of Orpheus charming wild animals with his song was interpreted as a prefiguration of Christ (Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptikon* 7.74.3–6) in his role as the Good Shepherd (EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, *De Laud. Const.* [p.244.14–31]), the new Orpheus outshining the old one. F. Halkin argues that the vitae of St. MAMAS and esp. St. Zosimos of Anazarbos pattern the saints after Orpheus: both saints prefer animal to human company; a lion, taught by Zosimos, instructs the persecutor Domitian in Christianity (*AB* 70 [1952] 249–61). The Byz. also viewed Orpheus as one of the ancient *sophoi* and quoted often from surviving Orphic fragments (Malal. 72.16–76.9).

In Byz. literature Orpheus and his lyre are used as a metaphor for the power of poetry and music (THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid, ed. Gautier, 1:353.3). Furthermore, a praised addressee (ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, *Scripta Minora* 2:5.27–6.3) or lamented deceased (Psellos, *In Mariam Scleraenam,* ed. M. Spadaro [Catania 1984] vv. 103, 111) is favorably compared with Orpheus. Various authors, though, use the Orpheus simile in an unusual way to surprise their listeners. Niketas CHONIATES (*Orationes* 129.26–9), for example, in praising THEODORE I LASKARIS says that the bronze statue of Orpheus, symbolizing the Muses, sweated to praise Alexander's deeds, thus equating the Macedonian king with the emperor and Orpheus with himself; the story is taken from Arrian. Anna Komnene intends to surpass Orpheus, because he moved only stones, while she will move her readers to tears (An.Komn. 1:7.14–20).

A standard figure in floor mosaics of the 3rd–6th C., Orpheus is found in catacomb painting and on Christian sarcophagi—stages in his eventual assimilation to Christ. The potent singer probably also served as a source for images of DAVID the musician, as in the PARIS PSALTER. From the 9th C. onward, miniatures in MSS of the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.*, figs. 82–84) show Orpheus as a lyre-player or harpist without reflecting the scorn attached to him in the text (PG 35:653AB). Likewise on CASKETS AND BOXES he ranks among mythological figures without ulterior motive.

LIT. K. Ziegler, *RE* 18.1 (1939) 1313–16. J.B. Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970) 13–85, 147–56. A. Boulanger, *Orphée* (Paris 1925). Cutler, *Transfigurations* 45–52. P. Prigent, "Orphée dans l'iconographie chrétienne," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 64 (1984) 205–21. –P.A.A., A.C., C.B.T.

ORTHOGRAPHY, the correct writing of words, including both letters and prosodical signs. The sweeping changes in Greek PHONOLOGY that took place from Hellenistic to late Roman times were not accompanied by corresponding changes in the writing of the language. Hence the correspondence between letters and phonemes was upset: the same sound could often be written in different ways and the same sign occasionally read in different ways. Byz. grammarians therefore composed prescriptive treatises on orthography. They all drew directly or indirectly on HERODIAN, particularly on passages concerning the correct writing of long and short vowels and diphthongs. Of the *Orthography* of Oros (5th C.) only a small fragment survives, and that of John Charax (6th C.) is still unpublished. The *Canons* of the grammarian THEOGNOSTOS and the partially preserved *Orthography* of George CHOIROBOSKOS are indicative of the revived cultural interest in the 9th C. NIKETAS OF HERAKLEIA set out the rules of orthography in the form of parodies of liturgical hymns as aids to memory (mainly unpublished). Many brief anonymous treatises on orthography for school use survive from the Palaiologan period, the latest being by the future Patr. GENNADIOS II. The erratic spelling of inscriptions in churches and on seals, as well as in documents, suggests that Byz. society attributed much less importance to correct orthography than its teachers would have wished. The most common of these errors are ITACISM and confusion between *υ* as a second element in a diphthong and *β*.

LIT. Egenolff, *Orthog.* C. Wendel, *RE* 18 (1942) 1437–56. –R.B.

ORTHOSIS (*ὄρθωσις*, lit. "making straight, correction"), a fiscal procedure of reestablishing taxes on land that had temporarily been exempted from payment. If the heir returned within a 30-year period to the land declared SYMPATHEIA, the tax had to be restored gradually, in three stages. If 30 years had already passed and the *sympatheia* had been transformed into a KLASMA, the *orthosis* would not take place. The procedure was performed by the EPOPTES or probably by a special functionary called *orthotes*. The data on *orthosis* and *orthotai* are preserved in documents of the 10th to 12th C., primarily in the treatise on TAXATION published by Ashburner and then by Dölger.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 141. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 45. G. Litavrin, "Ešče raz o sympafijach i klasmach nalogovych ustavov X–XI vv.," *BBulg* 5 (1978) 89f. –A.K.

ORTHROS (*ὄρθρος*), Byz. matins, a daybreak service to consecrate the day to God. Along with VESPERS, *orthros* was one of the two principal and original HOURS of both the cathedral and monastic offices.

In cathedral usage (see ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA), the service of *orthros* began in the NARTHEX and proceeded to the BEMA in stages (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:xxiii–iv; 2:309–10). After several ANTIPHONS of psalms and canticles (eight on weekdays, four on Sundays), each preceded by a prayer, the ministers entered the nave to the chant of a TROPARION. The cathedral PSALMODY of lauds, comprising the *Benedicite* canticle of Daniel 3:57–88 (festive), Psalm 50(51) with *troparion*, Psalms 148–150, the Great DOXOLOGY (festive), and the TRISAGION, was celebrated at the AMBO. At solemn festive *orthros*, during the singing of the *Trisagion* the patriarch made his solemn entrance and went to the bema for the Gospel LECTION and concluding LITANIES.

The *orthros* of the Palestinian monastic HOROLOGION, gradually adopted by the Stoudite monks of Constantinople from the 9th C. onward, is characterized by its poetic KANON of nine odes based on the ten biblical canticles. Originally the canticles themselves were chanted, but the poetic *kanon* ultimately supplanted them outside of Lent, except for canticle nine, the Magnificat (Lk 1:46–55). The full *kanon* was meant to be chanted only at the Sabaitic *agrypnia* or Saturday all-night VIGIL, but eventually became a fixed element of daily *orthros* outside of Lent. In Stoudite usage the *kanon* was interrupted after the third or sixth ode for a lection from the church fathers or Lives of the saints (Arranz, *Typicon* 381f).

In the final stage of its development, this hybrid office, a fusion of cathedral and monastic usages, was further modified in the SABAITIC TYPIKA, esp. in the distribution of the psalmody. Characteristic of Sabaitic *orthros* is the reading of the entire Psalter plus all nine odes of the *kanon* at the *agrypnia*.

LIT. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 361–65. Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours* 273–81. J. Matéos, "Quelques problèmes de l'orthros byzantin," *PrOC* 11 (1961) 17–35, 201–20. M. Arranz, "Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines," *OrChrP* 37 (1971) 406–36; 38 (1972) 64–115. –R.F.T.

OSMAN ('Ατμάν, 'Οτμάνης, etc.), son of the Turkoman *beg* Ertoghrul and progenitor of the dynasty of the OTTOMANS; died Söğüt 1326. Osman succeeded Ertoghrul ca.1282 as leader of a mixed following of Kayı clansmen and other ghazis (see TURKS), whose territory centered on Eskişehir (formerly Dorylaion) and Söğüt (south of the San-

garios River) and whose economy was still substantially pastoral. In the early years of his rule, Osman's posture toward the neighboring, largely autonomous Greek lords varied between peaceful coexistence and conflict. By the late 1280s and 1290s, however, Osman and his warriors were conducting more determined assaults into the interior of Byz. Bithynia. The smaller fortresses of southern Bithynia were variously captured or incorporated, and by 1301 Osman was besieging Nicaea and harrying Prousa. This provoked a counteroffensive led by the *hetaireiarches* MOUZALON, whom Osman defeated on 27 July 1302 at BAPHEUS (in Turkish sources, Koyun-hisar). This victory assured a Turkic settlement in Bithynia, but did not result in his speedy conquest of its strategic centers. Osman's pressures on Prousa, Nicaea, and Nikomedeia continued intermittently throughout the next quarter century. Shortly before his death, Prousa capitulated to his son, ORHAN.

Osman welded his inheritance and conquests into a powerful principality, with Turco-Islamic institutions deriving from the Seljuk legacy. It quickly came to rival the other Anatolian *beyliks*, and by the death of MURAD I in 1389 had evolved as a Eurasian empire.

LIT. Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 193–98. G. Arnakis, *Hoi protoi Othomanoi* (Athens 1947) 120–61. M. Gökbilgin, *İA* 9:431–43. H. İnalcık, "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 2.2 (1981–82) 75–79. R. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983) 1–50. –S.W.R.

OSRHOENE (Ὀσροήνη), civil and ecclesiastical province of the diocese of ORIENS from the 4th to 7th C.; it extended east from the Euphrates River as far as the province(s) of MESOPOTAMIA. The name of Osrhoene is that of the kingdom of a local Arab dynasty (ca.130 B.C.–A.D. 214 or 240—Segal, *infra* 9–15) and is thought to derive either from their tribe, the Osrhoeni (Jones, *Cities* 215f) or their capital, Orhay (Edessa). The relatively flat land of Osrhoene was cultivated and also offered grazing for herds belonging to Arab nomads. The province was crossed by trade and military routes, and its 4th–7th-C. history was dominated by the Byz.-Persian wars. In addition to its capital, EDESSA, it contained 18 cities including CONSTANTINA, KALLINIKOS, Kirkesion, and Batnae/Sarug as well as Carrhae/Harran. The last remained a center of paganism into the 9th C. (Jones, *Cities* 206).

LIT. L. Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents* (Paris 1962) 88f, 105–10. J.B. Segal, *Edessa, The Blessed City* (Oxford 1970) 9–15, 117, 133f. Idem, "Mesopotamian Communities from Julian to the Rise of Islam," *ProcBrAc* 41 (1955) 109–28. –M.M.M.

OSTIARIOS (ὀστιάριος, from Lat. *ostiarius*, "doorkeeper"), a palace eunuch whose function was to introduce dignitaries to the emperor or empress; at the same time, the term was used as a title. A legend preserved in the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE mentions a certain *ostiarios* Antiochos as a contemporary of Justinian I; a seal of the 7th C. bears the name of the *koubikoularios* and *ostiarios* Theodosios (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2939), and John, an imperial *ostiarios* and *logothetes* of the *stratiotikon*, participated in the council of 787 (Mansi 12:1051D). The title of *ostiarios* was conferred on various functionaries, in the 11th C. often on notaries and protonotaries: Psellos sent a letter to John, *ostiarios* and *protonotarios* of the *dromos* (Sathas, *MB* 5:373.1–2); the *ostiarios* Bardas Olyntianos was imperial *protonotarios* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.172). At the end of the 11th C. a certain Nicholas in Calabria was first *ostiarios* and later *protonotarios* (C.A. Garufi, *AStSic* 49 [1928] 32f). Although some earlier editors had dated certain lead seals of *ostiarioi* as late as the 13th C., Oikonomides (*Listes* 300) thinks that the office did not survive the end of the 11th C. The ecclesiastical *ostiarios* was a deacon: John of Kitros (ca.1200) denied that the post could be held by an *anagnostes* (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 539). There could also be *ostiarioi* in the service of high dignitaries.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:286–89. Bury, *Adm. System* 122. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 167–71. –A.K.

OSTRAKA (sing. ὄστρακον), pottery shards (and sometimes limestone flakes) used as writing material, most often for short texts such as tax receipts and private letters between monks. They also carried accounts, orders for payment, lists of names, memoranda, commodity labels, and writing exercises. The archives of the bishops Pesynthios of Coptos and APA ABRAHAM contain numerous *ostraka* bearing requests for ordination from clerics in minor orders. *Ostraka* were also used for biblical, patristic, and other literary texts (e.g., the homilies in W.E. Crum, H.E. Winlock, *The Monastery of Epiphanius*, vol. 2 [New York 1926] 56–66), liturgical texts, hymns, prayers, and magical texts. Cheap and ubiquitous, *ostraka* thus provide evidence both for the extent of literacy and for economic and social history throughout late antiquity.

ED. J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, W.H. Willis, *A Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*[3] (Atlanta 1985). A.A. Schiller, "A Checklist of Coptic Documents and Letters," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 13 (1976) 99–123. –L.S.B.MacC.

OSTROGOTHS (Οὐστρίγοτθοι), a branch of the GOTHS, earlier known as the Greuthingi, who occupied the lower Don basin in the 4th C. Their king, Ermanaric, committed suicide when attacked ca.375 by the HUNS, of whom they remained tributaries in PANNONIA until 454. In the late 5th C. their kings Valamer, Thiudimir, and THEODORIC THE GREAT alternated between being loyal *foederati* of the empire and ravaging ILLYRICUM. After besieging Constantinople in 488 they were sent to Italy by Zeno to overthrow ODOACER, after whose death in 493 Theodoric became the most powerful ruler in the West with his capital at RAVENNA. The Ostrogothic regime achieved peace and prosperity and, despite their ARIANISM, maintained good relations with the Roman senate and papacy until ca.523. After the death of Athalaric in 534, the murder of his mother AMALASUNTHA by THEODAHAD gave Justinian I a pretext to invade Italy. In a long, bitterly fought war they suffered initial losses under Witigis, then recovered most of the Byz. gains under TOTILA. Their main forces were defeated by NARSES in 552. Some survivors were deported to the East, while others made common cause with the LOMBARD invaders of Italy.

LIT. T.S. Burns, *A History of the Ostrogoths* (Bloomington 1984). H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley 1988). E.K. Chrysos, *To Byzantion kai hoi Gotthoi* (Thessalonike 1972). –T.S.B.

OTRANTO (Ὑδροῦς), port in southern APULIA, commanding the shortest route across the ADRIATIC SEA to AVLON. During the Gothic War Otranto was an important garrison town and naval staging post. A bishop is recorded in 595 and a tribune in 599. It remained Byz. throughout the 7th C., fell to the LOMBARDS sometime after 710 and at some point after its recovery by the Byz. in 758 was the residence of a DOUX. In the 9th C. Otranto withstood Arab attacks, but after the reconquest of the rest of Apulia in 876 it lost its administrative role to BARI. It remained important as a port of entry for troops and officials as well as an autocephalous archbishopric, probably created soon after 876, which lacked suffragans until allocated Acerenza, Gravina, Matera, Tricarico, and Tursi in 968. Otranto's Jewish community was sizable; archaeological finds, including glazed wares and coins, suggest a flourishing economic life. Until 1055 Otranto resisted the Norman advance. Recaptured in 1060, it fell again in 1064 and was finally taken in 1068 by Robert GUISCARD, who used it as a base for operations against Byz. territory. Although a Latin archbishop was installed by 1067, the Greek clergy and rite remained preponderant until the late 14th C. and the Terra d'Otranto continued to be a center of MS copying and literary production. Particularly important was the monastery of S. Nicola at CASOLE, which was founded in 1099 and whose most distinguished abbot (from 1219) was the scholar NICHOLAS OF OTRANTO. Both city and monastery were sacked by the Turks in 1480.

Monuments of Otranto. The Church of S. Pietro at Otranto is a good example of Byz. provincial art. In plan it resembles the Calabrian cross-in-square churches at STILO and ROSSANO, but it differs in elevation, having a single dome rather than five. Corner bays are covered by east-west barrel vaults. It was decorated with frescoes, of which there are at least two layers. The later paintings may be 12th-C.; H. Belting (*DOP* 28 [1974] 12–14, 22) dates the earlier ones to the 10th C., stressing their *retardataire* quality and attributing them to the same workshop as the cave paintings at nearby CARPIGNANO SALENTINO.

LIT. G. Gianfreda, *Otranto nella storia* (Galatina 1972). G. Cavallo, "Libri greci e resistenza etnica in Terra d'Otranto," *Libri e lettori nel mondo bizantino: Guida storica e critica*, ed. G. Cavallo (Rome-Bari 1982) 155–78, 223–27. –T.S.B., D.K.

OTTO I THE GREAT, German king (936–62), emperor (2 Feb. 962–973); born 23 Nov. 912, died Memleben 7 May 973. After stabilizing the situation in Germany, Otto invaded Lombardy in 951; later, under the pretext of helping Pope

John XII (955–64), he entered Rome, where he was proclaimed emperor. His Italian policy and esp. his proclamation as emperor raised the political problem of the relationship between the German and Byz. empires: that is, which could rightly claim to be the successor of the Roman Empire. Vying with Byz., Otto intended to build up the town of Magdeburg as a rival to Constantinople (H. Gringmuth-Dallmer, *BBA* 49 [1983] 26–29). He attracted former Byz. allies in southern Italy, Salerno, and Benevento and tried to invade the theme of Longobardia. NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS tried to solve the conflict by peace negotiations and sent Otto an embassy in the winter of 966/7. After the negotiations failed, Nikephoros led an army against the Germans in the summer of 967; Otto, afraid of impending war, sent the Venetian envoy Domenico to Constantinople to ask for peace (S.A. Ivanov, *VizVrem* 42 [1981] 94–96). Otto was acknowledged as *basileus* of the Franks (not Romans), and the political alliance was confirmed by the betrothal in 972 of Otto's heir, Otto II, to the Byz. princess THEOPHANO. Otto's expedition against southern Italy in 968 proved a failure.

LIT. W. Ohnsorge, "Konstantinopel im politischen Denken der Ottonenzeit," in *Polychronion* 388–412. Idem, "Die Anerkennung des Kaisertums Ottos I. durch Byzanz," *BZ* 54 (1961) 28–52. Idem, *Ost-Rom und der Westen* (Darmstadt 1983). P.E. Schramm, "Kaiser, Basileus und Papst in der Zeit der Ottonen," *HistZ* 129 (1924) 424–75. –A.K.

OTTO III, king of Germany (crowned Aachen 25 Dec. 983) and Western Emperor (crowned Rome 21 May 996); born near Cologne July 980, died Paterno near Civita Castellana, north of Rome, 23 Jan. 1002. Son of Otto II and THEOPHANO, Otto (Ὄθος) was guided by his mother from Otto's death (983) until her own. He esteemed ascetics highly, esp. NEILOS OF ROSSANO. He valued his Byz. heritage and styled himself *Imperator Romanorum*, a translation of the Byz. emperor's title. Widukind of Corvey had earlier expressed German claims to imperial majesty which Otto sought to realize. He proclaimed a *Renovatio Imperii Romanorum*, while adopting Byz. court ceremonial and Byz. forms for his documents and seals. He was the only German emperor who tried to make Rome his capital. He rejected the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE as a forgery, in order, in Byz. fashion, to assert his superiority to the papacy. Thus he appointed his cousin GREGORY V as pope and his former tutor as Sylvester II (999–1003). Otto sought a Byz. bride; the embassy of LEO OF SYNADA failed but a subsequent envoy brought a princess (possibly a daughter of Constantine VIII), who reached Bari at the time of Otto's death.

LIT. R. Holtzmann, *Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit (900–1024)*[3] (Munich 1955) 292–382. P.E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio* (Leipzig-Berlin 1929) 1:87–187, 2:17–35. Ohnsorge, *Abend. & Byz.* 255–60, 288–99. –C.M.B.

OTTOMANS (Ἀτμάνες, Ὀθμάνοι), a Turkish dynasty ruling first over an emirate, later over an empire that replaced Byz. Its name derives from its founder Othman (OSMAN). The earliest contemporary reference to him appears in PACHYMERES, who reports that in 1302 a Turkish chieftain, "Atman," defeated a Byz. army at BAPHEUS and invaded the region near Nikomedeia with his troops. A silver coin struck by Osman confirms later sources that give his father's name as Ertoghrul. The cradle of the Ottomans was the Söğüt region, west of the Sangarios River; established there during the dissolution of the SELJUK state, they began to wage holy war (*jihād*) against the Byz. In 1326 they captured Prousa, which they made their capital; Nicaea fell in 1331, and Nikomedeia in 1337/8. Annexing the emirate of KARASI gave them access to the Aegean Sea ca.1348.

During the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, Osman's successor, ORHAN, offered military aid to John VI Kantakouzenos, married his daughter, and largely contributed to his victory, but Orhan's uncontrolled troops devastated Byz. territory. In March 1354, when an earthquake destroyed the walls of KALLIPOLIS, the Ottomans occupied this strategically important fortress; with it as a base, they expanded into the Balkans. In 1366 AMADEO VI OF SAVOY sailed to assist Byz. and expelled the Ottomans from Kallipolis, which was restored to the Byz.; but in 1371 the Ottomans defeated the southern Serbs at the battle of MARICA, and soon reduced the Byz. emperor to a tribute-paying vassal. Around this time MURAD I appointed a military governor (*beylerbey*) of the European territories and established him in Philippopolis. In 1376 Murad compelled Andronikos IV to surrender Kallipolis. The Ottomans undertook large-scale operations in the Balkans in 1383, conquered Sofia with its surrounding territory ca.1385, and overran Macedonia, with Thessalonike sur-

rendering in 1387. Finally they defeated the Serbians and Bosnians at KOSOVO POLJE in 1389. (Some scholars, however, consider the battle at Kosovo a draw.)

Systematic colonization followed the conquest; Turkish colonists were settled among the old local population, nomads were transferred from Anatolia to Europe, Islamic religious foundations (*waqf*) were established, and the sultan granted lands to cavalry officers as *timar* (the approximate equivalent of the Byz. PRONOIA).

In 1390 BAYEZID I annexed the Turkish Anatolian emirates of AYDIN, SARUHAN, MENTESHE, and others, and the city of PHILADELPHIA. In 1391 he conquered the Kastamon region and marched against Sebasteia; he used his Christian vassals in campaigns directed against Muslims. Attacks against his European frontier obliged him to cross to the Balkans, where he undertook several military operations, mainly against the HUNGARIANS. He besieged Constantinople and in 1396 annihilated a crusading army at NIKOPOLIS. Returning to Anatolia, he continued his conquests, which, esp. after the occupation of the caravan city of KELTZENE, provoked the intervention of the Mongol khan TIMUR; the latter's army defeated the Ottomans at the battle of ANKARA and captured the sultan in 1402. Timur restored the Turkish emirates occupied by the Ottomans, while Bayezid's son SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI, established in Adrianople, concluded a treaty with Byz. and other local Christian powers, which involved important territorial concessions on the part of the Ottomans.

After ten years of dynastic strife, Sultan MEHMED I restored unity in 1413. Social turmoil continued as shown by the revolt of *sheyh* Bedr ed-din, who preached equality between Christian and Muslim. The Venetians profited from this and destroyed the Ottoman fleet at Kallipolis in 1416, but the Ottomans conquered the strategically important port of AVLON (1417), campaigned successfully against Wallachia (1417), and reannexed some of the Anatolian emirates. Under MURAD II Timur's successors exercised pressure in Anatolia and protected the emirate of KARAMAN, which resisted Ottoman supremacy successfully. In the Balkans the Ottomans' main opponents remained the Hungarians under King Sigismund. In 1430 the Ottomans retook Thessalonike and annexed the city of Ioannina. In 1439 they occupied Serbia, including the silver-producing region of Novo Brdo. They twice defeated the Hungarians under HUNYADI, at VARNA (1444) and Kosovo Polje (1448). These victories consolidated Ottoman power and prepared for the conquest of Constantinople by Murad II's successor, MEHMED II, in 1453.

From the early years the bases of the Ottoman state were the religion of Islam and the dynasty of Osman. Christian slaves converted to Islam played a most important role: they constituted the sultan's personal guard (JANISSARIES); if proved worthy, they gained the highest offices in the imperial palace and the administration. Most of the sultans' mothers were slave girls of non-Muslim origin. The Byz. disapproved of the easy social ascent among the Ottomans, but high Ottoman officials were proud of their humble beginnings.

The Byz. generally scorned the Ottomans as adherents of a false religion (see ISLAM, POLEMIC AGAINST) and as cultural inferiors (S.Vryonis, *GRBS* 12 [1971] 263–86). The Ottoman impact on late Byz. institutions and cultural patterns was minimal, just as Byz. influence on Ottoman institutions and elite culture was circumscribed. Cultural interchange at the folk level, however, was more extensive, esp. during the *Tourkokratia* period (S. Vryonis, *DOP* 23–24 [1969–70] 253–308).

LIT. H. Inalcik, *CHIsl* 1:263–91. Idem, "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 2.2 (1981–82) 71–79. P. Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London 1938). Idem, "De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople," *REI* 12 (1938) 1–34. I. Artuk, "Osmanli beyliğinin kurucusu Osman gazi'ye ait sikke," in *First International Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey, Hacettepe University 1977* (Ankara 1980) 27–33. A. Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture* (Chicago-London 1968). –E.A.Z.

OTTO OF FREISING, Latin churchman and historian; born between ca.1111 and 1116, died 22 Sept. 1158. Half-brother of CONRAD III and uncle of FREDERICK I, Otto studied at Paris (ca.1127/8–1133), became a Cistercian (1132), was named abbot of Morimond and bishop of Freising (1138), and participated in the Second Crusade. In his *Historia de duabus civitatibus* (History of the Two States, 1143–46) Otto interpreted the history of Byz. in an Augustinian way as the translation of the empire from Rome to the Greeks (Byz.) to the Franks. He describes there various events of the period, for example, the campaign of John II

Komnenos against Antioch (ed. Hofmeister, pp. 354f) and an Armenian embassy to the pope (pp. 360–63).

Otto undertook the *Chronica*, or *Gesta Frederici*, at Frederick's request and finished the first books by summer 1158; his chaplain and secretary Rahewin (died before 11 Apr. 1177), who completed Otto's work (bks. 3–4; before Feb. or June 1160), pays less attention to Byz. The *Chronica* describes the Byz. embassy on the marriage of BERTHA OF SULZBACH to Manuel I and the embassy of WIBALD, the attack of ROGER II on Greece (1,35 [pp. 53f]), the Second Crusade (1,35–47 and 62–64 [pp. 54–67, 88–91]), Byz. subversion in southern Italy (2,49–52 [pp. 156–59]), a Hungarian victory over Manuel (2,53 [pp. 159f]), and the plot of a *kanikleios* (Theodore Styppeiotes) against him (O. Kresten, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 61f).

ED. *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Hofmeister [= MGH *SRG* 45] (Hannover 1912). Tr. C.C. Mierow, *The Two Cities* (New York 1928). *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz, B. von Simson [= MGH *SRG* 46] (Hannover 1912). *Die Taten Friedrichs*, ed. F.J. Schmale (Darmstadt 1974), with Germ. tr. by A. Schmidt. Tr. C.C. Mierow, R. Emery, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* (New York 1953).

LIT. Wattenbach-Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Heinr. V* 1:48–66. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:436. H.W. Goetz, *Das Geschichtsbild Ottos von Freising* (Cologne-Vienna 1984). –M.McC.

OULPIOS (Οὔλπιος), or Elpios, "the Roman" (fl. sometime between 828 and 993), author of the lost work *Antiquities of Church History*, fragments of which have been preserved in two MSS; the earliest of them, Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 100 (Vladimir 108) was copied in 993. The fragments are entitled "On physical images [of God-bearing fathers]" and contain descriptions of Adam, the biblical prophets, Christ, the apostles Peter and Paul, Dionysios [the Areopagite], church fathers (primarily of the 4th C.), and two patriarchs of Constantinople, Tarasios and Nikephoros. The author describes their height (Adam was 4.5 *pecheis* high); head shape (e.g., *makrokephalos*); facial coloring, hair, and beard; the form of nose, ears, eyes, and eyebrows; and expression ("kindly" for Gregory of Nazianzos, "fierce" for Basil the Great). Tarasios is said to resemble Gregory the Theologian, while Nikephoros resembles Cyril of Alexandria. Iconoclastic views are not mentioned, but Manichaean "futile nonsense fantasy" concerning the Lord's Incarnation is expressly rejected.

The traditional characterization of the fragments as a set of models for artists (e.g., H. Delehaye in *Synax.CP*, p.lxvi) was rejected by J. Lowden (*infra*) who suggests that Oulpios's descriptions depended upon narrative texts (e.g., Malalas) and/or monumental painting.

ED. & LIT. M. Chatzidakis, "Ek ton Elpiou tou Romaiou," *EEBS* 14 (1938) 393–414. Lowden, *Prophet Books* 51–55, 61f, 122f. F. Winkelmann, "Über die körperlichen Merkmale der gottbeseelten Väter," in *Festtag und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing, D. Simon (Munich 1990) 107–27. –A.C., A.K.

OUNGIA (*οὐγγία*), unit of weight derived from Lat. *uncia* = 1/12 LITRA. Accordingly, the *oungia*, as 1/12 of the *logarike litra* of 320 g, weighed 26.7 g, and the *oungia*, as 1/12 of the *soualia litra* of oil (256 g), weighed 21.3 g. Many WEIGHTS representing an *oungia* or its multiples have been preserved.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 181f. –E. Sch.

OURANOS, NIKEPHOROS, official and writer; died after 1007. Ouranos (Οὐρανός) was involved in the negotiations between Constantinople and Baghdad over Bardas SKLEROS; a contemporary Arab report describes him as an intimate of Basil II and an enemy of BASIL THE NOTHOS (H. Amedroz, D. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, vol. 6 [Oxford-London 1921] 23–35). He was a civil functionary (*kanikleios*) and held the title of *magistros*; the *diatyposis* of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS records his appointment as lay guardian of the Lavra. It was his military career that made him famous. As *archon* of the West he annihilated the forces of SAMUEL OF BULGARIA at the river Spercheios in 997, and as governor of Antioch after 999 he repulsed unruly Arab tribesmen (1000/1), campaigned in Armenia (1001/2), and fought the rebel al-Asfar (1005–07).

Some of his surviving letters are devoted primarily to the topics of service to the emperor, friendship, and family affairs—mother, sister, and younger brother, but not wife or children—and contain occasional details of his military activities. LEO OF SYNADA, who sent him a letter, belonged to the same circle of civil functionaries (ed. M.P. Vinson, ep.13 and commentary p.102). Ouranos's *Taktika* (written ca.1000), still only partly edited, is largely a paraphrase of earlier sources, but chapters 56 through 65 represent a revised and expanded version of the PRAECEPTA MILITARIA, including firsthand material based on his campaign experience along the eastern frontier. A. Dain wrongly considered chapters 63 through 74 to have been copied from a part of the *Praecepta militaria* now missing. Ouranos also composed poetic and hagiographical works.

ED. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 217–48. J.-A. de Foucault, "Douze chapitres inédits de la *Tactique* de Nicéphore Ouranos," *TM* 5 (1973) 281–312.

LIT. J.H. Forsyth, "The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle (938–1034) of Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Mich., 1977) 393–416, 502–15, 557–60. A. Dain, *La "Tactique" de Nicéphore Ouranos* (Paris 1937). –E.M.

OUSIA. See SUBSTANCE.

OVČE POLE (Εὐτζάπολις), called Neustapolis by George Akropolites, a district in Macedonia, in the basin of the Upper Vardar. It is first mentioned by an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 459.82), who relates that in 1048 the governor of Bulgaria, Basil the Monk, settled thousands of Pechenegs in the valleys of Serdica, Niš (Naissus), and Ovče Pole. They later participated in a military expedition in Asia Minor but revolted against Byz. (J. Shepard, *JÖB* 24 [1975] 77). In the mid-13th C. Ovče Pole acknowledged the supremacy of the empire of Nicaea, but at the end of the century it was in Serbian hands: Stefan Uroš II Milutin acquired this territory, and it is cited in his treaty with Charles of Valois (brother of the French king Philip IV) of 1308. Later it belonged to the principality of Jovan OLIVER and, after Dušan's death, was governed by Constantine Dejanović. In 1395 the area was occupied by the Turks.

LIT. T. Tomoski, "Ovče Pole vo sredniot vek," *Filozofski fakultet na Univerzitet Skopje, Godišen zbornik* 30 (1978) 243–65. –A.K.

OVID (Publius Ovidius Naso), Roman poet; born 43 B.C., died A.D. 17. His mythological epic *Metamorphoses* influenced directly or indirectly a number of late antique poets, such as MOUSAIOS and NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS. Malalas mentions that Ovid wrote on Phaethon. In the 13th C. interest in Ovid was revived. Maximos PLANOUDES made complete prose translations of the *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides* (entitled *Epistolai*, or *Letters*). His master copies (in part autograph) are preserved in Vat. Reg. gr. 132 and 133. A 14th-C. MS in Naples (Bibl. Naz. 2 C 32) contains excerpts from Ovid's amatory works, possibly based on a complete translation produced by Planoudes himself or by one of his pupils. Some words in the text that could be considered obscene were modified. Despite this "moral" censorship, the works of Ovid found readers: in PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA (ed. Kriaras, *Mythistoremata* 183 [p.144]) the hero learns much from the *Book of Love*, probably by Ovid (Beck, *Volksliteratur* 140, n.3), and some stories from the *Metamorphoses* penetrated into Greek folktale (E. Kenney, *Mnemosyne* 16 [1963] 57).

ED. *Metamorphoseon libri XV graece versi a Maximo Planoude*, ed. J.F. Boissonade (Paris 1822). *Maximou Planoude metaphrasis ton Obidiou epistolon*^{2}, ed. M. Papathomopoulos (Ioannina 1976). *Ovidiana graeca*, ed. P.E. Easterling, E.J. Kenney (Cambridge 1965).

LIT. W.O. Schmitt, "Lateinische Literatur in Byzanz," *JÖB* 17 (1968) 138f. J. Irmscher, "Ovid in Byzanz," *BS* 35 (1974) 28–33. E.J. Kenney, "A Byzantine Version of Ovid," *Hermes* 91 (1963) 213–27. I.O. Tsabare, "He metaphrase ton Metamorphoseon tou Obidiou apo ton Maximo Planoude," *Dodone* 3 (1974) 385–405. –P.A.A.

OWNERSHIP (*δεσποτεία*) denotes the full right to dispose of a thing at will; in other words, not only to have it and to use it (as in POSSESSION) but also—unlike possession—to be able to dispose of it during one's lifetime or at death. Ownership can be obtained by various means of ACQUISITION. The owner can demand the return of the object from a third party with an *in rem actio* (*he epi to pragmati agoge*); this procedure is called *rei vindicatio* (Gr. *ekdikesis*) (*Basil.* 15.1).

Although the dogmatic principles of Roman law regarding acquisition and the return of property were maintained in Byz., at least in their Justinianic version, when it comes to the sale of property entirely new regulations for plots of land (immovable THINGS) were introduced by the agrarian legislation of the 10th C. Furthermore, as the documents from the 13th C. onward reveal, the concept of property had effectively changed, despite the continuation of the old legal rulings. Where property rights over a piece of land had once been absolute and indivisible, there were now several proprietorial-like arrangements involving various persons or institutions (the state, landlords, PAROIKOI) in its sale or inheritance.

Limitations on Ownership. Roman law imposed various limitations on ownership (such as SERVITUTES), and Byz. law took a further step in restriction of individual ownership. These limitations had various characteristics: state ownership or, at least, a broad range of fiscal restrictions was superimposed over individual ownership; neighbors, relatives, and the VILLAGE COMMUNITY enjoyed certain rights over individually owned land; the church—at least, in the later centuries—acquired certain rights such as a part in the ABIOTIKION; the lands of peasants (such as *paroikoi*) were subject to the control of great landowners. The complicated net of overlapping rights obscured the strict distinction between ownership and possession typical of Roman and Byz. law. Accordingly, the alienation of land was subject to serious limitations: the state prohibited the alienation of certain categories of land (e.g., those of the *stratiotai*); it introduced the concept of the just PRICE; relatives and neighbors were granted the right of PROTIMESIS; the transfer of ownership required confirmation. Even though acts of confirmation are rarely mentioned, cases are known in which a functionary confirmed the transaction of free possessors/owners as well as cases in which the lord confirmed peasant transactions.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:177–215. E. Levy, *West Roman Vulgar Law: The Law of Property* (Philadelphia 1951). A. Kazhdan, "Do We Need a New History of Byzantine Law?" *JÖB* 39 (1989) 14–28. C. Avila, *Ownership: Early Christian Teaching* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1983). K.-P. Matschke, "Grund- und Hauseigentum in und um Konstantinopel im spätbyzantinischer Zeit," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1984) no.4, 103–28. –A.K.

OXYRHYNCHUS (Ὀξύρυγχος, Bahnasa, Coptic Pemje), town in Upper Egypt, a bishopric from 325, famous for its sculpture and numerous papyri (see OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI, OXYRHYNCHUS SCULPTURE). The city, a center of both classical and monastic culture, was home to the APION dynasty. Today it is a desolate area, with many modern houses built of reused ancient material.

Historical sources mention a large number of churches and monasteries in Oxyrhynchus and its environs, of which none can be identified save for a few funerary chapels. Excavations in the cemetery have yielded many decorated limestone blocks from several different tombs; there are capitals, niche-heads, friezes, archivolts, etc., all roughly datable to the 5th and early 6th C. Recently the remains of a small monastic settlement were found in nearby Kūm Nadūra (northwest of Samalūt). It contained a three-aisled church, probably of the 7th C., and several small houses.

LIT. Timm, *Ägypten* 1:283–300. W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynkhos* (London 1925). H.-G. Severin, "Gli scavi eseguiti ad Ahnas, Bahnasa, Bawit e Saqqara," *CorsiRav* 28 (1981) 303–09. –P.G.

OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI, many thousands of Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Arabic literary and documentary texts found in the rubbish mounds of OXYRHYNCHUS (Bahnasa) in Middle Egypt, beginning with the excavations of Grenfell and Hunt in 1897. Dating from the first Ptolemies to well after the Arab conquest, they constitute the richest single find of papyri known. Besides previously unknown works of classical literature, the Oxyrhynchus pieces include the sayings of Jesus from the *Gospel of Thomas*; a history (the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*); Old and New Testament books and apocrypha; Christian hymns, prayers, and liturgical texts; and a 6th-C. calendar of saints' feasts (*P.Oxy.* XI.1357). Documents illustrating the Byz. period include the archive of the APION family. Documentary texts come from every genre: letters, accounts, tax rolls and receipts, petitions, sales, leases, wills, and items from every aspect of public and private life. As well as illustrating social, economic, and religious history, they show the changing nature of Greek as it was written and spoken in Egypt during late antiquity.

ED. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 55 vols. (London 1898–1988). R.A. Coles, *Location-list of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London 1974).

LIT. J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Egypte byzantine," *TM* 9 (1985) 1–89. I.F. Fikhman, *Oksirinkh: Gorod papirusov* (Moscow 1976). P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchite* (Florence 1981). –L.S.B.MacC.

OXYRHYNCHUS SCULPTURE, conventional term applied to a large body of limestone carvings—for the most part architectural in origin and pagan in iconography—from in or near OXYRHYNCHUS in Egypt. Most come from a vast pagan (later Christian) necropolis outside the city; early pieces (3rd–4th C.) are grave stelae, usually with a standing or seated boy, while 5th–6th-C. pieces tend to be niche heads, arches, capitals, and other items from underground grave chapels. DIONYSOS (with grapevines) was esp. popular, being employed within an eschatological context fundamentally similar to that of earlier Roman sepulchral art (apotheosis of a mortal; anticipated joys of afterlife). Stylistically, however, these pieces are typically Coptic in their technical simplicity and crude expressiveness (see COPTIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE). Many pieces are displayed in the Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria; some of the numerous chance finds, which are now in American and European museums, have been substantially restored.

LIT. E. Breccia, *Le Musée gréco-romain: 1925–31* (Bergamo 1932) 60–63. Idem, *Le Musée gréco-romain: 1931–32* (Bergamo 1933) 36–47. A. Gonosová, "A Note on Coptic Sculpture," *JWalt* 44 (1986) 10–15. T. Thomas, "An Introduction to the Sculpture of Late Roman and Early Byzantine Egypt," in *Beyond the Pharaohs*, ed. F. Friedman (Providence, R.I., 1989) 54–64. –G.V.

P

PACHOMIAN MONASTERIES, a group of monasteries for men and women. They were founded by PACHOMIOS in the first half of the 4th C. in Upper Egypt, first in TABENNESI, then in PBOW, which became the center of the community. Monasteries possessed lands, as shown in many papyri, and paid taxes. According to the *Rules* attributed to Pachomios (but written, probably, in the next generation), the monks formed KOINOBIA and divided their time between divine service (with celebration of the eucharist twice a week, on Saturday and Sunday) and productive work; the large monasteries were separated into "houses" and groups of artisans (linen weavers, tailors, carpenters, cobblers, etc.). The organization of labor was strictly centralized and controlled from above. Rich landowners joined the community, such as Petronios, the first successor of Pachomios, and Theodore (died 368), another of Pachomios's associates and later the superior of the community. Reading and the copying of books were encouraged (C. Scholten, *JbAChr* 31 [1988] 144–72).

The community prospered in the late 4th and 5th C., gradually replacing the charismatic leadership by a formal organization, but declined under Justinian I. It exercised substantial influence on monastic communities in Palestine, Asia Minor, and Italy.

LIT. J.E. Goehring, "New Frontiers in Pachomian Studies," in *Roots of Egypt. Christ.* 236–57. Idem, *Chalcedonian Power Politics and the Demise of Pachomian Monasticism* (Claremont, Calif., 1989). F. Ruppert, "Arbeit und geistliches Leben im pachomianischen Mönchtum," *OstkSt* 24 (1975) 3–14. H. Bacht, *Das Vermächtnis des Ursprungs: Studien zum frühen Mönchtum* 2: *Pachomius—Der Mann und sein Werk* (Würzburg 1983). P.B. Steidle, "Der heilige Abt Theodor von Tabennesi," *Erbe und Auftrag* 44 (1968) 91–103.

–A.K.

PACHOMIJ LOGOFET, or Pachomios the Logothete, hagiographer; born ca.1405, died before 1484?. Of Serbian origin, Pachomij was a monk on Athos until he moved (ca.1429–38) to Rus', where he spent the rest of his life working mainly in Novgorod, Moscow, the Trinity monastery of St. Sergej, and the Monastery of St. Kirill of Beloozero. Most of Pachomij's voluminous writings are vitae and eulogies of eastern Slavic holy men. Very few, however, were initially composed by Pachomij himself (a notable exception being his vita of Kirill of Beloozero): usually he revised the work of others (e.g., the vita of Sergej of Radonež by EPIFANIJ, the vita of Varlaam Chutynskij). Most modern assessments accuse Pachomij of vacuous verbosity and of preferring generalized rhetoric to particular evocation or description. Nonetheless, his versions survive in vast numbers of MSS: he helped to establish the cults of several native saints and to produce a "standard" style for hagiography in Rus'. Pachomij was also a scribe: autograph copies survive of a Psalter (1459), a *Paleja* of 1445 (see PALAIA), and a translation from Symeon the Theologian (1443).

ED. *Pachomij Serb i ego agiografičeskie pisanija,* ed. V. Jablonskij (St. Petersburg 1908) appendix; rp. with introd. by D. Čiževskij, *Pachomij Logofet: Werke in Auswahl* (Munich 1963).

LIT. D. Čiževskij, *History of Russian Literature from the Eleventh Century to the Baroque* (The Hague 1971) 180–84. L.A. Dmitriev, *Žitijnye povesti russkogo severa kak pamjatniki literatury XIII–XVII vv.* (Leningrad 1973) 28–35, 123–28.

–S.C.F.

PACHOMIOS (Gr. Παχόμιος, from a Coptic word meaning "eagle"), leader of the earliest cenobitic Christian monasteries in Egypt and saint; born Upper Egypt ca.290, died Pbow 346; feastday 14 May in West, 15 May in East, 9 May in Coptic church. Born to pagan parents, Pachomios was conscripted into the army (312/13), where he encountered Christians and converted. After leaving the army, he sought guidance in asceticism from an experienced monk, Palamon. Then Pachomios gathered a group of disciples who, at first, followed the eremitic pattern of separate work and devotions. A charismatic leader, both a visionary and a gifted organizer, Pachomios imposed more structure in the monks' work by assigning them specific tasks; he also required attendance at pray-

ers at specific times. Fully communal life was established in nine monasteries for men and two for women in TABENNESI and vicinity. In 330 he founded a monastery at PBOW, which later became the administrative center for the PACHOMIAN MONASTERIES.

The letters of Pachomios are preserved in a Latin translation by JEROME; Greek versions of some letters and Coptic fragments are known as well. Jerome also translated the *Rules* ascribed to Pachomios, though the text now available was probably produced after Pachomios's death. Pachomios remained indifferent toward Trinitarian discussions of the 4th C.; his relationship with the Gnostic community of NAG HAMMADI (located near Tabennesi and Pbow) is unclear.

His vitae have survived in three traditions: a Sahidic text, the so-called *Vita Prima* in Greek, and the Latin translation by DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS from another Greek Life (*Vita Altera*). Lefort (*infra*) suggested that they were based on a lost Coptic vita; Halkin (*infra*) considered the *Vita Prima* as the only text chronologically close to the time of Pachomios.

ED. *Oeuvres de s. Pachôme et de ses disciples*, ed. L.T. Lefort, 2 vols. (Louvain 1956). *Die Briefe Pachoms*, ed. H. Quecke (Regensburg 1975). Eng. tr. A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia* 2–3 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1981–82).

SOURCES. F. Halkin, *Le corpus athénien de Saint Pachôme* (Geneva 1982), with Fr. tr. A.-J. Festugière. *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae*, ed. F. Halkin (Brussels 1932). *The Life of Pachomius (Vita Prima Graeca)*, tr. A.N. Athanassakis (Missoula, Mont., 1975). *Pachomian Koinonia* 1 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1980). *CPG* 2 (1974) 2353–58.

LIT. F. Ruppert, *Das pachomianische Mönchtum und die Anfänge klösterlichen Gehorsams* (Münsterschwarzach 1971). P. Rousseau, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* (Berkeley 1985). J.E. Goehring, "Pachomius' Vision of Heresy: The Development of a Pachomian Tradition," *Muséon* 95 (1982) 241–62. –J.T., A.K.

PACHYMERES, GEORGE, patriarchal official and historian; born Nicaea 1242, died Constantinople? ca.1310. After receiving his early education in Nicaea, Pachymeres (Παχυμέρης) went in 1261 to the capital, where he studied with George AKROPOLITES. He became a deacon and member of the patriarchal clergy. In 1277 he served as *didaskalos tou apostolou*. Eventually he received the ecclesiastical position of *protekdikos* and the civil post of *dikaiophylax*.

Pachymeres is best known for his detailed—and for the most part reliable—history of the reigns of MICHAEL VIII and ANDRONIKOS II, covering the period 1260–1308. Much of his account is based on eyewitness observation; he places special emphasis on the ecclesiastical controversies that divided the empire. The archaizing style of Pachymeres is notoriously difficult to comprehend; he is noted for reviving the use of Attic names for the months (cf. G.G. Arnakis, *BNJbb* 18 [1945–49] 144–53). His chronology has occasioned problems for modern researchers (cf. A. Failler, *REB* 38 [1980] 5–103; 39 [1981] 145–249). Pachymeres is generally regarded as an objective historian, but he does reveal his own opinions. Thus, he was critical of Michael VIII, singling out his irascibility and hypocrisy, and hostile to Patr. Athanasios I of Constantinople because of his intolerance and rigidity, traits shared by his monastic supporters (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:148f). Pachymeres was a perspicacious observer who fully realized the pathetic condition of the declining empire and was interested in the motives of the protagonists and the causation of events. He believed that TYCHE was the determinant force of history (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:228.15–229.1).

Pachymeres was also a scholar and writer of wide-ranging interests, including philosophy, rhetoric, mathematics, and law. He composed PROGYMNASMATA (*RhetGr*, ed. Walz, 1:549–96) and 13 *meletai* on rhetoric (ed. J.F. Boissonade, *Georgii Pachymeris Declamationes XIII* [Paris 1848; rp. Amsterdam 1966]). In addition he wrote a compendium of Aristotle and a quadrivium.

ED. *Georgii Pachymeris De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn 1835). Books 1–6 only—*Georges Pachymérès. Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, 2 vols. (Paris 1984), with Fr. tr. by V. Laurent. *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère*, ed. P. Tannery, E. Stephanou (Vatican 1940).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:37, 94, 96, 98f, 447–53. A. Failler, "La tradition manuscrite de l'Histoire de Georges Pachymère (livres I-VI)," *REB* 37 (1979) 123–220. A. Lampsakes, "Hyperphysikes dynameis, physika phainomena kai deisidaimonies sten Historia tou Georgiou Pachymere," *Symmeikta* 7 (1987) 77–100. –A.M.T.

PACTA (πάκτα, from Lat. *pactum*). In the Roman system of OBLIGATION by CONTRACT, *pacta* assumed the important function of denoting the mass of agreements from which no obligations resulted (*pacta nuda*). Justinianic legislation and the jurisprudence of that time still proceeded in principle from this concept. In the meantime, however, the quantity of nonbinding ("nude") *pacta* had been reduced to a negligible number, so that the decisive practical difference between *pactum* and contract, namely actionability, had virtually disappeared, and the differentiation appears artificial. Nevertheless, the concept of *pacta* was revived as late as the 11th C. and was supported in a manner faithful to the textual transmission (see MEDITATIO DE NUDIS PACTIS). In contractual practice the *pacta* converged with the (written) contract of the law of obligations mainly because the classical STIPULATION degenerated into a mere clause used for all kinds of agreements. Consequently and symptomatically, under Leo VI the qualification *nudum pactum* was applied to documents that have no penal stipulation (nov.72). Leo's measure, which allowed the penal clause to be replaced by other means of achieving the desired effect—for example, by affixing the sign of the cross or an invocation—was revised by Romanos II (Zepos, *Jus* 1:244–46), but the theory of *pacta* did not thereby regain its practical relevance.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:363–65 (§261). Taubenschlag, *Law of GRE* 402–07. –D.S.

PĂCUIUL LUI SOARE, a Byz. fortress on a Danubian island east of DOROSTOLON in southwestern DOBRUDJA (near mod. Ostrov in Rumania); its Byz. name is unknown. Evidence of late Roman habitation is scanty. The latest coin found is one of Maurice; the settlement was evidently abandoned ca.600. John I Tzimiskes restored the fort and constructed a harbor, probably to defend Dorostolon from attacks by the Kievan fleet. Excavations discovered a strong wall (6 m broad at the foundation), the material for which was brought from several quarries in the area (P. Diaconu, E. Zah, *Dacia* 15 [1971] 289–306). The poorly preserved ruins include a large ashlar stepped landing on the southeast side, flanked by two square towers. To the northeast a tower, with one curved side and one straight side at an obtuse angle, presents the least possible obstacle to ice floes. Soon Păcuiul lui Soare lost its military character and the population concentrated in a smaller area.

The town flourished during the 11th C.—more than 500 Byz. coins from Romanos III to Alexios I have been found on its territory; thereafter, only sporadic coins of Alexios III, John III Vatatzes, and Andronikos II are recorded as well as some of Epirot and Latin rulers. People lived in semisubterranean habitations and were engaged in fishing and trading activity. A potter's kiln of the 11th C. (S. Baraschi, *SCIV* 25 [1974] 461–72) and various arms and household utensils of bone, also of the 11th C. (P. Diaconu, S. Baraschi, *Dacia* 17 [1973] 351–59), demonstrate the local craftsmanship. Of Byz. origin are some ceramics, glass vessels, and *enkolpia*; on some amphoras there are potter's stamps as well as Cyrillic graffiti. Some objects found in Păcuiul lui Soare are of Kievan and Pecheneg origin. Probably at the end of the 11th C. a fire destroyed the town and in the 12th C. it was severed from Byz. In the 13th and 14th C. Bulgarian (and from the end of the 14th C. onward Rumanian) coins dominate among the finds.

P. Diaconu (*Byzantina* 8 [1976] 407–47) identified Păcuiul lui Soare with VICINA, P. Năsturel (*RESEE* 3 [1965] 17–36) identified it tentatively with Little PRESLAV. In contrast, I. Božilov (*IzvNarMusVarna* 9 [1973] 324f) thinks that the site was an insignificant harbor.

LIT. P. Diaconu, D. Vîlceanu, S. Baraschi, *Păcuiul lui Soare*, 2 vols. (Bucharest 1972–77). –A.K., E.C.S.

PAENULA (φαινόλης, φελόνης), a heavy cape or traveling cloak made usually of linen or wool, pulled on easily over the head like a poncho. Sometimes it had an attached hood. Originally a garment worn primarily by slaves, peasants, and soldiers, its simplicity and practicality assured it such popularity in the late antique period that it ultimately replaced the TOGA as an everyday costume and was worn even by senators in late 4th-C. Constantinople (*Cod.Theod.* XIV 10.1). The mosaic figures in the Rotunda of St. GEORGE in Thessalonike are shown wearing the *paenula*. It is considered to be the source of one important liturgical vestment whose use was reserved to priests and bishops, namely the PHELONION, the chasuble of the Latin church.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 244–46. Oppenheim, *Mönchskleid* 118f. –N.P.Š.

PAGANISM was a living force in the 4th-C. empire, supported by some parts of the senatorial aristocracy (primarily Western), intellectuals, and the rural population, whereas the main strength

of Christianity came from the lower and middle classes of the city. Although it is hard to generalize, it seems indicative that in Kyzikos the city council asked Emp. Julian to restore Hellenic temples, but the workers of the state woolen factories and the *"technitai* of coins" supported the local bishop (Sozom. *HE* 5:15.4–6). There were three main streams in the paganism of the late Roman Empire: political, intellectual, and cultic. Political paganism stemmed from the religious indifference of the army, a constant influx of Germanic and related warriors, and the influence of the senatorial aristocracy.

The most overt resurgence of paganism took place under JULIAN. Its political power became evident in the case of the ALTAR OF VICTORY and in the revolt of EUGENIUS. Quite a number of pagans were active at the imperial court in the 4th and 5th C.: THEMISTIOS, SYMMACHUS, FLAVIANUS, and the eparch KYROS, to name only a few. Intellectual paganism flourished in the 5th C., which produced such scholars as PROKLOS and PAMPREPIOS, the historians OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES and ZOSIMOS, and the poet CLAUDIAN. A series of decrees issued by Emp. THEODOSIOS I, culminating with the edict of 392, attempted to crush paganism by prohibiting sacrifices and other cult practices. This caused the closing and/or destruction of many temples. Pagan cults continued to survive, however, esp. in the countryside, despite these prohibitions.

In the 5th C. ISIDORE OF PELOUSION (PG 78:344A) asserted that in his era "Hellenismos" had disappeared, defeated by the passage of time, by many efforts and weapons, and by reason. His statement was premature, however, and Justinian I still had to struggle against paganism. He tried to eradicate paganism at the intellectual level by closing the pagan ACADEMY OF ATHENS in 529 and attempted to stamp out remnants of pagan religious practice, esp. by using inquisitionary missions such as that of JOHN OF EPHESUS (J. Irmscher, *Klio* 63 [1981] 683–88). Thereafter paganism survived either as a component of Christianity, in the form of classical tradition or as an educational vehicle, or in the form of cult tradition. Christian churches were built, for example, on the location of former pagan shrines and the cult of saints was continued at sites of pagan healing.

At the end of the 7th C. paganism as such was preserved predominantly at the level of everyday life, as "pagan" habits—FEASTS, MAGIC, and ASTROLOGY, theatrical performances, and pagan oaths—and in the clothing of law students (I. Rochow, *Klio* 60 [1978] 495f). Some forms of pagan cult are attested to in 9th-C. Maina (*De adm. imp.*, 50.71f), and vestiges of "pagan" habits were criticized by 12th-C. canonists and by the 14th-C. patriarch Athanasios I (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1738). These vestiges of paganism may have been reinforced by Byz. contacts with nonbaptized peoples, such as the Pechenegs. On the other hand, accusations of paganism were an effective method of attacking intellectuals involved in the study of antiquity.

LIT. *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford 1963). R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven–London 1981). L.C. Ruggini, "Un cinquantennio di polemica antipagana a Roma," in *Paradoxos politeia: Studi patristici in onore di Giuseppe Lazzati* (Milan 1979) 119–44. T. Gregory, "The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece: A Critical Essay," *AJPh* 107 (1986) 229–42. W. Kaegi, "The Fifth-Century Twilight of Byzantine Paganism," *ClMed* 27 (1966) 243–75. –A.K., A.M.T.

PAGOMENOS. See PEPAGOMENOS.

PAIDEIA (*παιδεία*), term that in the Hellenistic and Roman world designated education or training; church fathers (e.g., Methodios of Olympos, Eusebios of Caesarea) retained it to denote pagan education, often in contrast to Christian education based on the Gospels (PG 18:137B). In the wake of the Septuagint and New Testament semitizing usage, they also employed the term in the sense of chastisement or corrective training: God would chastise the Christians for the purpose of their moral discipline. From patristic times onward, authors distinguished between "our" (Christian) *paideia* as moral and religious training (cf. A. Moffatt, in *Iconoclasm* 87) and "external (*exo, thyrathen*) *paideia*," meaning secular education (Lemerle, *Humanism* 39). The word *thyrathen* itself could be used as a noun, (e.g., Nik.Chon. 307.77). At the same time, the Byz. inherited from the Second Sophistic the expression *enkyklios paideia/paideusis* with a more technical, if polyvalent, meaning: George Akropolites (Akrop. 1:46.13–15) equated it with the study of grammar; Psellos (Sathas, *MB* 5:147.12–14), on the other hand, speaks of *enkyklios paideia* as elementary education preceding the study of grammar.

LIT. Marrou, *Education* 95–101. –A.K.

PAINTERS' GUIDES. See MODELS AND MODELBOOKS.

PAINTING. See FRESCO TECHNIQUE; HISTORY PAINTING; ICONS; MONUMENTAL PAINTING.

PAKOURIANOS (*Πακουριανός*, Arm. Bakourean, Georg. Bakuriani), aristocratic Byz. family that made its first appearance in 988 in the army of DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO and occupied important administrative positions down to the 13th C. The best-known member is Gregory Pakourianos, who took part in the defense of ANI against the Seljuks in 1064. His career as an imperial *doux* in the East was cut short by the Turkish advance, but his support of Alexios I earned him the office of *megas domestikos* of the West and the title of *sebastos*, with vast estates in the Balkans. He founded a Georgian monastery at PETRITZOS and supported the monastery of IVERON on Athos. Gregory defended the Balkans against the Normans and died in battle against the PECHENEGS in 1086. The facts that the sources sometimes call him an Armenian and sometimes an Iberian; that the *typikon* for his monastery was composed in Greek, Georgian, and Armenian; and that he signed it in "Armenian characters," while referring to himself as an Iberian have led to heated debate over the origin of the family. The most likely explanation is that it belonged to the mixed Armeno-Iberian Chalcedonian aristocracy, which dwelt in the border district of TAYK'/TAO.

ED. P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos," *REB* 42 (1984) 5–145.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 58–65. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Tipik Grigorija Pakuriana* (Erevan 1978). Lemerle, *Cinq études* 115–91. A. Chanidzé, "Le grand domestique de l'Occident, Gregorii Bakurianis-dzé et le monastère géorgien fondé par lui en Bulgarie," *BK* 28 (1971) 133–66. –N.G.G.

PAKTON (*πάκτον*, from Lat. *pactum*, "contract, agreement, treaty"), a word with several meanings in the Byz. era. (1) The term was used to describe an agreement between rulers, esp. a treaty (usually in the plural: e.g., *pakta tes eirenes*, "peace treaty"). (2) It also referred to tribute (e.g., *pakta chrysiou*), such as that paid by Byz. to neighboring rulers, and was most commonly used in this sense by Byz. historians of the 9th through 11th C. (3) Also called *choropakton*, the term is found in documents and denotes the yearly RENT or rental fee, normally in specie, paid to the owner or possessor of property (land, fishing rights, mills [*mylopakton*], etc.) for the use of that property. The term *pakton* was employed in regard to LAND LEASES between private parties as well as between a private individual (lessee) and the state (lessor). When the state was landlord the distinction between *pakton* and TELOS blurred. (For rates of the *pakton*, see RENT.)

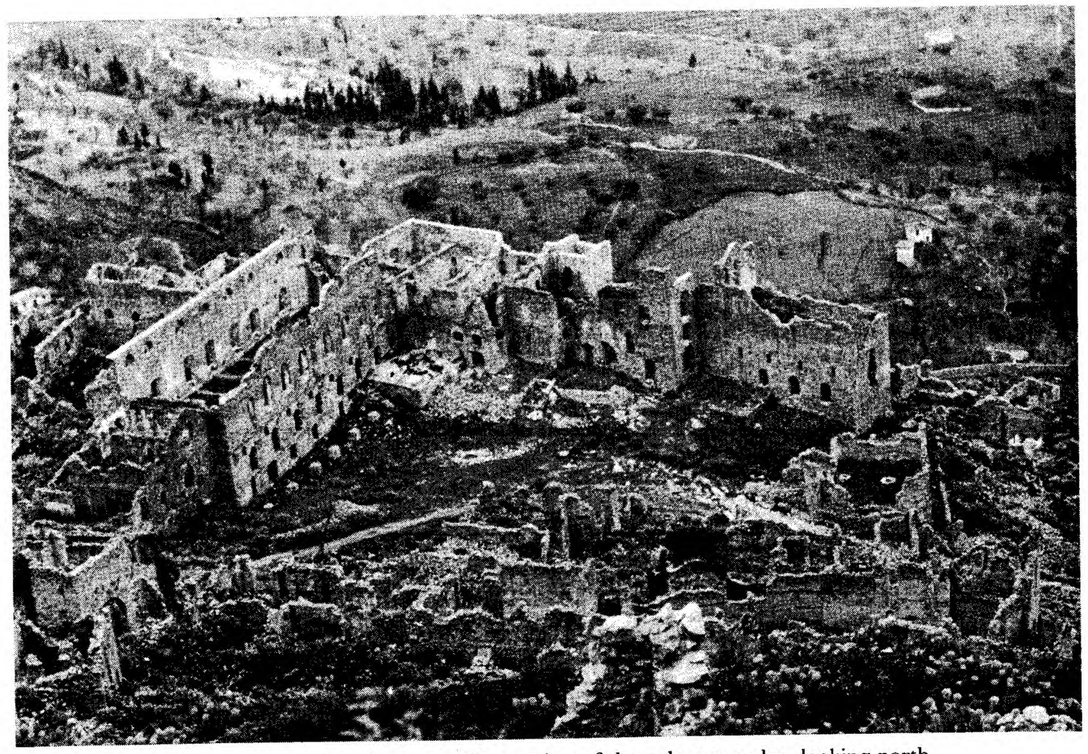
The term *ampelopakton*, ostensibly a rent on vineyards, is encountered frequently during the 13th and 14th C., usually in connection with *xenoparoikoi*, that is, new or alien cultivators. There was an official called *paktotes*, for example, on the seal of Nicholas, *chartoularios* and *paktotes* of Paphlagonia (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.619).

LIT. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 1:57, n.1, 67–75. J. Karayannopoulos, "Fragmente aus dem Vademecum eines byzantinischen Finanzbeamtem," in *Polychronion* 324–26. Dölger, *Beiträge* 143, 155. –M.B.

PALACE (*παλάτιον*), an official residence, such as the residence of the emperor. The term derives from the Palatium complex on the Palatine Hill in Rome, the only official dwelling of the Roman emperors until the late 3rd C.; subsequently the term entered general use.

Imperial Palaces. During the Tetrarchy and on into the 4th C., establishment of new capitals (ANTIOCH, MILAN, Trier) brought about the proliferation of imperial palaces. The GREAT PALACE in Constantinople, begun by Constantine I, is the final product of that age. Other, later palaces built in CONSTANTINOPLE included the 5th-C. Boukoleon and Hormisdas palaces, the 10th-C. MYRELAION palace, the 11th-C. MANGANA palace, the 12th-C. BLACHERNAI palace, and the late 13th-C. TEKFUR SARAYI. Emperors also built palaces away from Constantinople: for example, the 6th-C. Rhegion palace (A.M. Mansel, 6 *CEB*, vol. 2 [Paris 1951] 255–60) and the 9th-C. BRYAS palace (S. Eyice, *Belleten* 23, no.89 [1959] 79–111).

On the basis of archaeological and textual evidence, the historical development of palace architecture is marked by characteristic changes in the relationship between the building and its urban setting. Initially (4th–6th C.), the complex was open toward the city, continuing Roman practice. Decline of cities (7th–8th C.) brought about the emergence of the fortified palace, reflecting a growing concern for security provided not only by city walls but also by those of the complex



PALACE. Palace of the Despots, Mistra. View of the palace complex, looking north.

itself. In the 13th and 14th C. the urban palace-block made its appearance. Probably under Western influence, in Byz. (e.g., MISTRA) the type was characterized by continued segregation of the building from the urban environment.

Palaces of the Nobility. It is not clear when the nobility began to build palacelike mansions: one 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:767.6–8) inveighs against the relatives of Alexios I who erected OIKOI as large as a *polis* and luxurious as a palace, while another (Kinn. 266.7–9) relates that dignitaries decorated their mansions with HISTORY PAINTING and scenes representing the emperor's hunting exploits. The palace described in the poem DIGENES AKRITAS was an elaborate complex that included a large garden, bathhouse, church, and main building, which was decorated with biblical and classical figures rather than an "imperial" program.

LIT. F. Dirimtekin, "Les palais impériaux byzantins," *CorsiRav* 12 (1965) 225–45. E. Mamboury, T. Wiegand, *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel* (Berlin 1934). L.A. Hunt, "Comnenian Aristocratic Palace Decoration," in *Byz. Aristocracy* 138–57. K. Swoboda, *Römische und romanische Paläste*[3] (Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1969) 133–84. N. Duval, "Palais et cité dans la pars Orientis," *CorsiRav* 26 (1979) 41–51. S. Runciman, "The Country and Suburban Palaces of the Emperors," in *Charanis Studies* 219–228. –S.Ć., A.K.

PALACE CHURCH, a CHAPEL associated with a residence (esp. that of an emperor) and generally designated for private use by its owner or occupants. The tradition of palatine church architecture may have begun with Constantine I, though the matter is controversial in modern historiography (F.W. Deichmann, *BZ* 65 [1972] 40–56; Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 76–78). The debate has been brought into an even sharper focus over Justinian I's Church of Sts. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS in Constantinople (C. Mango, *JÖB* 21 [1972] 189–93; T.F. Mathews, *Revue de l'art* 24 [1974] 22–29; R. Krautheimer, *JÖB* 23 [1974] 251–53; C. Mango, *BZ* 68 [1975] 385–92).

While the typology of palace churches may be in doubt, their functional identity is not. From the time of Justinian I onward, they constituted regularly identifiable components of Byz. PALACES. The archaeological evidence for such buildings is meager, but the literary sources are abundant. A large number of churches is recorded within the GREAT PALACE in Constantinople between the early 9th and mid-11th C.: those of Christ, the Virgin, and the Archangel Michael are referred to as having been built by Emp. Theophilos, while the palace church of St. Anne is attributed to Leo VI. Palace chapels of the Savior, Prophet Elijah, Archangel Michael, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John the Evangelist, St. Barbara, and the NEA EKKLESIA were built by Basil I. A 12th-C.(?) description of an imaginary palace also locates a chapel—dedicated to St. Theodore—in its midst (*Digenes Akritas,* ed. Trapp, 334, G VII 104–05 [3242–43]). The Church of St. George, next to the monastery and palace of Mangana in Constantinople, was built by Constantine IX (Psellos, *Chron.,* vol. 2:61, par.185.3); its remains have been archaeologically ascertained (R. Demangel, E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes* [Paris 1939] 19–37). The Bodrum Camii in Istanbul has been identified as the chapel of Romanos I Lekapenos; it stood next to his Myrelaion palace, no longer extant (C.L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* [Princeton 1981]).

LIT. S. Ćurčić, "Some Palatine Aspects of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo," *DOP* 41 (1987) 125–44. –S.Ć.

PALACE GUARD. See HETAIREIA.

PALA D'ORO. A *pal⟨l⟩a* was the cloth that covered an altar in early Christian and medieval churches. Also called an *antependium*, it was sometimes replaced by panels in precious metals, either covering the four sides of the altar or attached only to the altar's front face. In 1105 Doge Ordelafo Falier (1102–18), one of the founders of San Marco in VENICE, ordered the ENAMEL Pala d'Oro from Constantinople for the main altar of his church, perhaps as a replacement for the 10th-C. silver and gold *antependium* of Doge Pietro I Orseolo (976–78). By 1209, when six feast scenes and the archangel Michael were added to the top, the Pala (measuring 2.1 × 3.5 m) was placed on the main altar, perhaps in imitation of the gold, jeweled (and enameled?) panel on the high altar of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, that ROBERT DE CLARI described after seeing it in 1204. In 1342–45 the Pala was remounted in its present Gothic frame.

The imagery on Falier's Pala is arranged in typically Western fashion. Christ is enthroned in a large tondo within an inscribed frame, surrounded by the four evangelists. Above, angels and tetramorphs honor the Hetoimasia; the Virgin and the Pala's patrons—Falier and an Empress Irene (whose identification has been the subject of much discussion)—are placed below, between two inscription panels of 1342–45 that describe the work's history. It is likely that, originally, Irene was accompanied by her husband. The "wings" display three tiers of prophets, apostles, and angels paying homage to Christ. Twenty-seven "framing" panels depict the lives of Christ and St. Mark and portraits of six locally venerated deacons—Lawrence, Vincent, Stephen, Eleutherius, Peter of Alexandria, and Fortunatus.

The program of imagery resembles the decoration of palatine chapels of the Komnenian era, beginning perhaps in an expanded decoration of the chapel of the Virgin (of the Pharos?) in the GREAT PALACE of Constantinople, and imitated elsewhere, often with Latin adaptations, in the royal churches of Norman Sicily, esp. the Cappella Palatina in PALERMO. When Falier ordered the Pala, he seems to have intended to set such an imperial program on the main altar of his palatine chapel.

LIT. M. Frazer, "The Pala d'Oro and the Cult of St. Mark in Venice," *JÖB* 32.5 (1982) 273–79. S. Bettini in *Treasury S. Marco* 35–64. –M.E.F.

PALAEOGRAPHY (lit. "ancient writing"), like CODICOLOGY, is an autonomous field of study, as well as an AUXILIARY DISCIPLINE of philology and history. It studies the development of the Greek script in Byz. MSS and documents (see DIPLOMATICS) in its cultural context. It takes its name from the pioneering monograph of B. de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia graeca* (Paris 1708; rp. 1970). Gardthausen (*infra*) divided palaeography into *Buchwesen* and *Schriftwesen*; the recent tendency is to replace the term *Buchwesen* by codicology, with the emphasis on the place of the BOOK in Byz. civilization. A sound knowledge of palaeography

enables a text editor to read and date Byz. MSS and to establish the STEMMA of a given work.

The reading of MSS presents certain difficulties, such as the need to decipher ABBREVIATIONS, contractions, and LIGATURES; TACHYGRAPHY, MONOGRAMS, and PALIMPSESTS create additional problems. In most MSS, esp. early ones, words were not separated, accents and breathings were omitted or used intermittently, and punctuation was apparently arbitrary. Other problems in deciphering or reconstructing texts are damaged MSS, with FOLIOS or parts of folios missing, worm-holes, ink blots, and even modern tape repairs.

The script of Byz. MSS can be roughly divided into two categories, the UNCIAL, or majuscule, and the MINUSCULE, subdivided into the CURSIVE and minuscule intended as calligraphy. An obstacle to the study of the development of uncial script is the lack of any securely dated MSS for the formative period (4th–8th C.); the only firmly dated uncial text (which is also the earliest dated book MS) is the Vat. gr. 1166 of the year 800. Thus the reconstruction of the development must be hypothetical.

After the introduction of minuscule as a book script, uncial survived until the 11th C., but it became specialized for scriptural and liturgical texts. It was used continuously for LEMMATA (headings) and sections to be emphasized.

Minuscule scripts differ in levels of formality and elegance, ranging from that of a scholar's autograph copy for private use to that of a deluxe CODEX skillfully written by a professional SCRIBE. Minuscule MSS are more likely to bear a date (the earliest dated one is the USPENSKIJ GOSPEL BOOK, Leningrad, Publ. Lib. gr. 219, of 835); their COLOPHONS sometimes have precise chronological indications, sometimes only certain elements of a date (INDICTION, month, etc.). Those MSS that are securely dated help reconstruct the evolution of the script and thus indirectly determine the chronology of undated MSS. Palaeographers have attempted to classify bookscripts into certain styles that can be roughly dated, for example, "pearl script" (10th–12th C.), "Fettaugenmode" (13th C.), and "Metochites style" and "Hodegon style" (14th C.). The use of an archaizing script, which revives or preserves features typical of an earlier period, may, however, complicate the dating of some MSS; for instance, the calligraphy of some late 13th-C. codices imitates the "pearl script" that flourished earlier. Statistical methods have been used to evaluate the reintroduction of uncial letters into minuscule at the very end of the 9th C., but the usefulness of these statistics for dating is still open to question. Another problem in dating MSS is the conservative character of codices copied in the provinces. Paper MSS can be dated more precisely through their WATERMARKS.

Another objective of palaeography (and codicology) is to establish the MS's provenance. Individualized handwriting was rare in Byz., and relatively few MSS have colophons identifying particular scribes. The minuscule script is strongly formalized up to the 12th C.; more individual features begin to appear only in the 13th C., at the end of which period it becomes possible to recognize the autographs of Byz. scholars such as Maximos PLANOUDES, Demetrios TRIKLINIOS, and Nikephoros GREGORAS. The method of attribution of hands is in general the same as that used for dating: listing MSS of individual scribes and comparing unsigned MSS with those whose copyist is known.

Some MSS are known to have been copied in particular SCRIPTORIA, and again the similarity of production (format of the book and page, composition of QUIRES, RULING PATTERNS, type of handwriting, illuminations) permits the assignment of a MS to a specific scriptorium. The palaeographer must be cautious, however; typical features in the script or codicological features, such as the ruling patterns, may not be restricted to one region. In contradistinction to Latin palaeography, where the study of regional writing is advanced, Byz. palaeographers have not been able to establish many centers of book production, owing mostly to the dearth of evidence. Only for southern Italy and Cyprus, from where a large number of codices have survived, is it possible to study special regional characteristics on preserved MSS.

A part of the palaeographer's task is the study of peripheral information contained in the MS: some of it comes from the scribe himself (e.g., colophon, table of contents, some SCHOLIA); some, esp. on autograph MSS, from the author, who thereby reveals, for example, his methods of commenting and his practice of textual criticism. Remarks from scribes, readers, and owners sometimes convey data on the production of the book (such as its price) or its history (such as changes of ownership); they may also express a reader's attitude to a work. On occasion, successive owners and readers of the book made marginal notes or additions on blank folios that have an independent value.

LIT. V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*[2], 2 vols. (Leipzig 1911–13). R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris 1954). A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*[3] (Paris 1975). H. Hunger, "Antikes und mittelalterliches Buch- und Schriftwesen," in *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, vol. 1 (Zurich 1961) 25–147. E.M. Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*[2] (London 1894). *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris 1977).
–E.G., I.Š.

PALAIA (παλαιά, "old," *paleja* in Slavonic), a narrative of events from the Creation to Daniel, based on paraphrased and apocryphal versions of Old Testament episodes and supplemented with passages from, in particular, JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, ANDREW OF CRETE, and THEODORE OF STOUDIOS. The *Palaia* was therefore compiled not earlier than the 9th C. Similar in concept to the Latin "historiated" Bibles (cf. M. Gaster, *Ilchester Lectures on Greeko-Slavonic Literature* [London 1887] 147–208), the *Palaia* is often termed "popular," though few Greek MSS survive (Krumbacher, *GBL* 398, 1139). It was evidently more widespread among the Slavs. Three Slavonic translations of the *Palaia*, all entitled *Paleja*, survive: two are Bulgarian, one is Serbian, though most of the extant MSS are Eastern Slavic and derive from a lost 13th-C. Bulgarian version. The name *Paleja* was transferred to an unrelated and larger Slavonic compilation that includes extensive commentaries (*Paleja tolkovaja*) and that in some versions continues the historical narrative down to the death of ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS (*Paleja chronografičeskaja*). This additional narrative is mainly derived from the chronicle of GEORGE HAMARTOLOS and is cited in the POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET.

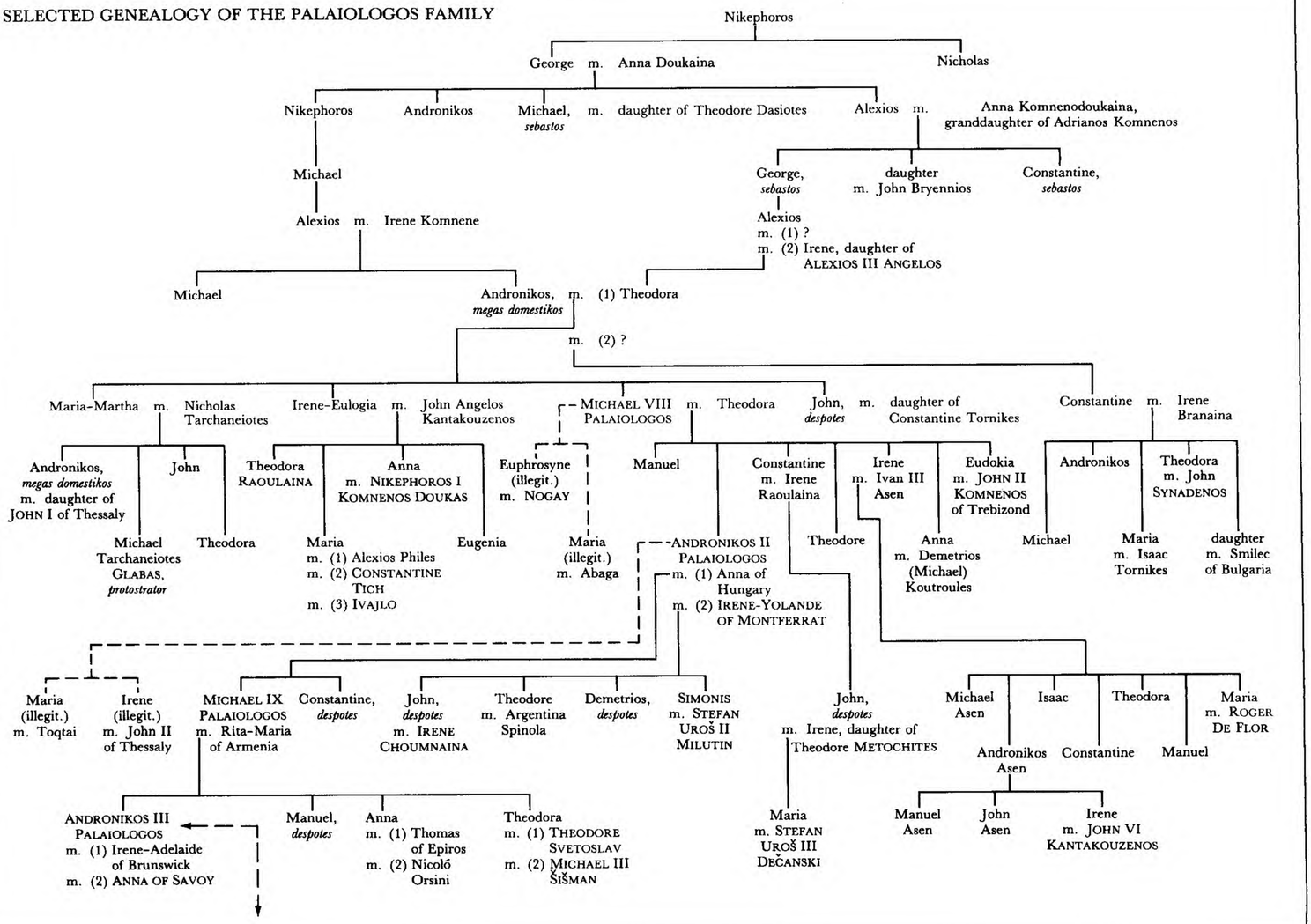
ED. *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, ed. A. Vassilev (Moscow 1893) xlii–lvi, 188–292.

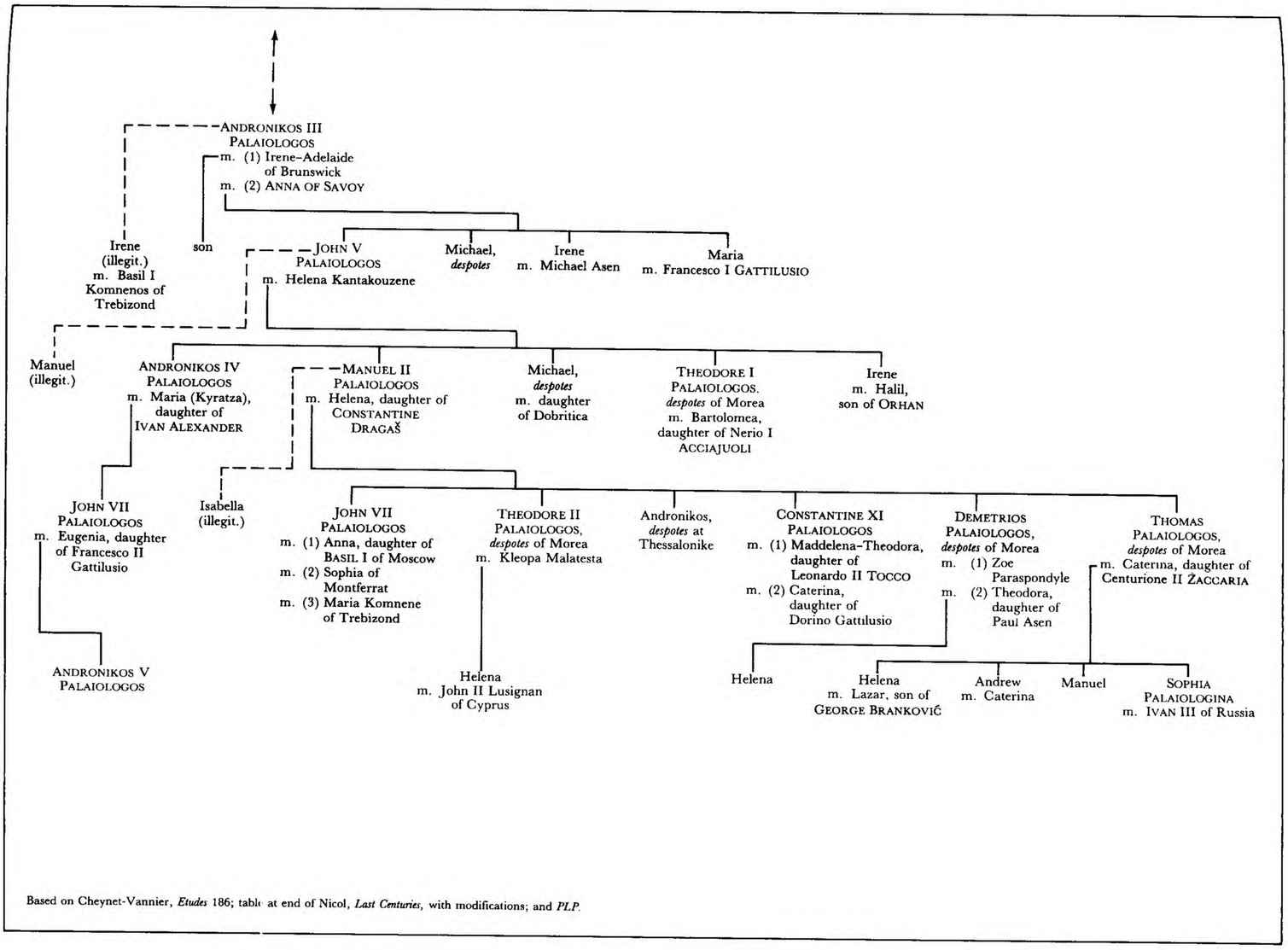
LIT. M.N. Speranskij, *Iz istorii russko-slavjanskich literaturnych svjazej* (Moscow 1960) 104–47. E. Turdeanu, "La *Palaea* byzantine chez les Slaves du Sud et chez les Roumains," *RES* 40 (1964) 195–206. T. Sumnikova, "K probleme perevoda Istoričeskoj Palei," in *Izučenie russkogo jazyka i istočnikovedenie* (Moscow 1969) 27–39.
–S.C.F.

PALAIOLOGOS (Παλαιολόγος, fem. Παλαιολογίνα), a noble family; although *palaiologos* meant "junkman," the Byz. believed that the family possessed ancient ancestors. The first known Palaiologos was Nikephoros, general and governor of Mesopotamia under Michael VII; his son George, an experienced military commander, was the staunchest supporter of Alexios I. The 12th-C. Palaiologoi were primarily generals (George, *megas hetaireiarches* in 1166 [O. Lampsides, *Byzantion* 40 (1970) 393–407], Alexios-Antony, *megas doux*) and governors of provinces (Michael of Thessalonike in the first half of the 12th C., Nikephoros of Trebizond ca.1180); it is possible that the *hetaireiarches* George's father was Alexios and held the post of *megas domestikos* at the end of Alexios I's reign. None of the Palaiologoi served in the civil administration. They were wealthy, but little is known of their estates; they acted, however, as monastic patrons. George was praised as the sponsor of a monastery close to Triaditza-Sofia in which he ordered the depiction of the archangel Michael; he and his son the *sebastos* Alexios were also portrayed there (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 143, no.213 tit.). The Palaiologoi were interrelated with the Komnenoi, Doukai, and Angeloi; Alexios Palaiologos (perhaps George's son?) married Irene, Alexios III's daughter; he subdued the rebellion of 1200 in Constantinople and was proclaimed *despotes* and heir to the throne.

The Palaiologoi retained their high position after 1204; Andronikos, Alexios's son, was *megas domestikos*, and in 1259 his son became emperor as MICHAEL VIII and founded the Palaiologan dynasty. After the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261, the extensive family took possession of vast estates throughout the empire. Their mightiest rivals, the KANTAKOUZENOI, were defeated by JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS by 1354, and by 1382 they were ousted from the Peloponnesos. A fierce struggle for power ensued, however, within the house of Palaiologos. In 1376 ANDRONIKOS IV rebelled against his father John V and arrested him; only on 1 July 1379 did John V and his heir MANUEL II manage to reconquer Constantinople. Andronikos IV and his son JOHN VII were recognized as legitimate rulers over Selymbria and several other districts but were not appeased; on 17 Sept. 1390 John VII again seized Constantinople but had to yield to Manuel II. The Peloponnesian branch of the Palaiologos family was loyal to Constantinople but independent: by the time of JOHN VIII, the Peloponnesos was ruled by three of his brothers, the *despotai* THEODORE II, CONSTANTINE (XI), and THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS; since John VIII died childless (Theodore died

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE PALAIOLOGOS FAMILY





Based on Cheynet-Vannier, *Etudes* 186; table at end of Nicol, *Last Centuries*, with modifications; and *PLP*.

before him), Constantine succeeded him as the last Byz. emperor; he was killed during the Ottoman assault on Constantinople.

The Palaiologoi searched desperately for a Western alliance: they attempted to restore the unity of the church and favored marriages with Western princes and princesses; ANDRONIKOS II married Anna of Hungary and then IRENE-YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT; ANDRONIKOS III married Irene (Adelheid) of Braunschweig and ANNA OF SAVOY; Andronikos II's son Theodore married Argentina Spinola and became marquis of Montferrat in 1305 (A. Laiou, *Byzantion* 38 [1969] 386–410). The Palaiologoi also married their children to the rulers of Serbia, Bulgaria, Trebizond, and Epiros. SOPHIA PALAIOLOGINA, daughter of Thomas Palaiologos, became the spouse of IVAN III of Moscow. (See genealogical table; see also BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF: "Empire of the Straits.")

LIT. Cheynet-Vannier, *Etudes* 123–87. A.Th. Papadopulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259–1453* (Munich 1938; rp. Amsterdam 1962). B. Ferjančić, "Posedi pripadnika roda Paleologa," *ZRVI* 17 (1976) 127–64. Dölger, *Paraspora*, 178–88. *PLP*, nos. 21337–538. P. Magdalino,"Notes on the Last Years of John Palaiologos, Brother of Michael VIII," *REB* 34 (1976) 143–49. M. Živojinović, "O Jovanu Paleologu, bratu Mihaila VIII," *ZbFilozFak* 14.1 (1979) 103–22. A. Carile, "Manuele Nothos Paleologo, Nota prosopografica," *Thesaurismata* 12 (1975) 137–47. A. Sideras, "Neue Quellen zum Leben des Despotes Andronikos Palaiologos," *BZ* 80 (1987) 3–15. –A.K.

PALAISTE (*παλαιστή*, lit. "palm of the hand"), a unit of length = 4 DAKTYLOI = 1/4 POUS = 7.8 cm. Synonymous terms are *gronthos*, *pygme*, *tetarton* (as 1/4 *pous*), and *triton* (as 1/3 imperial SPITHAME).

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 18. –E. Sch.

PALAMAS, GREGORY, theologian, archbishop of Thessalonike (1347–59), and saint, canonized in 1368; born Constantinople ca.1296, died Thessalonike 14 Nov. 1359. Though destined by his aristocratic background for imperial service, Palamas (Παλαμᾶς) chose the monastic life instead and went to Athos in 1316. After a brief stay at Vatopedi and then at Lavra he joined the *skete* of Glossia. In 1326 Palamas was ordained a priest. He then continued the life of prayer, which the hesychasts of Athos had taught him, in a number of hermitages. In 1336 he entered into an exchange of letters with BARLAAM OF CALABRIA. His objections to Barlaam's syllogistic reasoning quickly became a matter of controversy involving both church and society, esp. after Barlaam attacked Palamas and the monastic spirituality of HESYCHASM on Athos. Most of Palamas's literary production is devoted to this cause (often referred to as PALAMISM) that the church supported and endorsed in the Constantinople local councils of 1341, 1347, and 1351 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). In addition to the monks of Athos and numerous bishops, Palamas's staunchest supporters included JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS and the patriarchs ISIDORE I, KALLISTOS I, and PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS (the last mentioned wrote an *enkomion* of Palamas).

Still, during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, Palamas was imprisoned by Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS and his ideas condemned. This censorship, however, was primarily politically motivated, for Palamas was a known sympathizer of Kantakouzenos. Indeed, he was initially unable to enter the city of Thessalonike, to which he had been appointed archbishop (1347), because anti-Kantakouzenist ZEALOTS still occupied it. Generally, the party opposed to Palamas was confined to some bishops, the humanist Nikephoros GREGORAS, Gregory AKINDYNOS, and the later small circle of Byz. Thomists led by the KYDONES brothers.

In addition to his two *Apodeictic Treatises*, the *Hagiorite Tomos*, and his *Triads* in defense of hesychasm, Palamas wrote numerous tracts, letters, and sermons dealing with hagiography, liturgy, asceticism, and prayer. The detailed account of his brief captivity (1354–55) among the Turks of Asia Minor and his conversations with them and the so-called *Chionai* is striking for its impartial view of Christians living under Turkish rule and of the Turks themselves (cf. A. Philippidis-Braat, *TM* 7 [1979] 109–222).

ED. *Gregoriou tou Palama Syngrammata*, ed. P. Chrestou, 3 vols. (Thessalonike 1962–70). *Grégoire Palamas: Défense des saints hésychastes*[2], ed. J. Meyendorff, 2 vols. (Louvain 1973). *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, ed. R.E. Sinkewicz (Toronto 1988), with Eng. tr.

SOURCE. Enkomion by Philotheos—ed. D. Tsames, *Hagiologika erga*, vol. 1 (Thessalonike 1985) 425–91.

LIT. Meyendorff, *Palamas*. D. Stiernon, "Bulletin sur le Palamisme," *REB* 30 (1972) 231–341. H.G. Beck in *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, ed. H. Jedin, vol. 3.2 (Freiburg-Basel-Vienna 1968) 600–07. –A.P.

PALAMEDES. See OLD KNIGHT.

PALAMISM, the teaching of Gregory PALAMAS. Its characteristic feature is the distinction between the inaccessible and unknowable essence of God and his uncreated energies. Its goal—expressed most fully in Palamas's *Triads*—was to give an objective theological foundation to the theory and practice of monastic contemplation or HESYCHASM. Palamism affirms that the aim of contemplative prayer is the vision of the uncreated light of God, exemplified by the light that shone about Christ at his Transfiguration on Mt. Tabor (Lk 9:28–36; cf. *Triads* 3, ed. Meyendorff, 574–83). By means of this deifying light or energy, SALVATION or deification (THEOSIS) is realized. Because the contemplative is able to experience God's own uncreated grace (*energeia*), as distinct from his essence which is unknowable, the hesychast encounters the living God directly (*Triads* 1:115.4–5). Therefore, communion with God himself—knowledge of him through his authentically divine operations or energies—is possible and, indeed, accessible to human experience (*Triads* 3:599.22–23). Man, though a creature, was made to participate in God.

This affirmation places Palamism squarely within the development of Byz. theology and its quest for salvation. For both Palamism and Greek patristic theology are soteriologically determined. This is clear from the great Christological debate of the 4th–5th C. with its insistence that the gulf between God and man had been bridged by the Incarnation. Indeed, the focus of this controversy was not theological speculation but salvation, with man's ascent to God and communion with him—made possible through the hypostatic union of the incarnate Word. That is, Christ's assumption of the fullness of our humanity makes deification possible. In Byz. theology (as with Palamism) real and immediate knowledge of God in Christ is thus ultimately rooted in the Orthodox Christology of CHALCEDON (*Triads* 1:193.4–18). Hence the 14th-C. Byz. church approved the Palamite distinction, despite the formal Aristotelian objections of BARLAAM OF CALABRIA that the distinction was an innovation incompatible with the divine simplicity. Hence, too, the Palamite rejection of the opposition of Nikephoros GREGORAS, since this also was based on a formal "rationalism" shared in part with Barlaam.

Palamas's essentially apophatic approach to theological truth has often been viewed as incompatible with Thomism—or as an obscurantist mysticism systematically opposed to secular learning. Palamas, however, was only insisting that knowledge of God could not be reduced to a rational exercise alone, that is, to the dialectic reasoning of SCHOLASTICISM with its exclusive endorsement of Aristotle. He held that only the mind transfigured or illuminated by grace can know God. Palamas, quite simply, found unacceptable the degree of authority assigned by scholasticism to Greek philosophy—"its pretension to be adequate to the Christian mystery" (Meyendorff, *Palamas* 240).

LIT. V. Lossky, "La théologie de la lumière chez saint Grégoire de Thessalonique," *Dieu Vivant* 1 (1945) 93–118. G. Florovsky, "Saint Gregory Palamas and the Tradition of the Fathers," *Sobornost*[4] 4 (1961) 165–76. H.-G. Beck et al., "Humanismus und Palamismus," 12 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Belgrade 1963) 63–82, 321–30. C. Journet, "Palamisme et thomisme," *Revue Thomiste* 60 (1960) 429–52. M.A. Fahey, J. Meyendorff, *Trinitarian Theology East and West: St. Thomas Aquinas—St. Gregory Palamas* (Brookline, Mass., 1977). –A.P.

The Dispute over Palamism. Palamism was established in the mid-14th C. as the official teaching of the Byz. church in spite of strong opposition from men such as Barlaam of Calabria, Gregory AKINDYNOS, and Nikephoros Gregoras. The basic philosophical differences (K. Ware, *EChR* 9 [1977] 46–51), both ontological and epistemological, could be expressed in two questions frequently discussed by church fathers: how could the gap between God and man be bridged, and how could the incomprehensible God be known by man. An excessive simplification of the problem by some hesychasts of the early 14th C. (including influential Athonite monks), who asserted the possibility of seeing the divine uncreated light, led to criticism by Barlaam who identified hesychasm as MESSALIANISM, as eliminating the distinction between the Creator and his creation. Barlaam's emphasis on the distinction between God and man endangered the concept of deification and consequently of salvation; Palamas had to defend the traditional view by introducing certain innovative definitions.

Akindynos, another critic of Palamism, denied the existence of a middle being (a "noncreated minor [deity] or inferior noncreated [being]") and stressed the simplicity of God who admits of no distinctions except the properties of the three PERSONS. John KYPARISSIOTES affirmed that Palamas had introduced a fourth nature (*physis*), and

Barlaam treated the light of Tabor as an image, *indalma*. Up to this point the Palamite dispute remained within the sphere of Greek theology; Prochoros KYDONES, however, employed in the anti-Palamite discussion the means of Latin scholastics and tried to prove that in a perfect being *ousia* should coincide with *energeia*.

In response to this criticism the Palamites attempted to modify some flawed formulations of their teacher in order to circumvent the accusation that Palamism introduced higher and lower deities and in order to stress the simplicity of God. Philotheos KOKKINOS emphasized the patristic tradition of the concept of uncreated GRACE, in order to invalidate the identification of Palamism as Messalianism; he states that the real Messalians are those who assumed the possibility of a union with God without such grace, who viewed grace only as a property of the thinking nature. GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS accepted this modified form of Palamism.

The social and political role of Palamism has not yet been elucidated: M. Sjuzjumov's (*VizVrem* 23 [1963] 262–68) interpretation of Palamism as the voice of the masses against Italian commercial exploitation is evidently simplistic, but Palamas's alliance with Kantakouzenos and his supporters deserves attention.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 323–32. V. Lossky, *Vision de Dieu* (Neuchâtel 1962) 127–40. A. de Halleux, "Palamisme et Tradition," *Irénikon* 48 (1975) 479–93. B. Schultze, "Zur Gotteserkenntnis in der griechischen Patristik," *Gregorianum* 63 (1982) 525–58. –A.K.

PALATIA. See MILETOS.

PALEJA. See PALAIA.

PALERMO (Πάνορμος), from antiquity a city of northwest Sicily, originally on the coast. During the Middle Ages the sea level retreated, and the old city walls are now relatively far from the sea. The city fell to the Vandals in 440 and to the Ostrogoths in 491. During Belisarios's reconquest of Sicily in 535/6, Panormos was the only city that effectively resisted siege by land, but the Goths surrendered when the fleet from Constantinople was about to attack (Prokopios, *Wars* 5.5.12–16). It remained in Byz. hands until the 9th C. A seal of a Byz. *horreiarios* of Panormos has been published by Zacos and Nesbitt (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.634), but it is unclear whether it refers to Sicilian Panormos or to another location of the same name. The bishop of Panormos was suffragan of SYRACUSE; Neilos DOXOPATRES gives this hierarchy in his notitia (*Notitiae CP*, no.14.48–49), although it was anachronistic by his time.

Palermo was one of the first Sicilian cities to be taken by the Arabs (in Aug.–Sept. 831). It flourished under the Muslims and maintained its status as capital of Sicily after the Norman conquest of 1072. IBN ḤAWQAL provides a detailed description of Palermo (Balarm) at the end of the 10th C.

Monuments of Palermo. Two foundations in Palermo demonstrate the Siculo-Norman court's ambivalent admiration (colored by rivalry) for the imperial artistic culture of 12th-C. Constantinople: the Cappella Palatina (lit. "palace chapel") of ROGER II and the Church of St. Mary built by Admiral George of Antioch. The latter came to be called "La Martorana" after the nearby Benedictine nunnery founded by Gaufredus de Marturanu. The extensive MOSAIC decoration in both churches must have been at least begun by imported Byz. craftsmen, as Sicily had no contemporary tradition of the craft.

The Cappella Palatina has a southern Italian architectural design (a triple-apsed basilica with a cupola on stepped squinches before the main apse) and an Islamic *muqarnas* ceiling in the nave. The cupola mosaics depict the standard Byz. PANTOKRATOR with ranks of angels below; they are dated by a Greek inscription to 1143. The chronicle attributed to ROMUALD II, archbishop of Salerno, mentions mosaics made under WILLIAM I: these may be the Old and New Testament scenes in the nave and aisles, which Demus and others attribute to Sicilian pupils of Roger II's Byz. craftsmen.

La Martorana, while characteristically Sicilian in silhouette, is entirely Byz. in plan: a four-columned cross-in-square, with a dome on squinches over the central bay. Influenced by the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina and perhaps by those of CEFALÙ, the decoration of the Martorana dates between 1143 and 1151, when George of Antioch died. The program includes a seated Pantokrator in the dome with four angels in *proskynesis*, the Nativity and Dormition on a lower vault, and founders' panels showing George of Antioch and Roger II.

Maguire (*infra*) has shown that the choice and position of scenes in both churches were affected by Byz. rhetorical conventions, familiar from homilies. B. Cappelli (*BollBadGr* n.s. 16 [1962] 77–93) proposed the intervention specifically of PHILAGATHOS, but for this, as noted by Kitzinger, there is no proof.

LIT. G. Agnello, *Palermo bizantina* (Amsterdam 1969). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:129f. Demus, *Norman Sicily* 25–90. Kitzinger, *Art of Byz.* 290–326, 394. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence* 66, 89f. F. Basile, *L'architettura della Sicilia normanna* (Catania 1975) 70–82. –A.K., D.K.

PALESTINE (Παλαιστίνη) in the 4th–6th C. included the coastal plain from Mt. Carmel south to Raphia on the Egyptian frontier, the Galilee and the Golan in the north, the Jezreel valley, the hill country of Samaria and Judaea, and the Great Rift valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. When Diocletian reorganized the LIMES in this region, he moved the Tenth Legion from Aelia Capitolina (see JERUSALEM) to Aila at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba and transferred the southern part of the province of Arabia, including PETRA and the NEGEV desert, to Palestine. The *dux Palaestinae* commanded the Tenth Legion and other forces of the *limes Palaestinae*. At first a single consular stationed at CAESAREA MARITIMA headed the civil administration, but by 358 the former parts of the province of Arabia had been separated to form Palaestina Salutaris. After another subdivision ca.400, Salutaris became Palaestina III, with its capital at Elusa; the Galilee, the Golan, the Jezreel valley, and several trans-Jordanian cities belonged to Palaestina II (capital at SKYTHOPOLIS); and the rest was renamed Palaestina I (capital at Caesarea). A consular governed each province until 536, when Justinian I promoted the governor at Caesarea to proconsul (ANTHYPATOS), gave him supervision over the two remaining consulars, and regulated his relations with the *doux* (nov.103, pr., par.1).

Justinian promoted the governor because he presided over "the province in which our Lord Jesus Christ . . . appeared on earth," a factor that likewise explains why Palestine prospered under the Christian Empire. More farm sites and villages were inhabited than ever before, and the volume of pottery recorded in archaeological surveys exceeds that of any other period. The imperial journey of HELENA in 326 created enthusiasm for PILGRIMAGE, esp. among the wealthy. In the 5th C. prominent refugees (e.g., MELANIA THE YOUNGER, ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA) settled permanently, devoting their fortunes to hospitals and churches. The emperors too made generous donations; the sale of RELICS brought in further funds. In creating prosperity, this infusion of new capital overshadowed other economic developments, such as the colonization of the Negev and the booming market for Gaza wine.

The cities of Palestine (e.g., Caesarea Maritima, Jerusalem, Skythopolis, NEAPOLIS, GAZA) generally reached their peak in population and built-up area in the late Roman period, while maintaining a classical appearance with new colonnaded streets, civic basilicas, and aqueducts. The density of construction was extraordinary, even in the towns and villages. Most churches were single- or triple-apsed basilicas, but in the 5th–6th C. some centrally planned churches were modeled on the Church of the Anastasis at the Holy SEPULCHRE in Jerusalem.

The schools of Byz. Palestine—at Caesarea, Gaza, even Elusa in the Negev—produced famous rhetoricians. AINEIAS OF GAZA, CHORIKIOS OF GAZA, JOHN OF GAZA, and PROKOPIOS OF GAZA influenced epistolography, panegyric, and *ekphrasis*. ORIGEN established a tradition of Christian scholarship at Caesarea continued by Pamphilos and his pupil EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA. Jerome used Origen's *Hexapla* at Caesarea. In historiography, GELASIOS OF CAESAREA and SOZOMENOS of Bethelea (near Gaza) continued Eusebian ecclesiastical history, while PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA, trained in Caesarea and (perhaps) Gaza, wrote classicizing history. CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS was a notable hagiographer.

Before Constantine, there had been only isolated Christian communities in Palestine, notably at Caesarea, where martyrdoms had taken place under Diocletian and his successors, and at Jerusalem. Bp. CYRIL of Jerusalem (died 387) led the christianization of his city. St. Hilarion (mid-4th C.) encouraged the spread of monasticism and brought the new religion to the Negev. By the 5th C. monasteries were numerous but most influential were the Judaean desert *lavrai* of Sts. EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT, SABAS, and others described by Cyril of Skythopolis. These holy men also converted the many ARABS of Palestine to Christianity, both the desert Bedouin and the Arab villagers.

The metropolis of Caesarea ranked first among the approximately 50 sees of Palestine until 451, when Bp. JUVENAL of Jerusalem secured primacy in Palestine and the patriarchate (see JERUSALEM, PATRIARCHATE OF) by adopting the Christological formula of CHALCEDON. This incensed the largely Monophysite monks, whose revolt, supported by the exiled Empress Eudokia, had to be put down by force.

After St. PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA destroyed the Zeus Marnas temple at Gaza (probably in 402), little is heard of paganism but, despite conversion and the influx of foreigners, Christians may have remained a minority in the Holy Land until the Muslim conquest. SAMARITANS were concentrated around Neapolis and their sacred mount, Gerizim, but were also numerous in other parts of Palestine. According to Prokopios (*SH* 11.27–30) most of the tenant farmers in Caesarea's territory were Samaritans. Excluded from Jerusalem and most of Judaea, the JEWS inhabited the coastal plain and esp. the Galilee, the Golan, and a belt extending from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean. Numerous SYNAGOGUES have been excavated, many of them basilicas with niches for the Torah shrine oriented toward Jerusalem, modeled on Christian churches. Despite sporadic imperial legislation against them, both groups prospered in Byz. Palestine, the Jews sufficiently to create the culture reflected in the Palestinian Talmud and other rabbinic literature. Nonetheless, persecution and legal disabilities caused Jewish revolts in 351–52 and again ca.440. The Samaritans, although they were assimilated readily enough to enter the army and civil service in large numbers, rebelled in 484, when ZENO destroyed their synagogue at Mt. Gerizim, and again in 529 and 555. The authorities crushed these rebellions, deporting many Samaritans to the Persian Empire, but in 578 both Jews and Samaritans revolted once more.

When the PERSIANS invaded Palestine in 614, the Jews and other minorities welcomed them; most cities, with the notable exception of Jerusalem, opened their gates. Renewed Byz. administration, following the end of Persian rule in 628, lasted only a decade. The Muslims first attacked Palestine in 634 and defeated the imperial forces decisively on the YARMUK River in 636. Jerusalem fell in 638, Caesarea not until 640 or 641/2.

The Muslims abolished Palaestina III, but Palaestina I survived as the Jund Filasṭīn and Palaestina II as the Jund al-Urdunn. Ramla, a new city, became the capital. Many Christians fled, but neither those who remained nor the Jews were persecuted. Pilgrimage continued on a reduced scale except for brief episodes of repression in the 11th C. under the caliph al-Ḥākim and the SELJUKS. In 975 JOHN I TZIMISKES claimed to have penetrated Palestine and briefly occupied some northern cities, including Caesarea but his army did not penetrate so far south. In 1099 the Crusaders seized the Holy City and established the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (see JERUSALEM, KINGDOM OF).

LIT. M. Avi-Yonah, "The Economics of Byzantine Palestine," *IEJ* 8 (1958) 39–51. Idem, *RE* supp. 13 (1973) 322–30, 407–54. F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, 2 vols. (Paris 1933–38). Idem, *Histoire de la Palestine* (Paris 1952). Y. Dan, *The City in Eretz-Israel during the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Jerusalem 1984), in Hebr. Y. Tsafrir in *Eretz Israel from the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest*, ed. Z. Baras et al., vol. 2 (Jerusalem 1984), in Hebr. –K.G.H.

PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE, conventional name for a series of nine scenes from the life of Christ found in various degrees of completeness on a variety of 6th–7th-C. pilgrim EULOGIAI, as well as on several types of contemporary AMULET. The cycle includes the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, the Myrrophoroi, and the Ascension. It appears on pilgrimage AMPULLAE, the SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY, and (as individual scenes) on PILGRIM TOKENS; it is also found on contemporary silver amuletic ARMBANDS, octagonal gold marriage RINGS, and (as individual scenes) on gold FIBULAE and PENDANTS. The cycle documentated the sacred origin of the *eulogia* contained in the *ampullae*, reliquary boxes, etc., and it was thought to give magical power to the amulets. Some scenes, such as the ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM, were developed from traditional Roman iconographical *topoi*, while others, like the MYRROPHOROI, were specifically Palestinian, insofar as they reproduce details associated with specific LOCA SANCTA.

LIT. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic" 75, 81–83. J. Engemann, "Palästinensische Pilgerampullen im F.J. Dölger-Institut in Bonn," *JbAChr* 16 (1973) 5–27. –G.V.

PALIMPSEST (παλίμψηστος), a PARCHMENT MS used for a second (or even third) time in copying a text. The reason for reusing the parchment was the dearth of writing material. The parchment leaves were washed and the old text scraped off. The *scriptura superior* was written either parallel to the *scriptura inferior* or at a right angle to it; in the latter case the reading of the *scriptura inferior* is easier. Sometimes PALAEOGRAPHERS use ultraviolet light to aid in deciphering a palimpsest MS. The *scriptura superior* provides a *terminus ante quem* for the erased text and indicates the literary preferences of the later SCRIBE or SCRIPTORIUM. Replacement of a classical or a secular Byz. author by a Christian text is the rule (e.g., Ephrem over the *De Ceremoniis* of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos), but the opposite occurs as well (e.g., Pindar over a *sticherarion*). Many palimpsests have a southern Italian origin, owing to the poverty of southern Italian centers of book production.

LIT. A. Dold, *Palimpsest-Studien*, 2 vols. (Beuron 1955–57). Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 14–16. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 37f. M. Formentin, "I palinsesti greci della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana e della Capitolare di Verona," *Diptycha* 2 (1980–81) 146–86. *Menae patricii cum Thoma referendario "De scientia politica dialogus,"* ed. C. M. Mazzucchi (Milan 1982). –E.G.

PALLADAS (Παλλάδας), epigrammatist, grammarian, and teacher at Alexandria; born 319 (Bowra) or 360 (Franke), lived at least 72 years. Numerically at least, he dominates the GREEK ANTHOLOGY with approximately 150 epigrams (he is variously assigned and denied some anonymous items), partly because he assembled a collection of his own work. His poems portray a poor schoolmaster driven to misogyny by a nagging wife. His nihilism and habit of lampooning important officials may have gotten him into some trouble with the authorities. His talent is for the short poem (18 lines at most) in elegiacs, iambics, and hexameters; he was an inveterate punster. Both pagan and Christian sentiments have been detected in him (M. Bowra, *ProcBrAc* 45 [1959] 255–67), but overall he may be described as a poet between the two worlds of dying paganism and triumphant Christianity, equally uncomfortable in both.

ED. *AnthGr*, *passim*, esp. bks. 9–11. Partial Eng. tr. T. Harrison, *Palladas: Poems* (London 1975).

LIT. B. Baldwin, "Palladas of Alexandria: A Poet Between Two Worlds," *AntCl* 54 (1985) 267–73. Al. Cameron, "Notes on Palladas," *CQ* n.s. 15 (1965) 215–29. A. Franke, *De Pallada epigrammatographo* (Leipzig 1899). J. Irmscher, "Pallad," *VizVrem* 11 (1956) 247–70. –B.B.

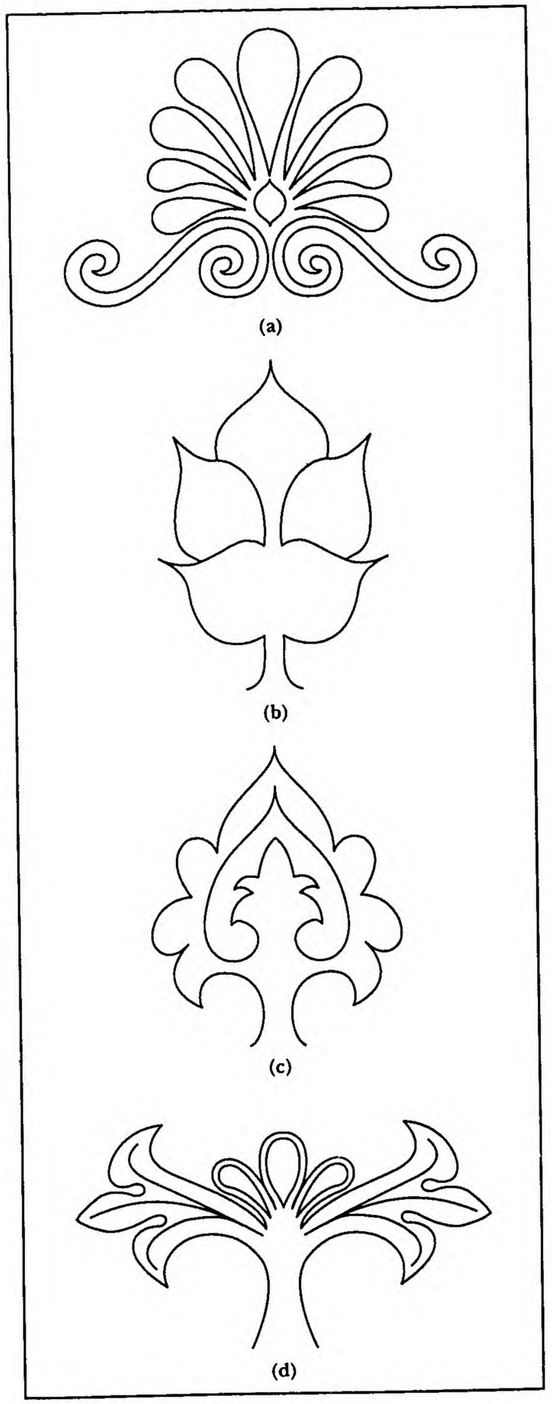
PALLADIOS (Παλλάδιος), writer, bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia (ca.400–406), bishop of Aspuna in Galatia (from ca.412); born Galatia ca.363, died Aspuna ca.431. A pupil of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, he spent the years 388–400 in Alexandria, Nitria, Kellia, and Palestine. Exiled from Bithynia in 406 as a supporter of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, he traveled the next few years in Egypt, Palestine, and perhaps India before returning to his new bishopric. His account of early Egyptian MONASTICISM, the *Lausiac History*, is so named from its dedicatee Lausos, *koubikoularios* of Theodosios II. Written ca.419, it combined the traditions of biography and the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM into an engaging mixture of the credulous and the critical (W. Telfer, *JThSt* 38 [1937] 379–83). Palladios is candid on monkish weaknesses and does not harp on asceticism. The work was translated into Latin by RUFINUS of Aquileia and into Oriental languages, including Coptic. The authorship of his other major work, the *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, written ca.408, is questioned; it is modeled after Plato's *Phaedo* and defends John against THEOPHILOS of Alexandria. Also surviving under his name is a treatise titled *On the Races of India and the Brahmans*, the first of whose four sections, describing an Egyptian scholar's journey to INDIA, may be genuinely Palladian (B. Berg, *Byzantion* 44 [1974] 5–16).

ED. *The Lausiac History*, ed. C. Butler, 2 vols. in 1 (Cambridge 1898–1904; rp. Hildesheim 1967). Tr. R.T. Meyer (Westminster, Md., 1965). *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, ed. R.T. Meyer (New York 1985), with Eng. tr. *Palladius de Gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*, ed. W. Berghoff (Meisenheim am Glan 1967).

LIT. E. Magheri Cataluccio, *Il Lausaïkon di Palladio tra semiotica e storica* (Rome 1984). –B.B.

PALLIUM. See HIMATION.

PALMETTE, ORNAMENT derived from vegetal forms consisting of petals radiating from a calyx-like base, used alone or repeated to form a border or frieze. Palmettes were sometimes elaborated with hearts, additional petals or tendrils, and often combined with floral motifs such as the lotus. The simple palmette, continuing a classical Greek form, was a standard feature of architectural ornament



as well as of decorative borders in wall mosaics, monumental painting, and sumptuary arts of all periods. A rounded form with large petals, often termed the "Sasanian" palmette, was perhaps derived from Near Eastern art. It frequently appears in TEXTILES and is extremely common in 10th-C. MSS and ENAMELS. The "split palmette" is a related motif with two symmetrically branching floral elements extending from a central stem and often enclosing other motifs.

LIT. Frantz, "Byz. Illuminated Ornament" 57–63.
–R.E.K.

PALM SUNDAY (*Κυριακὴ τῶν βαΐων*), the Sunday before Easter. One of the dominical GREAT FEASTS, Palm Sunday commemorates Jesus' triumphal ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM and the beginning of his PASSION. The event was solemnized in 4th-C. Jerusalem with a procession of the faithful bearing palms or other branches, a usage that had passed to the rest of the East by 518 and is still attested in the 10th-C. *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:66). Later Byz. practice generally has only a blessing and distribution of branches and candles at *orthros* (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:542.10–11).

The imperial ceremony for this feast was elaborate. On the eve, the emperor went to the Church of St. Demetrios, where he distributed palm branches and silver crosses to members of the senate and others before entering the palace church, the Virgin of the Pharos, for vespers. In this latter church he took part in the liturgy on the day of the feast; he also held a banquet in the Chrysotriklinos (*De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 31–32; Philotheos, *Kletor.* 197.6–26). According to a 14th-C. ceremonial book, the gallery along which the emperor passed on the way to *orthros* was festooned with branches of myrtle, laurel, and olive (pseudo-Kod. 224.5–226.21).

SOURCE. Mother Mary, K. Ware, trs., *The Lenten Triodion* (London-Boston 1978).
LIT. A. Baumstark, "La solennité des palmes dans l'ancienne et la nouvelle Rome," *Irénikon* 13 (1936) 3–24.
–R.F.T.

PALMETTE. Common palmette designs. (a) classical palmette; (b) "Sasanian" palmette (Vat. Barb. gr. 449, a.1153); (c) split palmette (Escorial Ω-I-16, a.1293); (d) split palmette (St. Polyeuktos, Istanbul).

PALMYRA (Πάλμυρα, Syriac Tadmor, Ar. Tadmur), city and bishopric situated in an oasis in eastern Syria, in the province of Phoenicia Libanensis. Palmyra was formerly the capital of the ephemeral kingdom of the Arab queen Zenobia, which the Romans conquered in 273. Thereafter it lost out to NISIBIS as a principal trading center. The city was restored between 293 and 303 by Diocletian as a military stronghold of the eastern frontier, which it remained until the 7th C. In 527 Justinian I restored Palmyra, including its churches and public buildings (*demosia*), and placed there the *doux* of EMESA with a garrison (Malal. 426.1–5). According to Prokopios (*Buildings* 2.11.10–12), the emperor ordered repairs to the walls (H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 [1950] 239–42) and the provision of an adequate water supply. There are in Palmyra the remains of two basilical churches (A. Gabriel, *Syria* 7 [1926] 88–90) and of Christian paintings in the temple of Bel, which, like that of Baalshamin, was converted into a church in the 5th or 6th C. (J. Leroy, *CahArch* 15 [1965] 17–20). Excavations in the military area known as the "Camp of Diocletian" reveal on that side of the city a decline in urban life in the late 6th or early 7th C. The wide "Via Praetoria" was encroached upon by humble dwellings and reduced to a narrower (3.7 m) road (K. Michałowski, *Palmyre* [Warsaw 1963] 41), and public squares such as the Roman Tetrapylon were transformed into residential areas (Idem, *Palmyre* [Warsaw 1962] 54f). Palmyra fell to the Arabs in 633 or 634 (Donner, *Conquests* 121–26), but Byz. coins continued to circulate there for some years, as indicated by a hoard of gold coins ranging from Phokas to Constans II (641–68).

LIT. K. Michałowski, *Palmyre: Fouilles Polonaises 1960* (Warsaw 1962) 54–77. M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre* 8 (Warsaw 1984). R. Fellmann, "Le 'Camp de Dioclétien' à Palmyre et architecture militaire du Bas-Empire," in *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offertes à P. Collart* (Lausanne-Paris 1976) 173–91. *Palmira. Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der syrischen Oasenstadt* (Linz 1987). –M.M.M.

PALUDAMENTUM. See CHLAMYS.

PAMMAKARISTOS, CHURCH OF HAGIA MARIA (Turk. Fethiye Camii), monastic church at Constantinople, probably founded in the 12th C. by a John Komnenos. After 1261 it came into the possession of the *protostrator* Michael Tarchaneiotes GLABAS (died ca.1305), who was buried there in the south *parekklesion* built in his memory by his widow Maria. Around 1455 Gennadios II Scholarios chose the Pammakaristos as the seat of the Greek patriarchate; it remained such until 1587, when the Turks confiscated it and converted it into a mosque. A document of the second half of the 16th C. describes a number of tombs and relics there, as well as inscriptions of the 12th–13th C. (P. Schreiner, *DOP* 25 [1971] 220–41). As preserved today, the building consists of the main church of the 12th C., greatly altered, the south chapel of ca.1305–10, and a U-shaped

PAMMAKARISTOS, CHURCH OF HAGIA MARIA. Dome, east bay, and south bay of the *parekklesion*, Church of Hagia Maria Pammakaristos, Istanbul. In the lunette, a mosaic of the Baptism of Christ. The bishop is St. Gregory Thaumatourgos.

ambulatory that contained many of the tombs. The chapel is decorated with mosaics; remnants of wall painting in the south arm of the ambulatory preserve typological allusions to the Virgin, including the CLOSED DOOR.

LIT. H. Belting, C. Mango, D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1978). –C.M.

PAMPHYLIA (Παμφυλία), the coastal plain of southern Asia Minor, ca.100 km long, surrounded by an arc of the Taurus Mountains. This well-watered and fertile area, prosperous from olives, sheep, and trade along the coast and with the interior, supported several large cities (ATTALEIA, SIDE, SYLLAION). Constantine I made Pamphylia a separate province with Perge as its capital. Leo I appointed military commanders in Pamphylia to resist attacks of the ISAURIANS. The ecclesiastical structure was more complicated, with intercity rivalry provoking a 5th-C. division into two provinces with Side and Perge as metropolitan sees. Pamphylia was absorbed into the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme in the 8th C., but remained a separate military and administrative unit: the *tourmarches* of Pamphylia and LYKAONIA appears in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, and 9th-C. seals (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 2198, 3228) mention a *tourmarches* and an *ek prosopou* of Pamphylia. Extensive remains indicate considerable prosperity, esp. in the 6th C. Subsequent Arab attacks severely afflicted the cities of Pamphylia; some were abandoned, others became fortresses. After the battle of Mantzikert in 1071, Byz. control rarely extended beyond ATTALEIA.

LIT. W. Ruge, *RE* 18.3 (1949) 354–407. –C.F.

PAMPREPIOS (Παμπρέπιος), scholar and statesman; born Panopolis 29 Sept. 440, died at fortress Papirios, Isauria late Nov. 484. Up to age 32 Pamprepios was a poor poetry-writing grammarian in Egypt. Emigration to Athens brought him a more lucrative post as well as association with the pagan Neoplatonists. A fistfight (to which he was prone) caused him to move in 476 to Constantinople, where his pretensions to learning and magic impressed many, notably Zeno's high official ILLOS, who procured him public funds and students. The titles of quaestor, *patrikios*, and (honorary) consul followed in 479. A lucky prediction further endeared him to Illos, whose favorite he became. In 484 he encouraged and joined Illos's revolt against Zeno. Upon their defeat he hid with the other rebels who, exasperated by the now high failure rate of his predictions and suspecting him of treachery, executed him. His career, commemorated by (among others) DAMASKIOS, ultimately belies the ascription to him by MALCHOS OF PHILADELPHIA of great political acumen. Accusations of licentiousness, treachery, unscrupulousness, and vanity may partly be a pious reaction to his militant paganism. The *Souda* credits him with various epic poems. Surviving hexameter fragments on the patrician Theagenes and a spring or autumn idyll may well be his; other ascriptions are insecure.

ED. *Carmina*, ed. E. Livrea (Leipzig 1979). *Select Papyri 3: Literary Papyri*^{2}, ed. D.L. Page (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1962) 560–87, with Eng. tr.

LIT. R. Asmus, "Pamprepios, ein byzantinischer Gelehrter und Staatsmann des 5. Jahrhunderts," *BZ* 22 (1913) 320–47. R.C. McCail, "P. Gr. Vindob. 29788C: Hexameter Encomium on an Un-named Emperor," *JHS* 98 (1978) 38–63. A. Delatte, P. Stroobant, "L'Horoscope de Pamprepios, professeur et homme politique de Byzance," *BAcBelg*^{5} 9 (1923) 58–76. –B.B.

PAN, in Greek mythology, a god of flocks and pastures who is usually depicted in the company of NYMPHS and SATYRS. NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS (*Dionysiaka* 42:258–61) relates the myth of Pitys, the nymph of the fir-tree, who fled over the mountains to escape marriage with Pan. Eventually, Pan assumed a universal significance. Servius, the 4th-C. commentator on Vergil, states that Pan is the god of all nature (wherefrom allegedly comes his name meaning in Greek "all"): he has horns, the symbols of sun rays; the spotted fawnskin of his breast designates the starry sky; and his goatlike legs indicate the stability of the earth (R. Herbig, *Pan* [Frankfurt am Main 1949] 67). His cult in the Egyptian desert is testified to by Roman inscriptions up to the 4th C. (A. Bernard, *Pan du désert* [Leiden 1977] 271).

The church rejected with indignation the worship of the divine half-goat with whom various lascivious stories were connected: PHILOSTORGIOS (*HE*, ed. Bidez-Winkelmann, 41.5–16) hypothesizes that the ancient Greeks must have developed their conception of Pan (as a combination of a goat and monkey) from seeing a hybrid monster like the one sent to Emp. Constantius II by the king of the Indians.

For painters Pan was the embodiment of lust. He appears as an ithyphallic IDOL (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* fig.89) or as a horned, goat-legged, and winged demigod in the act of accosting Aphrodite (Furlan, *Marciana* 5, fig.48b). –A.K., A.M.T., A.C.

PANAGIA. See VIRGIN MARY.

PANAGIARION (*παναγιάριον*, from *παναγία*, "the all-holy [Virgin]"), a small liturgical paten (see PATEN AND ASTERISKOS) 5–15 cm in diameter, decorated with a representation of the Virgin, often in an ORANS attitude. *Panagiaria* were intended to carry the bread offered to the Virgin by monks during a meal or in the course of the ORTHROS service (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:661–64). The earliest known example, in the HILANDAR MONASTERY on Mt. Athos, is made of jasper and has been attributed to the 10th–11th C. (B. Radojković, *Les objets sculptés d'art mineur en Serbie ancienne* [Belgrade 1977] 11). A *panagiarion* of gold is recorded in the will of Theodore Sarantenos of 1326 (G.I. Theocharides, *Makedonika* supp. 2 [Thessalonike 1962] 20.53). Examples of the 14th C. display the Virgin surrounded by prophets, angels, or apostles in compositions evoking the INCARNATION (Kalavrezou, *Steatite* 204–08). In the 15th C. the *panagiarion* was transformed into a PYXIS or pendant made of two shallow disks, one of them showing the Virgin and the other the Trinity. This form of *panagiarion* is often worn by high church officials. –L.Ph.B.

PANAGIA TON CHALKEON, church in Thessalonike. The Panagia ton Chalkeon (Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων, lit. "Virgin of the bronze-smiths"), was constructed in 1028 (and not in 1044) by Christopher, governor (*katepano*) of the theme of Longobardia, his wife, son, and two daughters, as indicated by an inscription over the west door. An arcosolium in the middle of the north wall was probably originally Christopher's tomb. Another inscription inside the church says that the founder had constructed the building "for the forgiveness of his sins."

The church is of the cross-in-square type, on four columns; there are three domes, one central and two over the double-storied narthex, all rather high in elevation. The exterior of the church is built entirely of brick, with rectangular pilasters on the lower level, rounded half-columns above. The roofline of the west end of the church is scalloped, while the other arms of the church have gabled roofs. All the arched openings and blind arches have two, three, or four setbacks, enhancing the sculptured effect of the exterior. The church has connections with Constantinople (e.g., the exterior decoration recalls the MYRELAION church) and with central Greece (e.g., interior, window treatment), but the overall style is probably local. In the interior is preserved much of the original carved marble decoration as well as frescoes of the 11th and the 14th C. The 11th-C. ASCENSION in the dome, LAST JUDGMENT in the narthex, and positioning of the CRUCIFIXION and ANASTASIS scenes near the tomb develop the funerary character of the program (A. Tsitouridou, *JÖB* 32.5 [1982] 435–41). The 14th-C. frescoes include an illustration of the AKATHISTOS HYMN (A. Xyngopoulos, *DChAE*^{4} 7 [1973–74] 61–77).

LIT. D. Evangelides, *He Panagia ton Chalkeon* (Thessalonike 1954). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 373f. K. Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalereien des 11. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki* (Graz-Cologne 1966). Janin, *Églises centres* 383f. A. Tsitouridou, *He Panagia ton Chalkeon* (Thessalonike 1975). –T.E.G.

PANARETOS, MICHAEL, chronicler of the GRAND KOMNENOI of Trebizond; born Pontos? ca.1320, died ca.1390. Panaretos (Παναρέτος) spent his career in the service of ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS and by 1363 held the titles of *protosebastos* and *protonotarios*. He participated in numerous military campaigns with the emperor and twice visited Constantinople, in 1363 and 1368. His personal involvement with the court of Trebizond ended in 1379.

The chronicle of Panaretos is the unique narrative source for the history of the empire of TREBIZOND; it covers the period 1204–1390. The events of 1340–90, to which Panaretos was an eyewitness, are more detailed than those covered in the early pages of the chronicle. The narrative concentrates on the events of official life: weddings, burials, military expeditions. The manner of storytelling is annalistic, with serious attention to chronology and official titulature. The simple

language is close to the vernacular. The author sometimes mentions his own involvement in affairs (e.g., *sub anno* 1361 "I was among the archons"), but tries to avoid personal interpretation of events. Since the data provided by Panaretos are unique, verification of his reliability is difficult. A 15th-C. writer added to his chronicle a very brief description of events between 1390 and 1426.

ED. *Michael tou Panaretou peri ton megalon Komnenon*, ed. O. Lampsides (Athens 1958).
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:480f. *PLP*, no.21651. –A.M.T.

PANDEKTES. See ANTIOCHOS STRATEGOS.

PANEAS. See PANIAS.

PANEGYRIC. See ENKOMION.

PANEGYRICI LATINI, general title for a dozen addresses to emperors preserved in the MS discovered by Giovanni Aurispa in 1433. First is Pliny's panegyric of Trajan, clearly the school model for later efforts. The other 11 all relate to Gaul, nine from the period 289–321, the remaining two datable to 362 and 389, thus suggesting that some Gallic rhetorician assembled the collection in the late 4th C. In chronological order (modern enumerations vary with different editions) these are, by name: two addresses by Mamertinus to MAXIMIAN, at Trier in 289 and 291; Eumenius from Autun to CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS in 298 in gratitude for his appointment as professor of rhetoric and school organizer; Nazarius's encomium on the absent CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT in 321; another Mamertinus's thanks to JULIAN for his consular appointment in 362 at Constantinople; Drepanius honoring the victory of Theodosios I over MAXIMUS. The other addresses, mainly delivered to Constantine in Trier, are anonymous, perhaps by Eumenius, and datable to the years 297, 307, 310, 312, and 313. Apart from Mamertinus's somewhat poetical address to Julian, the overall style is Ciceronian *à la* Pliny. Their tone is uniformly unctuous, every ruler being a superhuman hero. Yet as with modern propaganda, solid history can be teased out of them, while taken together they constitute a mirror of provincial classicism.

ED. *Panégyriques latins*, ed. E. Galletier, 3 vols. (Paris 1949–55), with Fr. tr. *XII Panegyrici latini*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford 1964).
LIT. C.E.V. Nixon, "Latin Panegyric in the Tetrarchic and Constantinian Period," in Croke-Emmett, *Historians* 88–99. R. Seager, "Some Imperial Virtues in the Latin Prose Panegyrics," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4 (1983) 129–65. T. Janson, *A Concordance to the Latin Panegyrics* (Hildesheim 1979). –B.B.

PANEGYRIS. See FAIR.

PANHYPERSEBASTOS (*παννπερσέβαστος*), title created by Alexios I. It was conferred on several members of noble families such as Katakalon-Euphorbenoi, Kontostephanoi, and Taronitai (L. Stiernon, *REB* 23 [1965] 223, n.12). A seal of John Dalassenos (before 1136) calls him *despotes* and *panhypersebastos* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2721). A 14th-C. ceremonial book places the *panhypersebastos* immediately after the *megas domestikos* and notes that the two were equal (pseudo-Kod. 136.1–2). Before he became emperor, John (VI) Kantakouzenos was *panhypersebastos*. The Komnenoi and their successors introduced other epithets and titles based on the root of SEBASTOS, such as *pansebastos, pansebastohypertatos,* and even *protopansebastohypertatos* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2747). –A.K.

PANIAS (Πανιάς, also Paneas, Ar. Bāniyās), rarely called Caesarea Philippi (i.e., the Caesarea of Philip, son of Herod), ancient city in Phoenicia southwest of Mt. Hermon, near an old sanctuary of Pan. Pilgrims were attracted to Panias by a sculptural group thought to represent Christ healing the woman with the issue of blood. Eusebios of Caesarea (*HE* 7:18.2–4) describes the bronze statue as a genuflecting woman stretching her hands toward a man in an elaborate cloak at whose feet grew a strange plant with the power to cure all diseases. Reportedly the woman herself had erected this image. More likely the group represented a pagan divine healer reclaimed by the Christians (G. Hölscher, *RE* 18 [1949] 599f). Eusebios also mentions painted images of Christ, Paul, and Peter in Panias. The fate of the bronze group is often mentioned by later writers. According to Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* 5.21.1–2), Julian replaced it with his own statue, which was destroyed by fire from heaven. Philostorgios (Philostorg., *HE* 7.3, p.79.1–7) relates that the inhabitants of Panias pulled down the statue; its head was hidden by pious people. Malalas, on the other hand, narrates (Malal. 239.11–14) that the statue was transferred from the city square to a chapel and stood there until his time.

The bishopric of Panias belonged to the patriarchate of Antioch. Under the Arabs the city was an administrative center; the sculpture was probably destroyed even though its legend is mentioned by some authors of the 10th C.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 167. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *EI*² 1:1017. –G.V., A.K.

PANION (Πάνιον), also Panidon, late antique city on the north shore of the Sea of Marmara near Rhaidestos. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 1.50, ed. Pertusi, p.86) lists it among the *poleis* of Thrace or Europe. A bishop of Panion or Theodosioupolis (Nova) was known in 536 (*ACO* 3:116.53). In Byz. sources Panion appears either as a *polis* or *kastron* (e.g., *TheophCont* 615.2; Attal. 249.4). In 813, when Krum ravaged Thracian towns, Panion was one of the few that the Bulgarians were unable to conquer (I. Ševčenko, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 573). The people of Panion participated in the revolt of THOMAS THE SLAV and did not surrender even after Thomas's death; the city was captured only after an earthquake destroyed its walls. In 1064/5 Panion again suffered from an earthquake (Attal. 90.1). Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 621.1–2) relates that Venetian ships plundered Panion in 1205. In the PARTITIO ROMANIAE the *civitas* Panido was ascribed, together with Rhaidestos, to the district of Chalkidike and handed over to the Venetians. In 1206 Kalojan destroyed Panion and resettled its inhabitants on the banks of the Danube (Akrop. 23.10–14).

LIT. J. Schmidt, *RE* 18 (1949) 601. Lemerle, *Philippes* 171. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1 (1918) 275f; 3 (1940) 241f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:222–29. –A.K.

PANKALEIA (Παγκάλεια), a plain northeast of AMORION, scene of one or two battles (978–79) during the revolt of Bardas SKLEROS. Leo the Deacon (Leo Diac. 169f) says Bardas PHOKAS first encountered Skleros's army at Pankaleia, a "plain fit for cavalry." Phokas was defeated, but in a subsequent conflict he triumphed (locale unspecified). Skleros was forced to flee to the Arabs. Psellos (*Chron.* 1:5–7) describes a battle with a single combat that resulted in Skleros's flight. Skylitzes (Skyl. 324–27) reports a first defeat for Phokas near Amorion and a subsequent one at Basilika Therma. Then, with Georgian forces supplied by DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO, Phokas overcame Skleros at Pankaleia, which Skylitzes wrongly places near the Halys. The battle featured a duel between the generals in which Skleros was wounded; his bloody horse, dashing through his own men, so alarmed them that they took flight. Skleros withdrew to the Arabs. P.M. Tarchnichvili (*BK* 17–18 [1964] 95–97) has shown that contemporary Georgian sources located the decisive battle at Sarvenis (which he identifies as Aquae Saravenae or Basilika Therma, north of Kaisareia). Skylitzes' final battle at Pankaleia (duel included), he argues, is a fictionalized duplication of the first one. But Aquae Saravenae (mod. Kırşehir, northwest of Kaisareia and near the Halys) must be distinguished from Basilika Therma (mod. Sarıkaya) (F. Hild, M. Restle, *TIB* 2:143f, 156f). YAḤYĀ (ed. Kratchkovsky and Vasiliev, PO 23.3:375, 399) gives the date of the first battle as 19 June 978 and of the second as 24 Mar. 979.

LIT. K. Belke, *TIB* 4:212. S.A. Kamer, "Emperors and Aristocrats in Byzantium, 976–1081" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1983) 549–52. –C.M.B.

PANKRATIOS OF TAORMINA, a legendary disciple of St. Peter, the first bishop of Taormina; martyr and saint; feastdays 9 Feb. and 9 July. The existence of his cult in Sicily is attested by GREGORY I THE GREAT, who relates that in 591 a church in Messina was dedicated to "Pancratius." According to the vita of Pankratios (Παγκράτιος), written by a certain Evagrios (otherwise unknown), Pankratios was originally from the Antioch region, lived in a village in Pontos, accompanied St. Peter on his journeys, and came to Sicily, where he converted the governor of the province to Christianity and was eventually murdered by pagans. Evagrios describes an episode that seems to reflect the struggle over icon veneration: the apostle Peter reportedly summoned a painter, Joseph by name, and ordered him to make icons of Christ, Peter himself, and Pankratios; Pankratios then used these icons in his mission. The episode with the painter Joseph was known to THEODORE OF STOUDIOS (PG 99:1135A) and employed in his defense of icons. Whereas Patlagean

(*Structure*, pt.XIII [1964], 587–89) dates the "romance of Pankratios" to the second half of the 8th C., Ševčenko (*Ideology*, pt.V [1975], 28, n.2) prefers the second period of Iconoclasm. The text of the vita is published only in excerpts.

LIT. *BHG* 1410–12. V. Veselovskij, "Iz istorii romana i povesti, I," *Sbornik Otdelenija Russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk* 40.2 (1886) 65–128. H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften* 4 (Leipzig-Berlin 1913) 417–21. –A.K.

PANNONIA (Παννονία), Roman territory south of the Middle Danube that was divided between 293 and 296, under Diocletian, into four provinces: Pannonia I (capital, Savaria), Pannonia II (capital, SIRMIUM), Savia (capital, Siscia), and Valeria (capital, Sopianae). Archaeological data indicate that the 4th C. was a period of flourishing estates, when large-scale grain production began; from the end of the 3rd C. onward wine was also produced. The uniformity of the construction of new villas prompts the hypothesis that they were imperial properties (M. Biró, *ActaArchHung* 26 [1974] 52–54). Building activity, predominantly of military character, continued through the time of Valentinian I, although the political role of the Pannonians in the empire seems to have decreased (J. Fitz, *L'administration des provinces pannoniennes* [Brussels 1983] 91).

Starting at the end of the 4th C., Pannonia lay open to barbarian invasions. A part of the Roman population emigrated southward. The minting of coins stopped after 395. The cities were in decline, as shown by systematic excavations carried out in ancient Gorsium: already some 4th-C. graves were located on the site of older houses. Sopianae has a church with a fresco painted probably after 380, but traces of the 5th–6th-C. settlement are insignificant (Gy. Székely, *ActaAntHung* 21 [1973] 340–42). The first waves of invasion merely passed through Pannonia en route to Italy, but the Huns lingered in the region a while, according to the treaties of 425 and 433 as FOEDERATI. In 434–41 ATTILA occupied Pannonia. In 455 EPARCHIUS AVITUS restored Roman power in Pannonia II. Excavations show that Roman customs still continued in some parts of the province until the 6th C., when the AVARS settled in Pannonia. Eventually, the territory formed a part of MORAVIA and finally was occupied by the HUNGARIANS.

LIT. L. Várady, *Das letzte Jahrhundert Pannoniens* (Amsterdam 1969), rev. by J. Harmatta, *ActaAntHung* 18 (1970) 361–69 and T. Nagy, *ActaAntHung* 19 (1971) 299–345. A. Alföldi, *Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien*, 2 vols. (Berlin-Leipzig 1924–26). Ja. Tejral, *Morava na sklonku antiky* (Prague 1982). S. Soproni, *Die letzten Jahrzehnte des pannonischen Limes* (Munich 1985). E. Tóth, "Bemerkungen zur Kontinuität der römischen Provinzialbevölkerung in Transdanubien (Nordpannonien)," in *VölkSüdost* 251–64. –A.K.

PANOPOLIS. See AKHMĪM.

PANSELINOS, MANUEL, wall-painter sometimes associated with the decoration of various monasteries on Mt. Athos and esp. with that of the PROTATON, ca.1300. This tradition is no older than the 17th C.; in the 18th C., Dionysios of Phourna claimed that Panselinos (Πανσέληνος) was from Thessalonike and that rules for the proportions of figures in his *Hermeneia* (see MODELS AND MODEL-BOOKS) derived from Panselinos. Panselinos has recently been tentatively identified with MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) or a member of his family, but there is no substantive evidence for the artist's existence.

LIT. A. Embiricos, "Manuel Panselinos," in *Mill. Mont Athos* 2:263–66. P. Miljković-Pepek, "L'atelier artistique proéminent de la famille thessalonicienne d'Astrapas," *JÖB* 32.5 (1982) 491–94. –A.C.

PANTECHNES, CONSTANTINE, metropolitan of Philippopolis; fl. ca.1191. He was the author of an EKPHRASIS in which he vividly described HUNTING with hounds, falcons, and tame leopards.

ED. E. Miller, "Description d'une chasse à l'once par un écrivain byzantin du XII^{e} siècle de notre ère," *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques* 6 (1872) 47–52; 7 (1873) 133f. K. Horna, "Die Epigramme des Theodoros Balsamon," *WS* 25 (1903) 209.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:186. –A.K.

PANTELEEMON (originally Pantoleon or Pantaleon), saint, one of the ANARGYROI; born Nikomedeia, died ca.305; feastday 27 July. Theodoret of Cyrrhus first mentions a feast in honor of Panteleemon, though not all MSS preserved Panteleemon's name (PG 83:1033B). According to a later *passio*, Pantoleon was the son of a pagan senator, Eustorgios, and studied medicine with a famous physician, Euphrosynos. A Christian priest, Hermolaos, persuaded him that neither Asklepios nor Hippocrates nor Galen nor "other gods worshipped by the emperor Maximian" (Latyšev, *infra* 41.16–17) had ever existed; Pantoleon was taught to heal the sick by invoking Christ's name. Pantoleon's miraculous cures brought him fame as well as Maximian's anger. Supernaturally aided, he endured tortures: when he stepped into a vat of boiling lead the fire was immediately extinguished and the lead cooled; wild beasts in the arena knelt at his feet, and the executioners' swords melted like wax. Because he prayed for his torturers, he received a new name (Παντελεήμων), "all-merciful." When he was finally beheaded, milk, not blood, gushed from his neck, and the olive tree under which he was murdered became covered with fruit "from the roots to the crown." Panteleemon's cult was popular in both West and East: his *passio* was translated into Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Armenian; in Byz. ANDREW OF CRETE (or NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON), JOHN GEOMETRES, SYMEON METAPHRASTES, and Constantine AKROPOLITES eulogized Panteleemon.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Panteleemon abound in church decoration; his adolescent features recall those of St. GEORGE, but he holds a little pyramidal PHYSICIAN'S BOX and a scalpel instead of a lance (e.g., at NEREZI). Various cycles of scenes from his life have been preserved (at Nerezi, on a Sinai vita icon, and in MSS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes), but the choice of scenes and their iconography differs from monument to monument, so that it seems unlikely that any widespread iconographic tradition was ever in existence.

SOURCES. V.V. Latyšev, *Neizdannye grečeskie agiografičeskie teksty* (St. Petersburg 1914) 40–75. L. Sternbach, "Ioannes Geometrae carmen de S. Panteleemone," *Dissertationes classis philologicae Academiae litterarum Cracoviensis* 16 (1892) 218–303 (corr. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem* 6 [1899] 156–63). PG 115:448–77.
LIT. *BHG* 1412z-1418c. J.-M. Sauget, A.M. Raggi, *Bibl. Sanct.* 10 (1968) 108–18. K. Welker, *LCI* 8:112–15. Mouriki, *Nea Moni* 151f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

PANTELEEMON (painter). See PANTOLEON.

PANTELEEMON MONASTERY, also called Rossikon, a Rus' establishment on Mt. Athos. The present large complex of the Rossikon, situated north of Daphne on the southwest shore of the Athonite peninsula, is of modern construction. Rossikon had its origins in two Byz. monasteries, the Theotokos of Xylourgou and St. Panteleemon (Παντελεήμων), also called "of the Thessalonican," which merged in the 12th C. The Xylourgou monastery (present-day SKETE of Bogoridica or Theotokos) was located in the northwest part of the peninsula and inhabited in the 11th C. by monks from Rus'. The monastery of St. Panteleemon (present-day Palaiomonastero), located halfway between modern Rossikon and KARYES, was founded in the late 10th C., probably by Leontios of Thessalonike. It owned a dock and tower (*pyrgos*) at the site of modern Rossikon. St. Panteleemon fell into decline in the 12th C. and was virtually deserted by 1169, when it was occupied by the Rus' monks of Xylourgou. The *protos* of Athos gave St. Panteleemon to the Rus' on condition that they restore and fortify the complex. The Rus' *hegoumenos* assumed the leadership of both St. Panteleemon and of Xylourgou, which was designated an annex (*paramonasterion*). The reorganized monastery took the name of "the monastery of the Rus' honored with the name of St. Panteleemon" (*mone ton Rhoson eis onoma timomene tou hagiou Panteleemonos*). Panteleemon prospered, esp. during the period of Serbian domination over Athos, receiving substantial estates from Serbian princes (cf. M. Živojinović, *ZRVI* 23 [1984] 167–69). Many of these properties were lost, however, after the Turkish conquest of Macedonia in the 15th C.

The archives contain 20 Byz. acts (dating between 1030 and 1430), 15 Serbian documents (1349–1429), as well as later Russian and Moldavian acts. The acts include a detailed inventory of 1142 listing the movable properties, for example, sacred vessels, of the Xylourgou monastery (*Pantel.*, no.7.44–59); a chrysobull of Andronikos II (1311) confirming the Panteleemon monastery's title to properties in Thessalonike and Chalkidike, and guaranteeing certain fiscal immunities; and a chrysobull of John V (1353) granting the monastery properties in the Strymon region. Panteleemon also owned lands on Lemnos. Approximately 169 Greek MSS of Byz. date are preserved in the library (Lampros, *Athos* 2:280–461), most notably cod. 6, a richly illustrated copy of the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. The church formerly possessed a steatite PANAGIARION inscribed with the name of Alexios III of Trebizond (Kalavrezou, *Steatite*, no.132).

SOURCES. *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmon*, ed. P. Lemerle, G. Dagron, S. Ćirković (Paris 1982).
LIT. A. Soloviev, "Histoire du monastère russe au Mont-Athos," *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 213–38. V. Mošin, "Russkie na

Afone i russko-vizantijskie otnošenija v XI–XII vv.," *BS* 9 (1947) 55–85; 11 (1950) 32–60. P. Nastase, "Russes et Bulgares à l'Athos," *Symmeikta* 6 (1985) 284–97. *Treasures* 2:144–97, 347–59. A.E.N. Tachiaos, *The Slavonic Manuscripts of St. Panteleimon Monastery (Rossikon) on Mt. Athos* (Thessalonike 1981). –A.M.T., A.C.

PANTELLERIA. See PATELLARIA.

PANTEPOPTES MONASTERY, located on the fourth hill of Constantinople overlooking the Golden Horn. Founded before 1087 by Anna DALASSENE, the Pantepoptes (Παντεπόπτης, "all-seeing") was dedicated to Christ. Although it was a male establishment, the founder retired to private apartments there shortly before her death. Patr. THEODOSIOS BORADIOTES was confined there temporarily in 1181 after the revolt of RENIER OF MONTFERRAT. In 1204, during the final Crusader attack on Constantinople, Alexios V Mourtzouphlos used the Pantepoptes as his headquarters because of its useful vantage point. In 1206 the monastery was taken over by Benedictine monks, but Greeks returned after 1261. The Pantepoptes continued to function until at least 1453, although it is apparently not mentioned by Russian pilgrims in the Palaiologan period; after the Turkish conquest its church became the still-extant mosque of Eski Imaret Camii. The church has a cross-in-square plan and an unusual U-shaped gallery over the narthex. An outer narthex was added probably in the Palaiologan period. The exterior brickwork includes such decorative features as maeander patterns and sunbursts.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 513–15. Mathews, *Byz. Churches* 59–70. –A.M.T.

PANTEUGENOS, SOTERICHOS, 12th-C. theologian. A deacon of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, then patriarch-elect of Antioch, Panteugenos (Παντευγενός) became the major figure in theological debates on the nature of Christ's sacrifice. A statement (*semeioma*) by a synod meeting on 26 Jan. 1156 directed a condemnation against those who affirmed that the sacrifice of Christ was offered to the Father alone, and not to the other two persons of the Trinity (PG 140:153C). Dissatisfied with the decision, Panteugenos published a *Dialogue* defending the views condemned in 1156; he faced, however, a refutation by NICHOLAS OF METHONE.

A new synod, presided by Emp. MANUEL I, was held at the Blachernai Palace on 12 May 1157. The earlier decision was confirmed (PG 140:192A), and Panteugenos renounced his previous position. The SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY included five anathemas against the condemned doctrines. The synod affirmed that the hypostasis of the incarnate Logos "offered" the sacrifice according to the humanity assumed by him and "received" it according to his divinity, together with the Father and the Spirit. The decision referred to a prayer of the Byz. liturgy addressed to Christ as "the one who offers and the one who is offered."

ED. PG 140:140–48. I. Sakkelion, *Patmiake Bibliotheke* (Athens 1890) 328–31.
LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1038, 1041–43. Gouillard, "Synodikon," 210–15. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 40. –J.M.

PANTOKRATOR (*παντοκράτωρ*, lit. "all-sovereign"), an epithet of God. Used in the Apocalypse of John and by some early theologians (F. Bergamelli, *Salesianum* 46 [1984] 439–72), it was employed by ATHANASIOS of Alexandria in his polemics against the Arians, who considered the Son of God as a DYNAMIS and denied him the title of Pantokrator (PG 25:472B, 26:80AB). In Byz. the term was applied both to God in general and separately to the individual persons of the Trinity, esp. to the Father; the epithet emphasized rule over the whole, in contrast to the *kosmokrator* or "world-ruler," the title of the DEVIL. When applied to Christ, the concept of Pantokrator was closely interwoven with the image of the kingship of Christ who was Pantokrator both by nature, as the Son, and—against the Arians—by his role as redeemer. The term is often used in symbols of the CREED (PG 28:1581B, 1589A) and in liturgical texts. Strangely enough, the term is lacking in the list of divine names compiled by Theodore II Laskaris (PG 140:764–70) that includes almost 700 epithets, but there are many synonyms. (For the Pantokrator in art, see CHRIST: Types of Christ.)

LIT. F. Buri, *Der Pantokrator: Ontologie und Eschatologie als Grundlage der Lehre von Gott* (Hamburg 1969). C. Capizzi, *Pantokrator: Saggio d'esegesi letterario-iconografica* (Rome 1964), rev. K. Wessel, *BZ* 58 (1965) 141–47, J. Myslivec, *BS* 27 (1966) 427–32. K. Wessel, "Das Bild des Pantokrator," in *Polychronion* 521–35. C.P. Charalampidis, "A propos de la signification trinitaire de la main gauche du Pantokrator," *OrChrP* 38 (1972) 260–65. –G.P.

PANTOKRATOR, MONASTERIES OF. Several Byz. monasteries were dedicated to Christ as Pantokrator, the most important being in Constantinople and on Mt. Athos.

PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY IN CONSTANTINOPLE, a large monastic complex founded in Constantinople by Emp. JOHN II KOMNENOS east of the Church of the Holy Apostles on the slope of the fourth hill. The three parallel and contiguous church buildings survive to the present under the Turkish name Zeyrek Kilise Camii. One of the churches, dedicated to St. Michael (the Asomatos), was intended as a funerary chapel for members of the Komnenos family. John II and his wife Irene were buried there, as were his son MANUEL I and daughter-in-law BERTHA OF SULZBACH. In front of Manuel's tomb was the slab on which it was believed Jesus had lain after the Deposition from the Cross, brought by Manuel from Ephesus in 1169/70. Two Palaiologan emperors, MANUEL II and JOHN VIII, also found their final resting place at Pantokrator.

The south church, dedicated to the Pantokrator, is the most important four-column, cross-in-square church preserved in the capital. The huge columns of red marble, probably *spolia,* are lost today, as is most of the stained GLASS, which was supposedly in its east window; much of the figured OPUS SECTILE pavement remains. Panels in its templon screen came from the Constantinopolitan Church of St. POLYEUKTOS. The slightly smaller north church, where women were admitted, was dedicated to the Virgin Eleousa. Here faint traces of the original mosaic decoration are preserved.

John II's *typikon,* composed in Oct. 1136, provides explicit directions for the ceremonial in the three churches (e.g., ecclesiastical lighting, commemorations of the deceased), and the administration of the monastery (election of *hegoumenos,* diet and clothing of monks, etc.). It housed 80 monks, of whom 50 were choir brothers and 30 serving brothers. The complex included a 50-bed HOSPITAL and a GEROKOMEION for 24 elderly men. The emperor also constructed a leprosarium at some distance from the monastery. Pantokrator was richly endowed with estates in Thrace, Macedonia, the Peloponnesos, the Aegean and Anatolia, and six smaller monasteries in the Asiatic suburbs of the capital.

The monastery was occupied by the Venetians between 1204 and 1261; it was then restored to Orthodox monks and continued to function until 1453. Only a few of its *hegoumenoi* are known, including Makarios MAKRES.

SOURCE. P. Gautier, "Le Typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *REB* 32 (1974) 1–145.
LIT. A.H.S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP* 17 (1963) 335–64. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 289–95. Janin, *Églises CP* 515–23, 564–66. –A.M.T., A.C.

PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY ON ATHOS. Dedicated to the Transfiguration, this monastery is located on the northeast coast of the peninsula, halfway between Vatopedi and Iveron. Although its foundation has traditionally been attributed to the reign of Alexios I Komnenos or to the 13th-C. general Alexios STRATEGOPOULOS, the monastery is not mentioned in any sources until the second half of the 14th C. It was evidently founded in 1357 (Gones, *infra* 89f) by the brothers Alexios (a *megas primikerios* in 1357, who became *megas stratopedarches* in 1358) and John (*protosebastos* in 1357, promoted to *megas primikerios* in 1358); their family name is unknown, but they were related to the Palaiologoi. Ostrogorsky's (*Sabrana dela*, vol. 4 [Belgrade 1970] 615–24) identification of John with the *megas primikerios* John who was the son of Demetrios Palaiologos has now been rejected (*PLP,* no.21484). The huge icon of Christ that they presented to the monastery is now in Leningrad (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 3, no.947). By 1394 the monastery held 15th place in the Athonite hierarchy. Sometime before Jan. 1394 Pantokrator was destroyed by fire and subsequently rebuilt with the assistance of Emp. Manuel II. In 1396 Patr. Antony IV reconfirmed its status as a patriarchal monastery.

Pantokrator had properties on Thasos, Lemnos, and Chalkidike, and a *metochion* called Beltzistha near Serres. The 13 documents published by L. Petit range in date from 1357 to 1398 (plus an earlier act of 1107) and include the testament of the founder John (1384). The library of Pantokrator preserves 120 Byz. MSS, including the famous 9th-C. marginal psalter, Pantokr. 61 (Dufrenne, *L'Illustration* I). From this collection, too, came the Psalter and New Testament of ca.1084, now Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 3 (Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters,* no.51). In the *katholikon* are some frescoes of the 14th C., including a Deesis, the Dormition, and some figures of saints.

SOURCE. *Actes du Pantokrator,* ed. L. Petit, *VizVrem* 10 (1903) supp. 2.

LIT. D.B. Gones, "Ho chronos hidryseos tes mones Pantokratoros tou Hagiou Orous," *Antidoron Pneumatikon: Timetikos Tomos Gerasimou Io. Konidare* (Athens 1981) 80–95. Lampros, *Athos* 1:91–113. Polites, *Katalogoi* 139–77. *Treasures* 3:120–57, 263–87. E. Tsigaridas, "Toichographies kai eikones tes mones Pantokratoros Hagiou Orous," *Makedonika* 18 (1978) 181–206. –A.M.T., A.C.

PANTOLEON, painter; fl. 1001–16. Pantoleon's name occurs more frequently than that of any other artist beside the miniatures in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II; he was perhaps head of the atelier that decorated this MS. Cutler suggested that Pantoleon's hand is also apparent in a Psalter (Venice, Marc. gr. Z 17) prepared for the same emperor. Pantoleon is mentioned in both versions of the Life of St. ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS (ed. Noret, A par.254.3–36; B par.78.24–33) as a resident of Constantinople who painted two icons of the saint probably for Antony, later *hegoumenos* of the Panagiou monastery. In this account, Pantoleon is said to have been at work on an imperial commission.

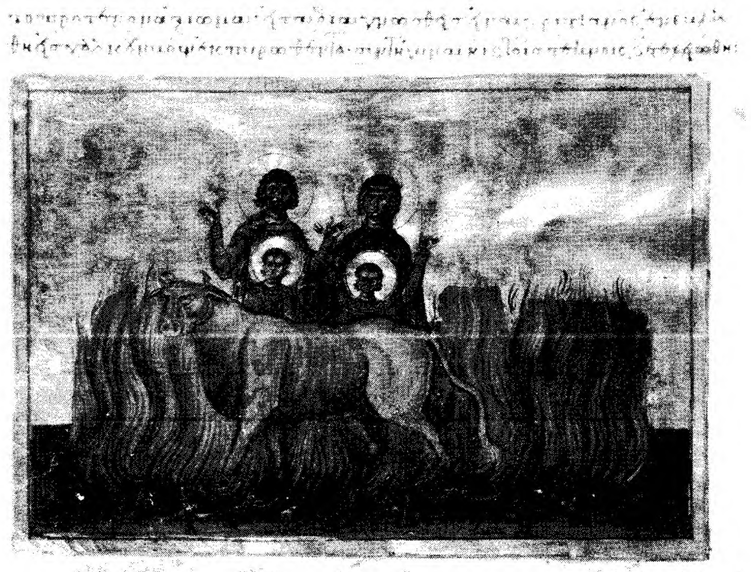
LIT. Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.XII (1972), 241–49. A. Cutler, "The Psalter of Basil II," *ArtVen* 30 (1976) 9–19. –A.C.

PANTOLEON (saint). See PANTELEEMON.

PAP (Lat. Para), ARSACID king of Armenia (368/9–374), son and successor of ARŠAK II/III. This is probably not the Papa mentioned in the *Letters* of Basil the Great as was once thought. Pap was educated under Roman auspices at NEOKAISAREIA, where he had taken refuge at the time of the Sasanian conquest of Armenia ca.363. Valens sent him back to Armenia with an army commanded by the *dux* and *comes rei militaris* Terentius. Once reestablished on the Armenian throne, Pap apparently continued to support the Romans against the Sasanians, whom his armies thrice defeated, but he quarreled with the powerful nobles of his own kingdom and esp. with the clergy, which opposed his arianizing policy. Pap contrived the murder of the patriarch NERSĒS I THE GREAT and was murdered in return, apparently with the connivance of the Roman commander. Latin and Armenian sources disagree sharply on his character: he is praised by AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS who bewails his murder as an unspeakable crime, while the Armenian sources portray him as dedicated from birth to the powers of evil.

LIT. Asdourian, *Armenien und Rom* 300–11. Garsoïan, *Armenia*, pt.IV (1967), 297–320; pt.VII (1983), 145–69. Grousset, *Arménie* 143–52. –N.G.G.

PANTOLEON. Miniature by Pantoleon in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p.53). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The miniature depicts the martyrdom of St. Eustathios and his family.



PAPACY, bishopric of Rome. Early Christian communities used the term PAPAS (father) as a title of affectionate respect, esp. for priests and bishops; from the 4th to 7th C., the term was often used for the patriarch of Alexandria and other bishops. The title is on record in Rome from the 4th C.; from the 6th it was increasingly used specifically for the bishop of Rome.

By the 4th C., the papacy was the West's leading bishopric and the only one included among the five major sees that formed the PENTARCHY. The First Council of Constantinople, held in 381 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), explicitly recognized the papacy's PRIMACY, and the popes took advantage of the struggle between Alexandria and Constantinople to gain supremacy within the church hierarchy. Pope LEO I, in particular, advanced Rome's claims to primacy throughout the empire in the 5th C.

With JUSTINIAN I's reconquest of Italy in the mid-6th C., Rome entered the Byz. political and cultural sphere, where it remained until the mid-8th C. While papal claims to ecclesiastical primacy continued, the ability of the papacy to thwart Constantinople's political and religious policies decreased. Byz. emperors deposed Pope Silverius in 537 and convicted MARTIN I of treason in Constantinople in 653/4; in the 6th C. the bishop of Constantinople assumed the title ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH. While the *apocrisiarius* represented the papacy in Constantinople, in Italy the EXARCH usually confirmed papal elections of the 7th and 8th C. (see LIBER DIURNUS).

Persian and Arab invasions of the early 7th C. triggered large-scale immigration of the Eastern ecclesiastical elite into Italy, causing a substantial hellenization of Rome's clergy, with the result that from 678 to 752, 11 of 13 popes were Greek-speaking. Theology (see LATERAN SYNOD), art (see ROME), liturgy (see SERGIUS I), and literature (see ZACHARIAS) reflect the new Greek orientation, as the papacy developed a Byz.-style bureaucracy and court. In the 8th C., papal opposition to ICONOCLASM, combined with resistance to increased taxation, provoked Byz. confiscation of the papal estates in southern Italy and Sicily and subordination of ILLYRICUM to the patriarchate of Constantinople. Constantinople's grip on central Italy loosened, however, and increasing LOMBARD pressure forced the papacy to seek an alliance with the Carolingians. When Pope LEO III conferred the imperial crown upon CHARLEMAGNE in 800, it symbolized Rome's independence from Byz. control.

The LIBER PONTIFICALIS records imperial grants that contributed to the landed wealth of the papal patrimonies in the 4th to 8th C. (from CONSTANTINE I to CONSTANTINE V). Originally encompassing estates in Africa, Gaul, Sardinia, and Corsica as well as Italy, their administration became highly centralized under GREGORY I. Loss of the overseas territories and Lombard encroachment fostered concentration of papal lands in central Italy, expanded by Carolingian grants under HADRIAN I. By the 9th C., the papacy was one of Italy's most powerful princedoms and a major factor in international relations. NICHOLAS I effectively exploited the situation, trying to subordinate the newly baptized Slavs of Moravia and Bulgaria to Rome, to regain jurisdiction over Illyricum, and to establish control over the church of Constantinople.

This active policy of the 9th-C. popes was short-lived: Nicholas met an energetic opponent in Patr. PHOTIOS, while Arab incursions and the weakening of Frankish power again forced his successors to seek alliance with Byz. Involved with domestic difficulties, the 10th-C. papacy temporarily ceased efforts to claim primacy over the Eastern churches.

By the mid-11th C. the papacy believed itself strong enough to reassert universal claims, although the papacy and Constantinople were natural allies against the NORMANS. The first step in this papal expansion was the conflict between Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS and Cardinal HUMBERT in 1054; more dramatic than substantial, the conflict did not cause a real SCHISM, although the dispute highlighted essential theological, administrative, and ritual differences between the Eastern and Western churches.

Church reform, moral improvement of the

clergy, and the development of effective administration in the late 11th to 12th C. significantly enhanced the political influence and ideological authority of the papacy. The power of the German kings in Italy was curbed (partially with the help of the growing Italian communes), and in 1095 Pope URBAN II proclaimed a CRUSADE intended to unify Western Christianity against the infidel Muslims. Despite serious friction, Byz. was at first an ally of the Crusaders, and theological dialogue, frequently in a spirit of reconciliation, occurred. A definitive rupture came only in 1204 when the Fourth Crusade unexpectedly turned against Constantinople. The role of INNOCENT III in this event is uncertain, although the capture of Constantinople and the establishment of Latin rule was beneficial for the papacy, which had long sought to establish control over the Balkans.

This success, however, was undermined by various forces and did not last. On the one hand, papal power in the West was weakened after the 13th C., when it had to face not the universal aspirations of the German emperors, but the nascent national states, which were able to exploit the same elements that the papacy had used in its own behalf: the growing medieval towns and the local church. The external sign of papal defeat was the "Babylonian captivity" of 1309 to 1377, when the popes were exiled to Avignon, where they came under French control. Another factor was the growth of Turkish power: the Crusaders were losing their foothold in the Levant, and Byz. territory was drastically shrinking. The war against the infidel required enormous amounts of money and manpower, while the Crusading movement was declining. Finally, the papacy underestimated Byz. resistance to UNION OF THE CHURCHES and was not willing to yield any significant point to win the sympathy of the Greek people. The condition for union was the full subjugation of Byz. to papal jurisdiction, theology, and rite; a few emperors were willing to accept these terms, but failed to gain popular support for their policies. The Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE in 1439 brought only superficial unity and minimal assistance from the West: the papacy was not able, and did not seriously try, to save Constantinople in 1453.

LIT. E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft*, 2 vols. (Tübingen 1930–33). J. Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages* (London 1979). K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vols. 1–4 (Philadelphia 1976–84). T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter* (Philadelphia 1984). W. de Vries, *Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens* (Munich 1963) 7–73. W. Ullmann, *The Papacy and Political Ideas in the Middle Ages* (London 1976) pts. 1–5.
– A.K., M.McC.

PAPADIKE (Παπαδική), a late Byz. anthology of musical settings, both simple and florid, for HYMNS, psalms, and other CHANTS used in the liturgy and the liturgical HOURS. John KOUKOUZELES is believed to have first edited this kind of volume, which also bears the name of *Akolouthia*, *Mousikon*, *Anthologion*, or *Psaltike*. Along with compositions by Palaiologan composers, the earliest 14th-C. *papadikai* preserve vestiges of 12th- and 13th-C. Constantinopolitan repertories; a handful of these, both early and late, contain musical treatises. Fourteen MSS of the *Papadike* from the 14th C. and nearly three times that number from the 15th C. are extant. Chants in the kalophonic style predominate. This style is chiefly recognizable by its use of the meaningless TERETISMATA and by its demanding virtuosity.

In modern scholarship, the term *Papadike* usually refers to a short, elementary manual of musical NOTATION that introduces the musical anthologies of chant from the 14th C. onward. The text underwent many modifications; by the 15th C., at least four different versions of the *Papadike* existed, varying in completeness and order of contents. Typically, the manual consists of lists showing (1) the NEUMATA and their interval value; (2) the "great *hypostases*" (subsidiary ornamental signs); (3) the PHTHORAI; and (4) small musical examples describing the function and value of the *neumata*. Following this may be various diagrams undoubtedly intended for use when teachers introduced their students to the neumatic and modal systems. Many sources also include a varying number of short, ad hoc exercise melodies that served as a bridge between the theory and its application to actual singing.

LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 284–310. Tardo, *Melurgia* 151–73.
–D.E.C.

PAPAS (πάπας, παπᾶς, πάππας, "father"), used widely in the Byz. church as a title of respect and affection for the clerical rank of PRIEST (e.g., Malal. 361.8, 362.5). It emphasizes the spiritual relationship between priest and congregation. As early as the 3rd C., however, the word was also commonly applied to bishops in both East and West (Gregory Thaumaturgus, PG 10:1020A). In Egypt the bishop of Alexandria was regularly styled *papas* (PG 20:648C), possibly as early as 231 (PG 111:982D–983A). Only gradually was the term applied solely to the bishop of Rome (see PAPACY). Although it is attested for the Roman bishop in the 4th C., only in the 6th C. does the custom become more general. Even then, however, *papas* was still occasionally used for other Western bishops as well (cf. Avitus of Vienne, PL 59:239). It was indeed not until the 11th C. that the title was for the first time restricted exclusively to the bishop of Rome by Pope Gregory VII.

LIT. P. de Labriolle, "Une esquisse de l'histoire du mot 'Papa,'" *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes* 1 (1911) 215–20. Idem, "Papa," *Bulletin du Cange* 4 (1928) 65–75.
–A.P.

PAPER, writing material that gradually came to replace PARCHMENT. Considered inferior to parchment because it was less durable, paper came into wide use because it was cheaper. Palaeographers distinguish between two kinds of paper imported into Byz., oriental or bombycine (*βαμβύκινον*, *βομβύκινον*, *βαγδατικόν*, the names coming from the cities of Membij and Baghdad, respectively) and occidental. Both types of paper were made from rags or vegetable fibers. Oriental paper was smooth, brownish, glued with starch, and had no watermarks; Western paper was yellowish or white, thick, rough, glued with gelatin, and had WATERMARKS. The size of the two kinds of paper and the pattern of wires used in the manufacture also differed. The question of whether paper was manufactured in Byz. itself is still open; N. Oikonomides argues that papermakers are attested in Constantinople ca.800 (in *PGEB* 397f).

Paper was introduced to the Byz. world by the Arabs, who had learned the secret of its manufacture from Chinese prisoners of war captured at Samarkand in 751. The oldest preserved Greek MS written on oriental paper is Vat. gr. 2200, copied ca.800, probably in Damascus; this paper, however, did not come into common use in Byz. territory until the 11th C. The inventory of the library of the monastery of ATTALEIATES, for example, lists eight books on paper and six on parchment. The earliest surviving paper MS copied in Byz. is from 1105 (Vat. gr. 504). Paper was also used for documents; the earliest preserved example is a chrysobull of 1052. The latest Byz. MSS on oriental paper date from ca.1350.

Occidental paper was first imported to Byz. in the 13th C. from Italy, where the oldest paper mill was at Fabriano (in Ancona). By the late 14th C. Italian paper had completely supplanted its oriental counterpart. The dimensions of a sheet of occidental paper average 290 × 450 mm. FOLIOS were formed by folding these sheets in two, four, eight, etc. Stocks of paper were used soon after purchase (3–5 years), which helps to date books on paper provided with watermarks. Modern technology (e.g., analysis by electron microscope, neutron activation, and betagraphy) can also assist in dating.

LIT. J. Irigoin, "Papiers orientaux et papiers occidentaux," in *PGEB* 45–54. Idem, "Les premiers manuscrits grecs écrits sur papier et le problème du bombycin," *Scriptorium* 4 (1950) 194–204, rp. in Harlfinger, *Kodikologie* 132–43. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 38–40.
–E.G., A.M.T., I.Š.

PAPHLAGONIA (Παφλαγονία), region of northern Asia Minor between GALATIA and the Black Sea, consisting of a narrow coastal strip and isolated but rich interior valleys that produced timber and grain; its metropolis was GANGRA. Diocletian created a separate province of Paphlagonia. In 535, Justinian I merged Paphlagonia and the adjacent Honorias, assigning them to a praetor with civil and military powers. Persian, then Arab attacks reached Paphlagonia occasionally in the 7th–8th C. After being part of OPSIKION, Paphlagonia became a separate theme in the early 9th C. Its *strategos* commanded 5,000 men and five fortresses; he was paid 10 pounds of gold. A *katepano* was apparently in charge of the fleet. Most of Paphlagonia was lost to the Turks after Mantzikert in 1071; the Crusade of 1101 met disaster in Paphlagonia; the campaigns of John II, 1130–35, were more successful, but brought no lasting gains. The coast remained Byz.: in 1205, David Komnenos of Trebizond established a realm called Paphlagonia, which stretched from SINOPE to HERAKLEIA Pontike. Theodore I Laskaris seized the western parts as far as AMASTRIS in 1214; they became the Laskarid province of Paphlagonia. The region was lost to the Turks or Genoese by the late 14th C.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 136f.
–C.F.

PAPHOS. See CYPRUS.

PAPIAS (παπίας, word etymologically connected with παπᾶς, father, priest), eunuch in charge of the buildings of the palace. The first mention in narrative sources is for the year 780, when a certain Jacob, *protospatharios* and *papias*, was arrested by Leo IV (Theoph. 453.10–11; Bury, *Adm. System* 124f, however, treated this *papias* as a proper name). The seal of the *papias* Peter has been dated by the editors (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2821) to 550–650. The *papias* was primarily the janitor of the palace—his duty was to keep the keys and open the gates; he also kept the keys of the palace prison (Kinn. 234.10–12). The cooperation of the *papias* was important for any conspiracy: thus, the *papias* played a decisive role in the plot of Michael II against Leo V. When Basil I plotted Michael III's murder, the *hetaireiarches* Artabasdes snatched the keys from the *papias* and let in the conspirators.

The *papias* was responsible for the maintenance of the buildings. His staff consisted of *diaitarioi* or *hebdomarioi* (who served in weekly relays in charge of various rooms of the palace), *loustai*, *kandelaptai*, *kamenades*, and *horologoi*, who were responsible for the baths, lighting, heating, and *horologia*, respectively, and *zarabai* (functions not clear). To this personnel, presented in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, Oikonomides (*Listes* 306, n.100) adds the *minsourator*, who was in charge of the emperor's tent during military expeditions. The *papias* was assisted by the DEUTEROS. He also played a part in imperial ceremony, both inside and outside the palace; thus, on 1 Aug. he carried a cross (from the palace treasury) through the streets of Constantinople, visiting houses of the wealthy and collecting from them a fee of some sort (*De cer.* 723.17–19). In addition to the *papias* of the Great Palace there were *papiai* of the Magnaura and Daphne palaces; the latter was created by Michael III. From the 13th C. onward *megas papias* became an honorific title conferred on members of noble families, including the future emperor John VI Kantakouzenos.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 126–28. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:251–65. D. Beljaev, *Byzantina*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg 1891) 145–63. Mercati, *CollByz* 1:659–61. –A.K.

PAPPOS OF ALEXANDRIA, mathematician and geographer; fl. Alexandria ca.320. His *Commentary on the Almagest*, of which only books 5 and 6 survive, provides the only known date in Pappos's life: his computation of a partial solar ECLIPSE visible at Alexandria on 18 Oct. 320 (bk.6, ch.4). Another computation of the longitude of the sun on 5 Jan. 323, recorded by THEON (*Commentary on the Almagest*, bk.3, ch.8), may be derived from Pappos's lost commentary on *Almagest* 3.

Pappos's other work surviving in Greek, the *Collection*, is imperfectly preserved in a 10th-C. MS, Vat. gr. 218 (Jones, "Papal Manuscripts" 16–31); the first book and part of books 2 and 8 are now lost. Of varied contents, it included discussions and summaries of works and theorems of early Greek mathematicians such as Apollonios, ARCHIMEDES, Eratosthenes, EUCLID, Heron, Nikomedes, and Theodosios. After the 6th C. it was rarely cited by Byz. scholars.

Some of Pappos's works have been preserved only in Arabic translations: the *Mechanical Introductions*, perhaps based on book 8 of the *Collection* (D.E.P. Jackson, *Islamic Quarterly* 16 [1972] 96–103 and *CQ* n.s. 30 [1980] 523–33) and his commentary on book 10 of Euclid's *Elements*; part of a Latin version of this commentary is also extant. Fragments of Pappos's *Chorography of the Inhabited World* are preserved in an anonymous Armenian work on geography (R.H. Hewsen, *Isis* 62 [1971] 186–207).

ED. *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste*, ed. A. Rome, vol. 1 (Vatican 1931). *Pappi Alexandrini Collectionis quae supersunt*, ed. F. Hultsch, 3 vols. (Berlin 1875–78; rp. Amsterdam 1965), with Lat. tr. *Book 7 of the Collection*, ed. A. Jones, 2 vols. (New York 1986), with Eng. tr. *The Commentary of Pappus on Book X of Euclid's Elements*, ed. W. Thomson, G. Junge (Cambridge, Mass., 1930; rp. New York 1968).

LIT. Heath, *Mathematics* 2:355–439. –D.P.

PAPYRI. See ANTINOOPOLIS PAPYRI; APHRODITE PAPYRI; APOLLONOS ANO PAPYRI; ARABIC PAPYRI; NESSANA PAPYRI; OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI; RAVENNA PAPYRI.

PAPYROLOGY, an AUXILIARY DISCIPLINE dealing with texts written on PAPYRUS (and OSTRAKA), most often in Greek, Latin, and Coptic. (Hieroglyphic and demotic texts are usually dealt with by Egyptologists, as they come largely from periods earlier than the Greco-Roman; on the other hand, Syriac, Aramaic, Arabic, and Pahlavi papyri usually fall to specialists in Semitic, Christian Oriental, or Persian philology.) As most papyri originate in Egypt, papyrology often becomes largely synonymous with study of the history and culture of late Roman Egypt.

In the 18th and much of the 19th C. the occasional papyri found by *sebakh* (fertilizer) diggers or hunters for Pharaonic treasure in Egypt were regarded merely as curiosities. With the great Fayyūm finds of the late 1870s (brought to the Archduke Rainer collection in Vienna) interest in these documents arose. In the 1880s and 1890s papyrology really began, with excavations by Petrie and Grenfell and Hunt specifically intended to search for papyri. Their spectacular success brought to light classical literature, unknown sayings of Jesus (from the *Gospel of Thomas*), and countless administrative and taxation records, as well as documents of daily life. Nearly continual discovery of papyri since then has augmented the raw material of the field and sparked its growth into an international discipline, producing ongoing publications of source material and historical interpretation.

Papyrology is founded above all on the reading of papyrus texts. Often the papyrus needs conservation before its surface can be read: flattening sheets, unrolling rolls, even taking apart cartonnage (the "cardboard" that mummy cases are made of) by means of enzymes, or, as in the case of the Tebtunis papyri, unstuffing mummified crocodiles. The papyrologist acquires palaeographic skill through practical immersion in texts written in all sorts of hands. Papyrology has greatly enlarged our knowledge of Koine and biblical Greek, of the Latin used by Roman soldiers in the provinces, and of the several dialects of Coptic, both in everyday usage and in literature.

The types of papyrus document are as numerous and as varied as the activities that helped keep society functioning. They can be public documents, such as imperial rescripts, tax rolls, CADASTERS, registered property declarations, birth and death certificates, or transactions executed by a government official. Even more numerous are private documents, such as transactions of family law (marriage and divorce CONTRACTS, WILLS, inheritance arbitrations), sales, leases, loans, labor contracts, pledges and deposits, orders for payment, and of course letters. The great abundance of these documents provides an unparalleled depth and breadth of knowledge of late Roman Egypt. Both the factual content and the phraseology of papyrus documents illuminate the historical milieu from which they came, providing material for both administrative and religious history. Bureaucracy, the differing legal systems, the interrelationship of city and countryside, and the preoccupations of both pagan and Christian religion are vividly alive in the papyri.

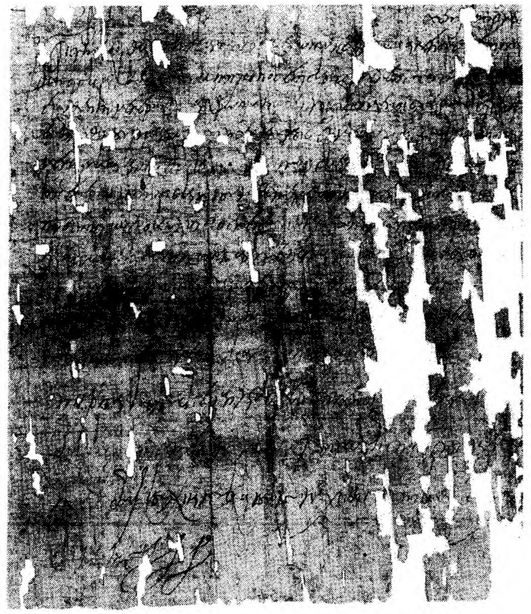
Literary papyri are likewise natural witnesses to the state of culture in Egypt at any given point. Classical authors, scriptural, liturgical, and patristic literature, practical science and magic—all fall within the domain of the literary papyrologist. The state of education can be gathered from school exercises, while the presence of literary papyri in the midst of documentary archives (e.g., the Cairo Menander codex) attests to the reading preferences of the literate bureaucrat and the ordinary citizen. Biblical papyri form a field all their own, being by far the earliest textual witnesses available to the critic, and reflecting the different families of texts and the early versions and lines of transmission. The Gnostic papyrus codices from NAG HAMMADI and the Manichaean literature from Egypt have given rise to specialties of their own.

Papyrology has by now its own working tools, including lexica, dictionaries of proper names, handbooks and standard collections, palaeographical albums, compilations of corrections to previously published texts, and specialized periodicals and monograph series. The data of papyrology are helping to revise our understanding of such fields as chronology, comparative Roman and Greek law, the economic history of the 4th–5th C., and the religious history of early Christianity, Gnosticism, and Manichaeanism. There are still many more extant papyrus texts than there are editors to make them available to historians and students.

ED. J.F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*[3] (Atlanta 1985). R.A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*[2] (Ann Arbor 1965).

LIT. E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*[2] (Oxford 1980). O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* (Turin 1973). A. Bataille, *Les Papyrus* (Paris 1955). H.C. Youtie, *The Textual Criticism of Documentary Papyri*[2] (London 1974). I.F. Fikhman, *Vvedenie v dokumental'nuju papirologiju* (Moscow 1987). –L.S.B.MacC.

PAPYRUS, the principal writing material of the ancient world and late antiquity, made from strips of the pith of an Egyptian reed plant (*Cyperus papyrus*). The manufacture and sale of papyrus was a large-scale industry in Egypt throughout its



PAPYRUS. The papyrus P. Leidensis Z, col. I. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

history, until well after the Arab conquest. Papyrus came in all grades and was used for every purpose, official and private, and in every format, from ROLL to CODEX. It provided a tough and long-lasting writing surface. Most extant texts, literary and documentary, on papyrus were preserved in Egypt (though not all were written there); other discoveries have been made at Dura Europos and in Israel. Some medieval papyrus was produced in Sicily. Papyrus was not superseded in the West by PARCHMENT until the later 9th C. or in the East by PAPER until about the 10th C. It continued to be used by the papal chancery until the 12th C. and by the imperial chancery at least until the mid-9th C. (F. Dölger, *BZ* 48 [1955] 467–70). The discipline that studies texts on papyrus is called PAPYROLOGY.

LIT. N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford 1974). –L.S.B.MacC.

PARABALANI (*παραβαλανεῖς*, "bath attendants," sometimes, incorrectly, *παραβολᾶνοι*, "those who disregard their lives"), hospital attendants and minor clerics who were often fanatically loyal to their ecclesiastical superior. Because their work with the sick exposed them to constant danger, the *parabalani* were often drawn from desperate elements in society; they were occasionally used by bishops in violent encounters with their opponents. They are best known at Alexandria but appear to have been organized also at Constantinople and probably elsewhere. They were evidently involved in the murder of HYPATIA in 415 and provided much of the violence used by DIOSKOROS at the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS in 449. Because of the danger they posed to public order, their numbers were limited by law, first to 500 and later to 600 (*Cod. Theod.* XVI 2.42 and 43 [*anno* 416, 418 = *Cod. Just.* I 3.18]).

LIT. A. Philipsborn, "La compagnie d'ambulanciers 'parabalani' d'Alexandrie," *Byzantion* 20 (1950) 185–90. W. Schubart, "Parabalani," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 40 (1954) 97–101. –T.E.G.

PARABLE (*παραβολή*). In the theory of rhetoric, a comparison that differs from an example by including within its scope both animate and inanimate nature (Martin, *Rhetorik* 122). The term could designate a simple SIMILE as in Theodoret (PG 80:581 A-B): "He delivered a parable . . . calling himself a dead dog." The word was applied to Christ's fables, which were told to illustrate his teaching of the heavenly kingdom and were broadly interpreted by several church fathers, esp. Origen and John Chrysostom. According to Origen, Christ used parables of which the popular masses were apt to understand only the external form, whereas the disciples perceived the internal significance. Therefore, the parable acquired the sense of a spiritual truth expressed in the form of a riddle or a short story, esp. of a saying that contained a hidden meaning and required an interpretation. –A.K., E.M.J.

PARADISE (*παράδεισος*, lit. "garden"), Eden, a place created by God for ADAM AND EVE from which they were later expelled. According to Byz. legends, it was situated in the east, far beyond India and even beyond the Ocean. Pseudo-Basil the Great (PG 30:64B) describes it as a place of marvelous beauty, brilliance, and security, knowing neither winds nor hail, free from humidity, heat, and cold. Hagiography and related texts preserve numerous VISIONS of paradise, which

variously appears as a garden surrounded by a high gilded wall with marvelous gates (vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER, ed. Veselovskij, 1.46.5–9) or as a palace full of light and fragrance (vita of Andrew the Fool, PG 111:736C), with traditional Byz. court ceremonial (Mango, *Byzantium* 151–53). In art, paradise was represented as a garden set against a starry sky, with flowers, animals, and sometimes a jeweled cross at its center. Although the Bible presumes that Adam and Eve, before the Fall, dwelt naked in paradise, some 12th-C. Octateuch MSS show the ancestors of mankind clothed before the Fall, for example, in the scene of the naming of the animals (H.R. Broderick, *Byzantion* 55 [1985] 250–54). Paradise is also termed (and depicted in painting) as the heavenly Jerusalem, and, as a component of the LAST JUDGMENT, as a site in which sit the Virgin and Abraham with the souls of the elect around him. Admission, through a gate guarded by a seraph, was granted by St. Peter.

A traditional view, represented by, among others, ANASTASIOS OF SINAI and PHOTIOS, depicts paradise as a happy and blessed place where the pious live in the expectation of the realm of heaven, which will be established after the Second Coming of Christ (PAROUSIA). Some church writers, however, distinguished paradise from the earth and located it either in heaven or between earth and heaven. Niketas STETHATOS in a special treatise titled *On Paradise* and in related letters (ed. J. Darrouzès, 154–291) asserted that after the Incarnation the earthly paradise ceased to exist, that Christ dwells not in paradise but in heaven, and that we can speak only of an intelligible paradise whose spiritual plants give us the sensation of delight.

LIT. E. Patlagean, "Byzance et son autre monde," in *Faire croire* (Rome 1981) 201–21. J. Daniélou, "Terre et Paradis chez les Pères de l'Église," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 22 (1953) 433–72. A. Wenger, "Ciel ou Paradis," *BZ* 44 (1951) 560–69. A. Grabar, "L'iconographie du Ciel dans l'art chrétien de l'Antiquité et du haut Moyen âge," *CahArch* 30 (1982) 5–24. –G.P., A.K., A.C.

PARADISE, RIVERS OF. Genesis 2:10–14 describes four rivers in Paradise: Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel (or Tigris), and Euphrates. Flowing from a verdant landscape, the four appear frequently in 4th- through 6th-C. art, serving to situate in Paradise such symbolic images of Christ's kingship as the TRADITIO LEGIS, Christ appearing in Glory (apse mosaic, S. Vitale, RAVENNA), and Majestas Domini (HOSIOS DAVID, Thessalonike). As life-giving streams, they flow from the foot of the Cross on some Monza AMPULLAE (nos. 9, 11) and from the FOUNTAIN OF LIFE in a floor mosaic in North Africa (Iunca, Tunisia). Represented more rarely after the passing of Early Christian eschatological compositions, the rivers recur occasionally in later Byz. miniatures of Paradise: illustrations for Genesis in the OCTATEUCHS, maps of the cosmos in MSS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, and images of Paradise adorning the homilies of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS. Though a widespread scribal colophon refers to the Evangelists as the four rivers of the Word, this literary image was not given visual form.

LIT. P.A. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospel," *DOP* 5 (1950) 47, 71–74, 106–07, 114–16, 118–31. Ihm, *Apsismalerei*, Index, s.v. "Paradies Vierstromberg," "Paradiesflüsse." –A.W.C.

PARADOUNAVON. See PARISTRION.

PARADOXOGRAPHY, an ancient literary genre devoted to descriptions of *mirabilia*, marvelous or miraculous objects. The word *paradoxographos* was invented by TZETZES (*Hist.* 2.154), who placed the *paradoxographos* ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES (6th C.) on a par with scientists such as Archimedes and Heron. The genre of *mirabilia* existed in antiquity and continued into the 4th or 5th C. Philo of Byzantium wrote a short rhetorical tract on the seven wonders of the world (W. Kroll, *RE* 20 [1941] 54f).

From the 7th C. onward the Byz. maintained an interest in paradoxography. Claudius AELIANUS was often quoted, and several collections of ancient paradoxographers were made, such as Vat. Palat. gr. 398 (10th C.) and the compilations of several anonymous paradoxographers, conventionally called *Paradoxographos Vaticanus*, *Paradoxographos Florentinus*, and *Paradoxographos Palatinus*. Original Byz. works of this genre are not numerous: Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES produced a dialogue entitled *On Various Problems of Nature*, in which he discussed some memorable phenomena of zoology and alchemy; similar questions were treated in his collection of letters. The *Paradoxical Readings* by Psellos is related to paradoxography

only by its title, being rather a collection of prescriptions against pain, conception, theft, and snakes.

Elements of paradoxography can be found in different genres: hagiography (esp. the vita of MAKARIOS OF ROME), historiography (e.g., the description of exotic ANIMALS, such as that of the ELEPHANT and giraffe by Attaleiates), treatises on geography (A. Delatte, *BAcBelg* 18 [1932] 189–222), and commentaries such as one on Gregory of Nazianzos ascribed to KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER. The Byz. developed a negative attitude toward famous ancient marvels; thus, Eustathios of Thessalonike asserted that piety is more precious than the foolishness of the Colossus of Rhodes and the pyramids that only cast long shadows (Eust.Thess., *Opuscula* 193.38–50).

LIT. A. Giannini, *Paradoxographorum graecorum reliquiae* (Milan 1966) 7–10. K. Ziegler, *RE* 18 (1949) 1137–66. –A.K.

PARADYNASTEUON (*παραδυναστεύων*), semi-official term derived from antiquity (probably Thucydides) and designating an imperial favorite placed at the head of an administrative unit. Used in late Roman texts in a vague sense of "having great authority" (e.g., Philostorg., *HE* 3.12; THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *HE* 2.12.1), it preserved the same meaning in Theophanes the Confessor (e.g., Theoph. 76.23). It is not found in the TAKTIKA of the 9th–10th C. but is applied by 10th-C. chroniclers to such men as Stylianos ZAOUTZES or John Mystikos ca.913. The term is common during the Komnenian period and continued to be used by antiquarian writers such as Constantine Akropolites and Nikephoros Gregoras, but was then replaced by MESAZON.

LIT. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XIII (1955), 330–32. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr I* 442f. –A.K.

PARAKOIMOMENOS (*παρακοιμώμενος*, lit. "sleeping at the side [of the emperor]"), the guardian of the emperor's bedchamber, the highest office conferred on EUNUCHS; he probably replaced the PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI. The origin of the office is obscure: the story of the *parakoimomenos* EUPHRATAS, an adviser of Constantine I, is legendary. A 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 285.17) mentions a *parakoimomenos* of Maurice, but this may be anachronistic. It is also uncertain whether Stephen, *sakellarios* and "the first eunuch" under Justinian II (not Maurice, as in Guilland, *infra* 204), was *parakoimomenos*. The first secure reference is Theophanes' mention of KOUBIKOULARIOI and *parakoimomenoi* in 780 (Theoph. 453.11–12); at that time there were several *parakoimomenoi* simultaneously and their position was not very elevated. Under Theophilos, the *parakoimomenos* Scholastikos also held the modest title of OSTIARIOS. Some seals (earliest, 650–750, Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1395) show that the duties of the *parakoimomenos* were usually combined with those of the EPI TES TRAPEZES (no.2394) or *koubikoularios* (nos. 2379, 2529; Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no.52); at least one of these *parakoimomenoi-koubikoularioi* was appointed *strategos* (of Sicily).

The situation began to change in the mid-9th C., and in the 10th C. the office acquired enormous significance, when men such as SAMONAS, Joseph BRINGAS, and BASIL THE NOTHOS were *parakoimomenoi*. The post continued to be important in the 11th C., when the eunuch Nicholas was *parakoimomenos* and DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON. The office seems to have declined in the 12th C. The position was entrusted primarily to eunuchs, though there were some exceptions in all periods: the future emperor Basil I held this post and in the 12th C. some *parakoimomenoi* were bearded. In the 14th C. the office was divided: the *parakoimomenos* of the *koiton* preserved the old functions of the emperor's bodyguard, while the *parakoimomenos* of the SPHENDONE controlled the state seal. The latter played an important administrative role; among others, Alexios APOKAUKOS held the post. There is no information about *parakoimomenoi* in the 15th C. A seal (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1699) attests a female *parakoimomene*, evidently a servant of the empress.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:202–15. Boak-Dunlop, *Two Studies* 242f. –A.K.

PARAKOLOUTHEMATA (*παρακολουθήματα*), generic term indicating the surtaxes that were added to the KANON. Their amounts varied with time; all started as exceptional contributions and were later incorporated in the main tax. (1) *Dikeraton*, i.e., an increase of two keratia (1/12) for every nomisma of *kanon*; this surtax, first invented by Leo III in order to repair the walls of Constantinople, was regularized by Nikephoros I. (2) *Hexafollon*, a surtax of six folleis per nomisma (an increase of about 1/48, liable to variation depending on the amount of the basic tax), may have been initiated under Leo VI. (3) SYNETHEIA, a *sportula* initially imposed for the benefit of the tax collector: it was 1/12 of the *kanon*, but the percentage decreased when the tax grew. (4) ELATIKON, a flat and relatively low contribution destined to cover the expenses of the tax collector's suite. The last two were incorporated in the tax in the early 12th C. Moreover, the tax collector and his suite received from each taxpayer a "basket" (KANISKION) in kind (one loaf of bread, one *modios* of barley, one chicken, 1/2 measure of wine—or multiples of the above—according to 11th-C. rates).

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 81–83. –N.O.

PARAKYPTIKON (*παρακυ⟨μ⟩πτικόν*, lit. "fit for peeping through"), an imperial loge, a place from which the emperor could observe the area beneath him. In the *De ceremoniis*, the term "*parakymptikon* of the altar" (*De cer.* 88.5) of the Church of Sts. Sergios and Bakchos refers to a vantage point in the gallery from which the emperor could observe the service; in the plural, *parakyptika* (342.2–3, 364.19–20), it designated a loggia in the KATHISMA of the HIPPODROME from which the emperor watched the games.

LIT. Strube, *West. Eingangsseite* 81–86. –A.K.

PARALYTIC, HEALING OF THE. See MIRACLES OF CHRIST.

PARAMONARIOS. See PROSMONARIOS.

PARAMYTHETIKOS (*παραμυθητικὸς λόγος*), a speech of consolation, intended to comfort the bereaved by praising the dead (see EPITAPHIOS). –E.M.J.

PARAPHYLAX (*παραφύλαξ*), "chief guardian" (cf. Theodore of Stoudios, PG 99:1232B). The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 161.15) mentions *paraphylakes* of *kastra* among officers of low rank. They also appear in 11th-C. lists of exemptions as functionaries of the fisc or of the commonwealth (*koinon*), either among low-ranking military officers (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.6.61) or those involved in provisioning the army (?), such as *synonarioi* and *oreiarioi* (e.g., *Lavra* 1, nos. 33.97–98, 36.32–33). *Paraphylakes* are mentioned on numerous seals of the 7th–9th C., e.g., *paraphylakes* of Crete, Thessalonike, Nicaea, of the "Theologian" (probably Ephesus), and esp. Abydos. A functionary of low rank (titled *apo eparchon* on earlier seals, and then *hypatos*, *strator*, or *spatharios*), he combined his function with that of the *kommerkiarios*, less frequently with the *chartoularios* of the *genikon* and with *archon*. There is no reason to identify the *paraphylax* as a *kommerkiarios* or *abydikos*—his duty was probably to command irregular forces in provincial towns and to supervise public order.

LIT. Zacos, *Seals* 1:1199–1201, 1205. Treadgold, *Byz. State Finances* 34. –A.K.

PARASKEVE OF EPIBATAI, or Paraskeve the Younger, Slavic name Petka; saint; feastdays 13, 14 Oct. She is believed to have lived in the 10th C. Her Life, written by a peasant, possibly in the vernacular, was ordered burned by Patr. NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON; he commissioned a certain deacon Basilikos to create an official version of the saint's Life. Church Slavonic texts, including the vita by EVTIMIJ OF TŬRNOVO, may preserve traces of this official version. Using Evtimij's text, Matthew of Myra wrote the Greek Life of Paraskeve in 1605–20. The legend's central episode concerns a certain George who saw a vision of Paraskeve as an enthroned queen and was ordered to bring her relics from the Church of the Apostles in Epibatai to a new location in Tŭrnovo, a mission that he fulfilled ca.1230. An inscription with the name of Paraskeve found in Carevac, Tŭrnovo, makes it possible to locate a church dedicated to her.

LIT. *BHG* 1420z–1421. E. Kałuzniacki, *Zur älteren Paraskevaliteratur der Griechen, Slaven und Rumänen* (Vienna 1899). R. Janin, I. Dujčev, *Bibl.sanct.* 10:331–33. U. Knoben, *LCI* 8:120f. –A.K.

PARASKEVE OF IKONION, the "great martyr"; feastday 28 Oct. She was a predominantly Russian saint, the patron of brides and family life. The origin of her cult remains obscure.

LIT. K. Onasch, "Paraskeva-Studien," *OstkSt* 6 (1957) 121–41. –A.K.

PARASKEVE THE ELDER, saint; feastdays 26 July, 8 and 9 Nov. Paraskeve (lit. "Friday") supposedly lived in the 2nd C., propagating Christianity and even converting the emperor Antoninus. JOHN OF EUBOEA wrote a *passio* of Paraskeve, and later Constantine AKROPOLITES composed her eulogy. She is represented in a miniature accompanying an Easter homily in the 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY (fol.285r; S. Der Nersessian, *DOP* 16 [1962] 202, pl.3), standing alongside HELENA; she carries symbols of the Passion of Christ (lance, sponge, nails, and a container for the vinegar), an early reference to GOOD FRIDAY and the cult of the cross.

SOURCE. F. Halkin, "La passion de sainte Parascève par Jean d'Eubée," in *Polychronion* 226–37.

LIT. *BHG* 1419z–1420x. R. Janin, *Bibl.sanct.* 10:328–31. U. Knoben, *LCI* 8:118–120. –A.K., N.P.Š.

PARASPONDYLOS, LEO, high-ranking official; died after 1057. The name Paraspondylos (Παρασπόνδυλος, or, in Skyl. 479.16, *Strabospondylos,* "a crook") is probably a sobriquet. Seemingly, Leo sprang from the family of the Spondyloi, one of whom, Michael, served as *doux* of Antioch and participated in the campaign of George MANIAKES in Sicily (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 74). An official under Michael IV, Paraspondylos became the chief of civil administration with the titles of *synkellos* and *protosynkellos* during the reigns of Theodora and Michael VI. When Paraspondylos rejected the demands of the leading generals in 1057, a rebellion developed that led to the deposition of Michael VI and accession of Isaac I. Paraspondylos was dismissed and probably tonsured. Attaleiates (Attal. 52.1–10) lauds him as an excellent administrator who contributed greatly to the establishment of good government. PSELLOS (*Chron.* 2:74, ch.6.15–19) was more restrained in his judgment of Paraspondylos, emphasizing primarily his uncourtly speech yet eloquent gestures. While Paraspondylos was in disfavor, Psellos supported him and on his behalf addressed Paraspondylos's principal enemies—Isaac I and Patr. Michael I Keroularios.

LIT. Ljubarskij, *Psell* 90–97. G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich 1973) 90. –A.K., C.M.B.

PARASTAS (παραστάς, lit. "standing beside"), term usually meaning PILASTER, anta, or jamb. Eusebios (*VC* 3:37) uses the term *parastades,* however, to describe the twin aisles on each side of the nave of the Golgotha basilica in JERUSALEM (H. Vincent, F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem* 2.1–2 [Paris 1914] 160f). –N.E.L.

PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI (lit. "Brief Historical Notes"), an anonymous work describing the monuments of Constantinople. The work is preserved in a single MS (Paris, B.N. gr. 1336) of the 11th C. The text is often corrupt and hard to understand. *Parastaseis* has traditionally been dated between Leo III (717–41), who is named in the text, and 829; the text, however, mentions an "emperor of our day" who must be one of Leo's successors, and 829 is based only on an *argumentum ex silentio.* Cameron and Herrin date the work to the beginning of the 8th C. and consider it as a kind of scholarly work; both conclusions are questionable. The book is a collection of grotesque anecdotes with references to nonexistent or anachronistic sources (e.g., Herodotus as the source for the story that Constantine I murdered his son Constantine—instead of Crispus, who was actually killed). *Parastaseis* should rather be interpreted as a political pamphlet directed against the cult of Constantine I that was being developed under the Iconoclast emperors and their successors; at the same time it reflected the dispute over icons, telling numerous stories about the miraculous power of pagan statues (occasionally called "icons"), which—unlike Orthodox icons—did not work beneficial miracles but brought injury and death.

ED. Av. Cameron, J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century* (Leiden 1984).

LIT. Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 29–48. –A.K.

PARATHALASSITES (παραθαλασσίτης, lit. "by the sea"), a judge in control of those sailing on the sea (*Peira* 51.29); the *parathalassites* was in charge of the seashore and the port of Constantinople, esp. of the import of goods and the payment of tolls. According to the obscure evidence of an anonymous chronicle (F. Cumont, *Anecdota Bruxellensia* [Ghent 1894] 27.11–12), Justinian I introduced the KOMMERKION of the straits and the office of *parathalassites.* In the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 113.22) the *parathalassites* appears as a low-ranking functionary in the bureau of the EPARCH OF THE CITY.

LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA (*Antapodosis* 3.26) mentions a *parathalassites* among the offices filled by Romanos I after his victory over Leo PHOKAS—*parathalassites* is last in the list, below *spatharioi* and *spatharokandidatoi.* The seals of the 11th–12th C. confer on the *parathalassites* higher ranks—up to *protoproedros* and *kouropalates*—probably indicating the increasing importance of the office. Ahrweiler surmised that the *parathalassites* disengaged himself from the control of the eparch of the city and in the 11th C. attained equality with the eparch and the *logothetes* of the GENIKON, while Laurent (*Corpus* 2:625) was very cautious on this point. By the end of the 12th C. the office became collegial. The *parathalassites* is not mentioned in the 14th-C. ceremonial book of pseudo-Kodinos. In addition to the *parathalassites* of Constantinople there were also provincial *parathalassitai* (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 133, n. 44).

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures,* pt.II (1961), 246–51. –A.K.

PARCHMENT (μεμβράνα, περγαμηνή, σωμάτιον, διφθέρα, δέρμα, χάρτης), writing material prepared from the skin of animals such as the cow, sheep, goat, or donkey. The skin was washed in lime, cleaned, stretched in a form, and scraped. The hair side and flesh side of the skin had different colors. The kind of animal skin used and the various techniques of treatment explain the divergent appearance of various parchments. A coarse parchment distinguishes southern Italian MSS. Maximos PLANOUDES preferred parchment that was thin and very white, but not treated with egg white (eps. 100, 106). Parchment dyed with purple was reserved for the emperor.

Expensive and scarce, parchment was sometimes unavailable. An animal skin yielded only two *bifolia* (i.e., eight pages), and the supply of parchment was seasonal, being more abundant in spring when lambs were slaughtered. ARETHAS OF CAESAREA paid between 6 and 8 nomismata for sufficient parchment to produce a volume of about 400 folios (N. Wilson in *Books & Bookmen* 1–4). This scarcity prompted the reuse of parchment MSS as PALIMPSESTS.

The oldest preserved large Greek parchment codices are dated to the 4th C.; they are Gospel and Old Testament MSS, the Codex Sinaiticus (London, B.L. Add. 43725), and the Codex Vaticanus (Vat. gr. 1209). From the 13th C. onward, PAPER increasingly replaced parchment as writing material, but parchment MSS continued to be produced for rich patrons.

LIT. K.J. Lüthi, *Das Pergament: Seine Geschichte, seine Anwendung* (Bern 1938). Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 34–37. P. Schreiner, "Zur Pergamentherstellung im byzantinischen Osten," *Codices manuscripti* 9 (1983) 122–27. E.E. Granstrem, "Diphthera-differa-'malaja rizica' ili 'kniga'?" *ADSV* 10 (1973) 158–60. –E.G., A.M.T.

PARDOS, GREGORY, writer, metropolitan of Corinth after 1092 (V. Laurent, *REB* 21 [1963] 290f); baptismal name probably George; born ca.1070, died 1156 (but cf. U. Begares, *BZ* 81 [1988] 247f). Pardos compiled several works on rhetoric and grammar: *On Dialects, Commentary on Hermogenes, On Speech Construction, Introduction to Speechwriting* (D. Donnet, *Bulletin de l'institut historique Belge de Rome* 37 [1966] 81–97). The treatise *On Tropes,* published under his name, should be attributed rather to the 1st-C. B.C. Tryphon (M.L. West, *CQ* n.s. 15 [1965] 230–48). The traditional view that Pardos lacked originality is now to be rejected (J. Glucker, *Mnemosyne* 23 [1970] 137f). Pardos applied the technique of SCHEDOGRAPHIA, using a section of a "set text" progressively for examples, as he explained the principles of grammar; he referred to contemporary poets such as KALLIKLES, PRODROMOS, and TZETZES. Pardos also produced commentaries on religious poetry as well as his own religious epigrams.

ED. G. Schäfer, *Gregorii Corinthii et aliorum grammaticorum libri De dialectis linguae graecae* (Leipzig 1811). *RhetGr,* ed. Walz 7:1090–1352, 8:761–78. D. Donnet, *Le traité "Peri syntaxeos logou" de Grégoire de Corinthe* (Brussels 1967). H. Hunger, "Gregorios von Korinth, Epigramme auf die Feste des Dodekaorton," *AB* 100 (1982) 637–51.

LIT. A. Kominis, *Gregorios Pardos metropolites Korinthou kai to ergon autou* (Rome-Athens 1960). G. Bolognesi, "Sul *peri dialekton* di Gregorio di Corinto," *Aevum* 27 (1953) 97–120. Browning, "Patriarchal School" 19f. Beck, *Kirche* 606. –A.K.

PAREKKLESION (παρεκκλήσιον), generic name for a subsidiary CHAPEL. Such chapels appear in ecclesiastical architecture of the 4th–5th C. with a great variety of forms, functions, and dispositions. From the 10th to 12th C., the number of chapels in churches increased. These have a variety of plans, usually occur in symmetrically disposed pairs, and are carefully integrated into the overall architectural scheme. From the 13th to 15th C., *parekklesia* were not as elegantly planned and were often no more than large rooms attached to the flanks of existing churches. Such is

the case at the church of the CHORA MONASTERY, a long, apsed rectangular structure built for funerary purposes. Another important example of the period, also sepulchral in nature, was built in the form of a small cross-in-square church on the south flank of Hagia Maria PAMMAKARISTOS. –M.J.

PARENZO. See POREČ.

PARIS, son of Priam, Greek mythological hero famous for his judgment of three goddesses—Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite—and his subsequent abduction of Helen, which led to the TROJAN WAR. This mythological episode was completely reinterpreted by MALALAS (or, more probably, his source), who presented Paris as a young man of proper upbringing who wrote a hymn praising Aphrodite as an allegory of *epithymia*, "desire." Desire, says Malalas, produces everything—children, wisdom, prudence, and the arts. This allegorical interpretation of the Judgment of Paris was developed by TZETZES, who treated the mythological episode as utter nonsense. MANASSES, however, knew the allegorical version, although he did not care for it. The poem of HERMONIAKOS on the Trojan War reflects the attitudes of both Tzetzes and Manasses to this episode.

LIT. E.M. Jeffreys, "The Judgement of Paris in Later Byzantine Literature," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 112–31. C. Bevegni, "Anonymi Declaratio Paridis ad Senatum Troianum," *StItalFCl* 3.4 (1986) 274–92. –A.K.

PARIS GREGORY (Paris, B.N. gr. 510), an illustrated MS containing the *Homilies* of St. GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS plus some of his letters, a few miscellaneous writings, and Gregory the Presbyter's vita of the saint. It was produced between late 879 and 883 in Constantinople for Basil I, probably as a gift from PHOTIOS. Five miniatures preface the volume; of its 52 texts most were originally preceded by miniatures, and all by elaborate headpieces. In addition, the MS has over 1,600 gold or decorated letters, the oldest surviving examples of Byz. painted INITIALS.

The miniatures, often composed of three or four rows of images, incorporate over 400 different scenes. Few illustrate Gregory's sermons literally: most provide commentaries on the text, either pictorial exegesis (mostly typological) or visual polemic connecting the theme of the sermon with contemporary events (the textually unmotivated image of the First Council of Constantinople [381] buttressed the Greek position in the *filioque* debate with Rome during the patriarchate of Photios). Some miniatures flatter the imperial recipient of the MS (the Joseph page should be read as an analogy of Basil's ascent to the throne), while others echo specific interests of Photios and his circle.

Though the exegetical role for the images was one favored in this period, the Paris Gregory provides unusually sophisticated examples. The iconography of the individual scenes, on the other hand, remains generally conservative, and there was no attempt to make the miniatures stylistically homogenous.

LIT. Omont, *Miniatures*, pls. XV–LXbis. S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris gr. 510," *DOP* 16 (1962) 195–228. L. Brubaker, "Politics, Patronage, and Art in Ninth-Century Byzantium: The *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (B.N. gr. 510)," *DOP* 39 (1985) 1–13. –L.Br.

PARIS PSALTER (Paris, B.N. gr. 139), the best-known example of Byz. PSALTER illustration, long supposed to be typical of the genre but now recognized as being exceptional in size (approximately 37 × 26.5 cm) and in the beauty of its script and wealth of full-page illumination. Beyond the text and CATENAE, it now contains eight miniatures devoted to the life and person of DAVID and six (originally nine?) illustrations of the ODES. The David pictures emphasize the virtues of the ideal emperor, often through the presence of PERSONIFICATIONS, both classical and Christian: H. Buchthal (*JWarb* 37 [1974] 330–33) proposes that the book was made for the future emperor Romanos II at the behest of his father, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos. The hypothesis that it is a copy remains unproven, but there is no doubt that the MS stands at the head of a long line of smaller and later books that emulate its body of illustration. The Psalter's ornament is most closely related to a MS in Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 60 (= Vladimir 140), of the year 975. The long-standing thesis that its miniatures are later insertions has recently been challenged (J. Lowden, *ArtB* 70 [1988] 250f). Certainly the book as we now have it was available ca.1300 when some of its miniatures were adapted for Psalters now at the Vatican and Mt. Sinai (H. Belting, *JÖB* 21 [1972] 17–38). It was acquired by the French ambassador in Constantinople in 1557–59.

LIT. H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London 1938). Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, no.39. Weitzmann, *Grundlagen*. –A.C.

PARISTRION (Παρίστριον), a designation of the territory south of the Lower Danube, used in narrative texts of the 11th and early 12th C. Skylitzes (Skyl. 457.32) relates that a certain Michael was *archon* of the *Paristriai poleis*; the Continuator of Skylitzes (*SkylCont* 166.16–17) speaks of a *vestarches* Nestor "who was called *doux* of Paristria," and Anna Komnene mentions Paristrion four times in connection with invasions of the Pechenegs and Cumans in DOBRUDJA. Official documents, however, use the term *Paradounabis*, as on the seals of the *vestes* Symeon (V. Zlatarski in *Šišičev zbornik* [Zagreb 1929] 143–48) and of Katakalon (N. Bănescu, *EO* 35 [1936] 405–08) and the will of Eustathios BOILAS of 1059 (Lemerle, *Cinq études* 41), while Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:155.8) gives the title *doux* of Paradounabon to Leo Nikerites.

The origin of the administrative unit (*katepanaton* or *doukaton*) of Paristrion-Paradounavis is obscure. Bănescu was inclined to think that Paristrion existed from the time of John I Tzimiskes, whereas Zlatarski thought that it was created only in the mid-11th C. In any event, it did not exist at the end of the 12th C., when Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 127.89) applied the name *Paristrion* to the region of BRANIČEVO and Belgrade.

LIT. Litavrin, *Bolgaria i Vizantija* 250–88. V. Zlatarski, "Ustrojstvo Bolgarii i položenie bolgarskogo naroda," *SemKond* 4 (1931) 61–67. N. Bănescu, "La question du Paristrion ou Conclusion d'un long débat," *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 277–308. T. Wasilewski, "Le katepanikion et le duché de Paristrion au XI^{e} s.," 14 *CEB* 2 (Bucharest 1975) 641–45. –A.K.

PARODY. In the sense of a humorous mimicking of serious actions, parody is represented by burlesque performances in the Hippodrome and elsewhere. Examples are a scene staged by some clowns, with a ship on wheels, before the emperor's box in the Hippodrome in imitation of the ceremony celebrating the anniversary of the foundation of Constantinople (*Patria of Constantinople*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores* 232f), or the comic imitation of horse races presented by young aristocrats at the court of Alexios III (Nik.Chon. 508f).

In the more usual and narrower sense of a humorous imitation of a serious literary work, parody is not uncommon in later Byz. literature. Examples are a 12th-C. parody of a court decision involving a case of cannibalism (R. Macrides in *Cupido legum* 137–168), a 14th-C. invective against a certain Diplovatatzes in the form of a decree of the *boule* and *demos* of an ancient city (Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XXII [1969], 96.10), the 12th-C. *Katomyomachia* (probably by Theodore Prodromos) in the form of a scene from classical tragedy, and various parodies of parts of the liturgy. A special case is the presentation for mnemonic purposes of lists of ancient gods, grammatical terms, and so forth, in the form of liturgical hymns (Krumbacher, *GBL* 681f). Much Byz. SATIRE is in the form of parody. –A.K., R.B.

PAROIKIA (παροικία), a "local" church and its district, under the authority of a BISHOP. The term was in use from the 3rd C. to designate both an episcopal district and a parish of the Western type.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 83. –P.M.

PAROIKOS (πάροικος, lit. "one who lives nearby," "stranger" in the Septuagint), the general name for the dependent PEASANT in Byz. from the 10th C. through the end of the empire, analogous, but not identical, to the serf (see SERFDOM) of medieval western Europe. While the word *paroikos* is of classical origin, it appears only infrequently in Byz. sources before the 10th C., thus rendering the word's evolution far from clear. The New Testament employs *paroikos* to mean a temporary resident or foreigner, and consequently, through the 11th C., the word often implied a recent settler. Since a constitution of Anastasios I (*Cod.Just.* I 34.1) speaks of *georgoi* (see COLONI), *paroikoi*, and *emphyteutai* (see EMPHYTEUSIS), while a novel of Justin II (Zepos, *Jus* 1:2.8–9) speaks of *georgoi*, *misthotai*, and *emphyteutai*, there is perhaps an equivalence between *paroikos* and *misthotes* (see MISTHIOS). Anastasios (*Cod.Just.* I 2.4) forbade application of the *paroikikon dikaion* ("law of the *paroikoi*") to church property; in the Latin version

of Justinian I's novel 7.1, this is rendered as *colonarium jus*. The reference in Theophanes (Theoph. 486.30) to the *paroikoi* of charitable foundations, churches, and imperial monasteries suggests that *paroikoi* were settlers on the properties of large landowners.

From the mid-10th C. onward, references to *paroikoi* become very common, with *paroikoi* appearing as a growing section of the peasantry, gradually overtaking the previously dominant independent peasant of the VILLAGE COMMUNITY. According to a decision of KOSMAS MAGISTROS and the PEIRA (15.2–3), *paroikoi* were peasants who received land to cultivate based on an agreement with the proprietor; they could neither alienate the land, nor make any claim on it should they leave or should the proprietor ask them to leave; after 30 (or 40) years they could not be removed from the STASIS, though this heralded no change in their status or obligations to the proprietor. On the other hand, evidence from the 11th C. onward indicates that the status of *paroikoi* was becoming hereditary, and the obligation of *paroikoi* to their lords usually appears less as a simple rent, than as a collection of state charges and CORVÉES required by the lord instead of by the fisc. The nature of the dependent status of *paroikoi* remains ambiguous. During the 13th and 14th C., when almost all peasants appear to have been *paroikoi*, there is still evidence of communities of *paroikoi* acting as a corporate entity and of individual *paroikoi* often acquiring and alienating GONIKON land.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* 41–74. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 142–58. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 166–88, 232–48. V. Smetanin, "O statuse nekotorych kategorij parikov v pozdnej Vizantii," *VizVrem* 33 (1972) 7–11. N. Oikonomides, "He Peira peri paroikon," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:232–41.
–M.B.

PARORIA (Παρόρια, lit. "borderlands"), site of a group of monastic communities that flourished in the 14th C. on the frontier between Byz. and Bulgaria. The location of Paroria has been much disputed; the tendency of recent scholarship is to identify Paroria with the Strandža mountain range on the border between present-day Turkey and Bulgaria, although F. Halkin (*Byzantion* 31 [1961] 119, n.1) argues that it is impossible to specify a precise site. GREGORY SINAITES moved to Paroria ca.1330 and founded four lavras, the largest on Mt. Katakekryomene. Tsar IVAN ALEXANDER became the patron of this lavra, providing funds to build a church, cells, and tower. Gregory brought with him the Athonite tradition of HESYCHASM, which he transmitted to both the Greek and Slavic monks who flocked to the region (A.-E.N. Tachiaos, *Cyrillomethodianum* 7 [1983] 118–22). Among the distinguished monks who had their spiritual formation at Paroria were David DISHYPATOS, THEODOSIOS OF TŬRNOVO, ROMYLOS of Vidin, and the future patriarch KALLISTOS I.

LIT. G. Gorov, "Mestonachoždenieto na srednovekovnata Parorija i Sinaitovija manastir," *IstPreg* 28.1 (1972) 64–75.
–A.M.T.

PAROS (Πάρος), island in the Cyclades, west of NAXOS, separated from the small island of Antiparos by a narrow strait. Under Diocletian Paros formed part of the province of the Islands. It was famous for its marble (K. Fiehn, *RE* 2.R. 3 [1929] 2263). Inscriptions of the late 3rd and 4th C. describe Paros as a "splendid *polis*" and mention city officials such as the *protos* of the *polis* and the *gymnasiarchos* (O. Rubensohn, *RE* 18 [1949] 1830f). The bishop of Paros was suffragan of RHODES; seals of its 11th-C. bishop Constantine have been published (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 710–11). At the end of the 11th C. a combined metropolis of Paronaxia (Paros and Naxos), without suffragans, was established (*Notitiae CP* 11.84).

Paros suffered from Arab attacks in the 9th C., and in the early 10th C., according to the vita of THEOKTISTE OF LESBOS, it was deserted and visited only by hunters. There seems to have been revival by the 12th C.—at least a hoard of Byz. copper coins from Manuel I to Alexios IV was found at Naoussa (S.McA. Mosser, *A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards* [New York 1935] 57). After 1204 the island fell to the Venetian Marco I Sanudo and became part of the duchy of Naxos; despite an attack by the fleet of Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS in 1263, Paros remained part of the duchy until its dissolution ca.1579.

Abundant remains testify to the prosperity of the island in late antiquity (e.g., A.K. Orlandos, *PraktArchEt* [1960] 245–57); the most important church is the Virgin Hekatontapyliane in Paroikia, perhaps built in the 4th C. with four free-standing cross-arms and rebuilt in the 6th C. with a dome (A.K. Orlandos, 6 *IntCongChrArch* [Vatican 1965] 159–68). Frankish castles are preserved at Naoussa and Paroikia and on Antiparos.

LIT. H.H. Jewell, F.W. Hasluck, *The Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates in Paros* (London 1920). Ph. Apostolou, *To kastro tes Antiparou* (Athens 1978). W. Hoefner, H. Schmidt, "Mesaionikoi oikismoi Kykladon neson Antiparou-Kimolou," *Kimoliaka* 8 (1978) 3–45.
–T.E.G.

PAROUSIA (παρουσία, lit. "advent," sometimes δευτέρα παρουσία), Christ's Second Coming, presented (and described) in connection with Matthew 24 by CYRIL of Jerusalem (PG 33:869–916) and others. Although parallel to the first advent (the INCARNATION), the Second Parousia differs from it in that it will be Christ's coming in glory, a victory over the ANTICHRIST, the "restoration" of the cosmos, and resurrection of the dead. Special signs will distinguish Christ from the Antichrist, esp. "the brilliant sign of the cross" that was formerly the instrument of the crucifixion, while angels with trumpets serve as heralds, ceremonial attendants, and escorts. The main event of the Parousia will be the LAST JUDGMENT.

In his sermon, Cyril criticized MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA, who denied that Christ would reign "after the end of the world," since the Logos who had proceeded from the Father and then had returned to him ceased to exist as an individual being. Accordingly, the First Council of Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) added to the Confession of Faith a sentence—directed against Markellos—that "the kingdom of Christ will have no end." Later homilies combined the theme of the Parousia with a portrayal of the Last Judgment and/or HELL or with exhortations to do good works.

In artistic representations Parousia found its expression in the image of the HETOIMASIA, or the throne prepared for Christ's coming.

LIT. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung* 55–75. E. Peterson, "Die Einholung des Kyrios," *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* 7 (1929) 682–702. V. Christe, *La vision de Matthieu (Matth. XXIV–XXV): Origine et développement d'un image de la seconde Parousie* (Paris 1973).
–G.P.

PARRHESIA (παρρησία), literally, "freedom of speech." In a secular context this came to mean (from the 4th C. onward) the license allowed a privileged official or orator to offer cautious advice or reproof to an emperor, and so, by extension, the right to have access to the emperor (cf. MIRROR OF PRINCES). In a religious context the term comes to mean a confidence in dealing with God and men that is drawn from faith and a righteous life, and that belongs in particular to saints.

LIT. H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Munich 1980) 376f. G. Scarpat, *Parresia, storia del termine* (Brescia 1982).
–E.M.J.

PARTHENOPHTHORIA (παρθενοφθορία, lit. "corruption of virgins"), a judicial fine, considered a part of AERIKON, ostensibly imposed for RAPE, probably of unmarried girls, and perhaps for related crimes (abduction, etc.). The term appears almost exclusively in the exemption clauses of chrysobulls from the second half of the 13th through the 14th C. as one of a very small number of rights and privileges (sometimes called *demosiaka kephalaia* ["public chapters"] and including PHONIKON and the TREASURE TROVE) that the state usually reserved for itself and did not grant to landowners.

LIT. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 477–79.
–M.B.

PARTITIO ROMANIAE, one of the fundamental documents of the LATIN EMPIRE, published Sept.–early Oct. 1204 (Heyd, Zakythinos, Carile) or 12 Apr.–9 May 1204 (Oikonomides). After the Fourth Crusade's conquest of Constantinople, a committee of 24 (12 Venetians, 12 non-Venetians) apportioned lands to the Latin emperor, the Venetians, and other Crusaders. The emperor was to have a quarter of the empire, the others three-eighths each. Each party received territory in both Thrace and more remote lands. The list of places and districts in the *Partitio Romaniae* derives from Byz. documents, esp. tax registers, as is demonstrated by its use of Byz. technical terms. The *Partitio* lists separately the lands of some great landowners: the Kontostephanoi and Kamytzai in the Meander valley, the Raoul near the Kallipolis peninsula, and the Branas and Kantakouzenos families in the Peloponnesos. Lands belonging to Empress Euphrosyne Doukaina Kamatera (in Thessaly) and to her daughter Irene (in the Peloponnesos) are also mentioned. Oikonomides argues that the *Partitio* was created on the basis of the final tax-levies received by Alexios IV (Sept. 1203) and that the areas omitted in the text were already outside imperial control in 1203.

ED. "Partitio terrarum Imperii Romanie," ed. A. Carile, *StVen* 7 (1965) 125–305.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "La décomposition de l'Empire byzantin . . . A propos de la 'Partitio Romaniae,' " 15 *CEB, Rapports et co-rapports*, 1.1 (Athens 1976). –C.M.B.

PARTNERSHIP (*κοινωνία*). In Roman and Justinianic law (*Digest* 17.2) *societas* or *koinonia* referred to the partnership of two or more people entered into by private CONTRACT, founded for the realization of common profits and for division of losses. It is carefully distinguished (*Digest* 17.2.31) from *communio* (common ownership, *Digest* 10.3), which could come into being through a *societas* (when there was newly acquired property or profit) or without it (e.g., where there were several survivors after a death who shared the inheritance). Later law did not introduce a Greek term to correspond to *communio* and spoke only of *to koinon pragma* (cf. *Basil.* 12.1,2). In spite of the risk of confusion—since the individual partner as well as the individual owner of common property was called a *socius* (*koinonos*)—later law appears to have maintained consistently the difference between partnership and common ownership (cf. *Ecloga* 16.2; *Nov. Leo VI* 103; *Peira* 21). In particular, various other forms of common ownership such as the VILLAGE COMMUNITY, guild community, or monastic community (e.g., the *koinotes tou Hagiou Orous*) were not treated according to the rules of the law of partnership or common ownership, indicating that the norms cited for the *koinonia* were important mainly for partnerships for commercial gain, while the old proscriptions on sharing remained in force for common ownership. A formula for the division of pieces of land has survived (Sathas, *MB* 6:631f). In monastic documents *koinonia* and its derivatives appear only in the sense of "togetherness."

Examples of Partnerships. Some evidence for Byz. partnership is preserved in several papyri of the 6th C. and in various later documents, some of them Italian. A contract between two carpenters of 568 establishes a partnership of labor, not capital; the partners had to share the profits equally after deducting their expenses; they also agreed to work with the efficiency expected of craftsmen of Antinoe. Partnerships of the 14th–15th C. involved a workshop, a boat, salt-pans (in Thessalonike); these partnerships were of limited character and of relatively short duration; the partners kept separate accounting books. Textbooks of MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS often deal with the foundation and dissolution (*dialysis*) of trade associations.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:409–15 (§267). Fikhman, *Egipet* 110–14. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 68–83. A. Steinwenter, "Aus dem Gesellschaftsrechte der Papyri," in *Studi in onore di S. Riccobono*, vol. 1 (Palermo 1936; rp. Aalen 1974) 502–04. M. Ja. Sjuzjumov, "Ekonomičeskie vozzrenija L'va VI," *VizVrem* 15 (1959) 41f. –A.K.

PASCHAL II (Rainerius), pope (from 13/14 Aug. 1099); born Bieda di Galeata, Romagna, died Rome 21 Jan. 1118. The main problem during Paschal's pontificate was the struggle against the German kings Henry IV and Henry V. The pope was taken prisoner in 1111 and was forced to submit; he later repudiated his decision and was compelled to leave Rome, to which he returned to die a week later. When Paschal fought for papal primacy, it was against the Western emperor and the councils (U.-R. Blumenthal, *ArchHistPont* 16 [1978] 67–92) rather than Constantinople.

The evidence concerning Paschal's relations with Alexios I is preserved in Western chronicles in a legendary form. According to them, Paschal supported BOHEMUND of Antioch against Byz.—whether he acted consciously or was deceived by Bohemund remains unclear. ALBERT OF AACHEN reports that in 1102 a certain Manasses, bishop of an unknown Barzenona, denounced Alexios before the pope. This prepared the way for Bohemund's arrival in 1105, when his desire to start a new crusade met with enthusiastic response from Paschal. Bohemund's expedition directed against Byz. failed in 1108. The *Chronicle* of MONTECASSINO reports that in 1112 the Byz. emperor suggested UNION OF THE CHURCHES to Paschal in exchange for his coronation with the crown of the Western Empire, for which he was ready to enter Rome. P. Classen (*JMedHist* 3 [1977] 207–12) denies the historicity of the *Chronicle*. Some negotiations did occur, however, and Paschal's utter humiliation by Henry V and his negotiations were followed by the mission of Peter GROSSOLANO to Constantinople.

LIT. C. Servatius, *Paschalis II.* (Stuttgart 1979). J.G. Rowe, "Paschal II, Bohemund of Antioch and the Byzantine Empire," *BullJRylandsLib* 49 (1966–67) 165–202. Idem, "Pascal II and the Relation between the Spiritual and Temporal Powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Speculum* 32 (1957) 470–501. –A.K.

PASCHAL CHRONICLE. See CHRONICON PASCHALE.

PASSIO. See MARTYRION.

PASSION OF CHRIST, a term encompassing the last episodes of his life from the AGONY IN THE GARDEN of Gethsemane to the CRUCIFIXION. The Passion (*πάθος*, "suffering") was a sacrifice that Christ accepted voluntarily, and it resulted in the redemption of mankind from the damnation of ORIGINAL SIN. Having rejected at an early period the docetic teaching that the Passion was only an appearance of suffering, Christian thought encountered the problem of whether it was the human or divine nature of Christ that experienced the Passion. Pseudo-Athanasios of Alexandria, in his *Dialogue on the Holy Trinity* (PG 28:1253D–1256A), refuted the views of APOLLINARIS of Laodikeia that it was the Logos who had suffered and proclaimed the concept that Christ (Logos) had borne the Passion "not by his nature but by *oikonomia*," or because of his sympathy with mankind. Some Old Testament images—the paschal lamb, the sacrifice of Isaac, Daniel in the lions' den, Jonah and the whale—served as PREFIGURATIONS of the Passion, and ritual FASTING was perceived as a preparation for the Passion. The cult of the CROSS emphasized the liberating role of the Passion, and martyrdoms were construed as imitations of Christ so that it is often difficult to distinguish the historical event of martyrs' deaths from hagiographical interpretation of the acts of MARTYRS as a repetition of Christ's suffering. Christ's Passion incited manifold literary works (P. Pseutonkas, *Hai peri staurou kai pathous tou Kyriou homiliai* [Thessalonike 1975]), e.g., CHRISTOS PASCHON.

Representation in Art. The events of Christ's Passion—including all of Holy Week (ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM through ANASTASIS) or only Holy Thursday through Easter (Last Supper through Anastasis)—were depicted less frequently in Early Christian art than either the INFANCY OF CHRIST or his MIRACLES, but they constitute the very heart of post-Iconoclastic imagery. Initially, Passion scenes emphasized Christ's triumph over death and entry into kingship, as on 4th-C. "Passion" sarcophagi, where scenes of his betrayal, arrest, and trial accompany triumphal motifs like the cross flanked by birds, the Entry into Jerusalem, or the TRADITIO LEGIS. Sacrificial scenes, esp. the Crucifixion, appear only in the 5th C., and then sparingly. Passion cycles of the 6th C. (ROSSANO GOSPELS; Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in RAVENNA), though dwelling on Christ's humanity, omit the Crucifixion, and the Monza AMPULLAE show the crucified Christ in the triumphal form of an *imago clipeata*. The fully developed Crucifixion scene appears late in the 6th C. (RABBULA GOSPELS, fol.13r). Three icons at Sinai dated to the 7th–8th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, nos. B32, B36, B50) isolate Christ, Mary, and John in a composition thereafter standard for Crucifixion icons. Christ is shown dead, emphasizing his sacrifice.

The theme of God's human death dominates post-Iconoclastic Passion imagery, generating compositions of great physical and emotional poignancy. Monumental cycles of the 10th and 11th C. focus on the GREAT FEASTS, but MSS, ivories, and panel paintings develop a rich vocabulary of satellite images. The marginal PSALTERS are esp. interesting, showing already in the 9th C. the elevation of the cross, Christ receiving the vinegar, the lance-thrust, and—in the 11th C.—Christ ascending the cross. Other powerful compositions created in the 10th–11th C. were inspired by sermons and hymns: the DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS, the Holy Women mourning Christ's body (see MYRROPHOROI), the Virgin's lament over it (the Threnos), its anointment on the stone of unction, Mary fainting beneath the cross. Such imagery was incorporated in the 11th-C. monastic liturgies, which in turn generated the great Komnenian Passion icons: the VIRGIN ELEOUSA, the MAN OF SORROWS, the VIRGIN OF THE PASSION. During the 12th C., emotionally charged scenes like the Deposition, Threnos, and Entombment penetrated the liturgically focused monumental cycles (see NEREZI), and late 12th-C. Gospel books assembled extensive Passion cycles. Yet lengthier cycles emerged in Palaiologan mural painting, esp. in Serbian churches, where the Passion unfolds in some 20 scenes.

LIT. D. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz* (Munich 1965). I. Hausherr, "L'imitation de Jésus-Christ dans la spiritualité byzantine," in *Études de spiritualité orientale* (Rome 1969) 217–45. Millet, *Recherches* 255–554. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow." –G.P., A.W.C.

PASTOPHORIA (*παστοφόρια*). In the singular form, in the Old Testament, the term denoted the treasury and the priests' quarters in the temple of Solomon. Pastophoria are first mentioned in the 4th-C. *Apostolic Constitutions* (2.57.3) and described as a sacristy consisting of two parts located at the eastern part of the church building.

In scholarly literature the term is used to designate two auxiliary chambers within a church building used as sacristies, the *diakonikon* (or *skeuophylakion*) and the PROTHESIS. They commonly flank the apse and sometimes form with it the tripartite sanctuary. This arrangement appears to have had its origins in northern Syria. The term *diakonikon*, found in authors from the 4th C. onward, designated the sacristy where sacred vessels were kept; it was used by deacons, thus explaining its name. In the early period it could be a separate building, as in the vita of Sabas by CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS (102.4). The term *skeuophylakion* (lit. "place to keep the vessels") appears by the 7th C.; it may also have originally been a separate building. The *prothesis* was the eucharistic bread, the table on which the offertory was performed, and the sacristy on the north side of the bema where the eucharistic elements were prepared. The name *diakonikon* came to be restricted to the corresponding sacristy south of the apse, used for purposes that varied from place to place. Liturgical commentaries interpreted the *prothesis* rite as representing the self-emptying of Jesus (*kenosis*: Phil 2:5–11) in his birth and death, and the *prothesis* chamber as an analogue of Bethlehem and Calvary (PG 140:429C–432A; 155:348AC). In Palaiologan art, accordingly, it was sometimes decorated with an image of the dead Christ or MAN OF SORROWS. Pastophoria were accessible from the aisles of the church and communicated directly with the apse or bema. They account for the triple apses typical of Byz. churches from the 9th C. onward.

LIT. G. Descoeudres, *Die Pastophorien im syro-byzantinischen Osten* (Wiesbaden 1983). Mathews, *Early Churches* 105–07, 155–62. Taft, *Great Entrance* 178–91, 200–203. Babić, *Chapelles annexes* 61–65. –R.F.T., W.L., M.J.

PATELLARIA (*Πατελλαρία*, mod. Pantelleria), volcanic island about 100 km southwest of Sicily. Between the late 7th and the 8th C. the classical name Cossyra was changed to Patellaria, a word probably derived from *patella*, a concave dish used for the production of salt. During the 8th and early 9th C. Patellaria served the Byz. government as a place of exile. In that period, a Byz. monk, John, perhaps a refugee from Iconoclasm, founded a Greek monastery on Patellaria. The monastery's *typikon*, only part of which is preserved in Church Slavonic translation (I. Mansvetov, *Cerkovnyj ustav' [tipik']* [Moscow 1885] 442–45), is mainly based on the monastic rule of Pachomios. John and his successor Basil were locally venerated as saints. The Arabs conquered the island between 836 and 864, and Byz. never recovered it.

LIT. G. Scalia, "Le Kuriate e Pantelleria," *Bulletin du Cange* 43 (1984) 65–100. A. Acconcia Longo, *Analecta hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris, x: Canones Iunii* (Rome 1972) 163–76, 375–81. –V.v.F.

PATEN AND ASTERISKOS (*δίσκος, ἀστερίσκος*, lit. "little star") were essential LITURGICAL VESSELS: the first was a flat plate with high sides, which held the bread of the EUCHARIST, while the second was a raised metal "star," which stood on the plate and supported a protective veil (*diskokalymma*) over the sacrament. The author of the church history ascribed to GERMANOS I compared the paten to the hands of Joseph of Arimathea and Nikodemos who removed Christ's body from the cross and to "the circle of heaven . . . enclosing Christ the intelligible sun" (ed. N. Borgia, ch.38, p.31.11–16). The earliest extant example of the paten is in the 4th-C. Durobrivae Treasure, of the *asteriskos* in the 6th-C. SION TREASURE. Many silver patens bearing prominent dedicatory inscriptions and large engraved crosses survive in the BETH MISONA TREASURE, the KAPER KORAON TREASURE (which also has two patens showing the Communion of the Apostles), and other treasures. The paten also functioned with the CHALICE with which it was verbally linked—as a *diskopoterion*—from at least the 7th C., when an archdeacon is known to have obtained such a set in Constantinople for the monastery of St. THEODORE OF SYKEON (vita, ch.42.1–5).

Patens from the 10th C. onward often display a lobed border reminiscent of early Christian offering TABLES (*Treasures* 3:20) and a eucharistic inscription quoted from the Liturgy of St. Basil. A gold paten found in Preslav is decorated with a cross, while others depict Christ, the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, the Man of Sorrows, or a church's patron saint. An elaborate example in Venice (*Treasury S. Marco*, no.18) is carved in alabaster and mounted in gilded silver with enamel, rock crystals, and pearls. A superb paten in Halberstadt Cathedral is made of repoussé silver (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, no.136), while ordinary examples were of beaten bronze with engraved decoration. Gold or silver gilded *asteriskoi* are recorded together with patens in INVENTORIES. Other *asteriskoi* were of bronze.

LIT. Mango, *Silver* 78–86, 159–76, 253. *DOCat* 1, nos. 89–90. A. Grabar in H.R. Hahnloser, *Il Tesoro di San Marco* (Florence 1971) nos. 67, 69, 70. –M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

PATERIK (from Gr. PATERIKA), Slavonic name for any of various hagiographic and apophthegmatic collections. The translated *pateriki* include versions of the *Spiritual Meadow* of John MOSCHOS (*Sinajskij Paterik*), the *Lausiac History* of PALLADIOS of Galatia (*Egipetskij Paterik*), and anonymous APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM (*Skitskij Paterik* and *Azbučno-Ierusalimskij Paterik*; see M. Capaldo, W. Veder in *Polata kŭnigopis'naja* 4 [March 1981] 26–78). In the literature of Rus' (see RUS', LITERATURE OF) the *Paterik* of the Kievan Caves monastery contains tales of the monastery's history and inhabitants; it was ostensibly compiled as a correspondence between Bp. Simon of Vladimir and the monk Polikarp in the mid-1220s. Polikarp cited *Sinajskij Paterik* and *Skitskij Paterik*, and the work also echoes motifs of other translated *pateriki*, as well as EPHREM THE SYRIAN and perhaps some pseudepigrapha (G. Lenhoff, *Russian History* 10 [1983] 141–53). The Kievan *Paterik* gives some information on Greeks in Kiev, esp. those hired from Constantinople to build and decorate the monastery's Church of the Dormition (founded 1073); it also refers occasionally to Byz. internal affairs (e.g., on JEWS in the empire). Despite its reliance on Byz. literary models, the Kievan *Paterik* contains substantial quasi-historical narratives dealing with specifically Kievan society.

ED. *Kyjevo-Pečers'kyj Pateryk*, ed. D.I. Abramovyč (Kiev 1931); rp. with introd. by D. Čiževskij, *Das Paterikon des Kiever Hohlenklosters* (Munich 1964). *The 'Paterik' of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, tr. M. Heppell (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

LIT. F. Bubner, *Das Kiever Paterikon: Eine Untersuchung zu seiner Struktur und den literarischen Quellen* (Heidelberg 1969). W. Gesemann, "Vergleichende Analyse der Originalität des Kievo-Pečersker Paterikons," in *Slavistische Studien zum IX. internationalen Slavenkongress in Kiev 1983*, ed. R. Olesch (Cologne-Vienna 1983) 129–43. –S.C.F.

PATERIKA (*πατερικά*, usually as an adjective with *βιβλία*, "[the books about] the fathers"), a designation of hagiographical texts often of apophthegmatic type without special differentiation; the term was in use by the 7th C., when LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS related that John Eleemon "read many *paterika*." According to Theophanes the Confessor, Constantine V burned many monastic books and *paterika*, as well as relics. The *Typikon of St. Sabas* mentions *paterika* for the whole year. The term was taken over by Church Slavonic as PATERIK.

LIT. H. Gelzer, *Leontios von Neapolis* (Freiburg-Leipzig 1893) 184f. –A.K.

PATER PNEUMATIKOS (*πατὴρ πνευματικός*), spiritual father or confessor. In principle, only priests and HIEROMONACHOI were permitted to hear CONFESSION, but in fact simple monks also served as confessors, as is emphasized in the *Letter on Confession* of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN (ed. K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum* [Leipzig 1898] 110–27). Thus in the mid-10th C. PAUL OF LATROS heard a peasant's confession and imposed on him a penitence of three years (vita, ch.32, pp.142f). It was customary for the HEGOUMENOS of a male monastery to serve as confessor to his monastic community, even if he was not a priest (although this latter practice was contrary to canon law). At nunneries, on the other hand, the *hegoumene* was prohibited from hearing confession (even though in the *typikon* for the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY [ed. Gautier, 53.600] she is termed *meter pneumatike*), and a priest came from outside to hear the nuns' confessions. The Kecharitomene *typikon* (p.59.721–26) specified that all the nuns were to have the same confessor and that he should be a EUNUCH. He was also responsible for conducting the election of a new *hegoumene*. At the LIPS nunnery the confessor (who could be either a solitary or a cenobitic monk) usually came once a month for three days, but would make extra visits if the need arose (*Typikon*, ed. Delehaye, chs. 11–13). At this

convent the spiritual father was also charged with the investigation of an incompetent or unworthy mother superior. The relationship between a highborn nun and her *pater pneumatikos* is well illustrated by the correspondence between Irene CHOUMNAINA and her two successive spiritual directors in the 14th C.

Symeon the Theologian strongly emphasized the role of the *pater pneumatikos* and promoted the veneration of his spiritual father, Symeon the Eulabes. This cult of individual, personal, extrahierarchical relations between the spiritual father and son elicited criticism from the patriarch of Constantinople, and Symeon the Theologian was temporarily sent into retirement. Some monks served as the spiritual advisers of secular dignitaries and emperors, for example, Ioannikios in the case of Alexios I Komnenos (An.Komn. 1:32.3–5).

LIT. J. van Rossum, "Priesthood and Confession in St. Symeon the New Theologian," *SVThQ* 20 (1976) 220–28. H. Delehaye, *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine* (Brussels 1966) 101f. –A.M.T., A.K.

PATIR (τοῦ Πατρός; cf. W. Holtzmann, *BZ* 26 [1926] 341.32), site in Italy of the Greek monastery of S. Maria, about 8 km west of ROSSANO; usually called the New Hodegetria of Rossano. It was founded during the early years of the 12th C. by the Calabrian monk Bartholomew of Simeri, whose vita (*BHG* 235) describes the life of anchorites in the mountains near Rossano and the establishment of Patir. The patron of the monastery was the admiral Christodoulos, a high official of Greek descent at the Norman court of Sicily who was titled *protonobelissimos*. Despite the resistance of the Greek archbishop of Rossano, Nicholas Maleinos, Bartholomew placed the new foundation under the protection of Rome and was granted privileges by Pope PASCHAL II (in 1105) as well as by Norman authorities. Nevertheless Bartholomew did not sever all ties with Byz.; his hagiographer relates that he visited Alexios I in Constantinople and received there gifts—icons, MSS, and sacred vessels. The hagiographer also reports that a rich *patrikios* donated the monastery of St. Basil on Mt. Athos to Bartholomew.

Throughout the 12th C. Patir had an important Greek scriptorium. Many MSS from the monastery are now in the Vatican Library. The documents from Patir's archive (the earliest is of 1083) are scattered through various collections. The monastery functioned until 1806.

Art and Architecture. The church of Bartholomew's monastery survives. It is characteristically Norman, with three basilicas. A 16th-C. description mentions frescoes in the central cupola, which seems to have been since replaced. The fragmentary mosaic pavement is dated by the inscription of the mid-12th-C. Abbot Blasius.

SOURCE. *AASS* Sept. 8:810–26.
LIT. P. Batiffol, *L'abbaye de Rossano* (Paris 1891). L.R. Ménager, "Notes et documents sur quelques monastères de Calabre à l'époque normande," *BZ* 50 (1957) 333–53. S. Lucà, "Rossano, il Patir e lo stile rossanese," *RSBN* 22–23 (1985–86) 93–170. C.A. Willemsen, D. Odenthal, *Kalabrien: Schicksal einer Landbrücke* (Cologne 1966) 101–06. –V.v.F., D.K.

PATMOS (Πάτμος), island in the Dodekanese, near the coast of Asia Minor. Little known in antiquity, Patmos was reputedly the place where the exiled St. John the Apostle (also called the Theologian) wrote the APOCALYPSE (Rev 1:9–10) and, according to one tradition, the Fourth Gospel (N. Ševčenko, in *I. Mone Hagiou Ioannou tou Theologou—900 Chronia istorikes martyrias* [Athens 1989] 169–78). In the 10th C. (?) John KAMINIATES (57.10–13) described Patmos as a waterless island where the Arab fleet stopped on its way back from Thessalonike. In 1088 Alexios I gave Patmos to CHRISTODOULOS OF PATMOS, who founded the monastery of St. John the Theologian there (see below). A land survey of the late 11th C. calculates the area of Patmos as 3,860 *modioi* (an incredibly low figure), of which only 627 *modioi* were arable and only 160 could be plowed by oxen (Dölger, *Beiträge* 86f).

From the end of the 11th C. onward Patmos was the object of many attacks, e.g., of TZACHAS ca.1090 and of Spanish Arabs during the reign of Manuel I. The *Diegesis* of a Patmian monk, Theodosios, relates that Philip II of France stopped at Patmos in 1191 and offered 30 golden Arabic coins as a gift to the monks. Patmos was taken by the Venetians in 1207. Following the fall of Constantinople, the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II in Aug.–Sept. 1454 granted privileges to "Matyos" (Matthew), metropolitan of Myra and *kathegoumenos* of Patmos, delegating him to collect the island's taxes. In 1461 the monastery came under papal patronage (G. Hofmann, *OC* 11 [1928] 48f).

Monastery of St. John the Theologian. Despite the official encouragement and privileges granted to Christodoulos by Emp. Alexios I, the initial settlement of monks on the uninhabited and waterless island in 1088 was troubled. Christodoulos immediately began the construction of the monastery and its high defensive walls on a mountain peak dominating a view of the harbor. He composed three sets of rules for his new foundation: the *Hypotyposis* (1091), the *Diatheke* (Testament), and the *Kodikellos* (1093). Discontent among his followers, however, led him to abandon the island in 1092 and move to Euboea. Only after his death in 1093 did monks return with his body and resume work on the monastery. The earliest structures, the domed cross-in-square *katholikon* and the refectory, are unpretentious in design and masonry and use a considerable amount of early Christian *spolia*; none shows any signs of imperial involvement. The monastery, which had become stauropegial by 1132, began to flourish in the 12th C., aided by the customs exemptions granted to its boats, the revenues from its properties in Asia Minor, Crete, and nearby islands, and the growing fame of St. Christodoulos's relics, which reportedly possessed healing power. Its *hegoumenoi* went on to high posts elsewhere (Leontios became patriarch of Jerusalem between 1174 and 1176). The monastery's increased connection with larger metropolitan centers in this period is confirmed by the sophisticated style and program of the fresco decoration of the refectory and of the chapel that was built ca.1185 onto the south flank of the church and dedicated not to the Virgin but to Leontios (D. Mouriki, *DChAE*[4] 14 [1987–88] 205–63). Around this time the refectory was vaulted and repainted (still other frescoes there belong to the late 13th C.), the esonarthex of the church was built, and possibly also the exonarthex and the tomb chapel of St. Christodoulos off its south end. An INVENTORY drawn up in 1200 attests to the existence of the monastic library in this period: about 330 MSS are listed, along with numerous icons, metalwork objects, and ecclesiastical vestments (ed. C. Astruc, *TM* 8 [1981] 15–30). Other catalogs also survive, from 1355 and 1382. The monastery apparently had its own scriptorium. The rich archive of the acts of Patmos contains many imperial privileges, land surveys, and private acts revealing the economic growth of the monastery in the 12th–13th C.

A cave located down the hillside from the monastery came to be associated with the writings of St. John and gradually emerged as a second focus of interest on the island. A fresco in the cave showing John dictating to Prochoros dates from the late 12th C.

Though the wealth of the monastery and the fame of Christodoulos's relics drew the attacks of pirates, Arabs, Turks, and various Westerners, and though the monastery underwent hard times in the late 13th–15th C., it was never taken by force; this, plus its renewed prosperity in Ottoman times, has meant that its rich archives, dating back to the 11th C., and its collections of relics, icons, church treasures, and MSS have been preserved to a remarkable degree.

SOURCE. *Patmou Engrapha*, vols. 1–2.
LIT. T. Stone, *Patmos*[2] (Athens 1984). J. Schmidt, *RE* 18 (1949) 2174–91. E. Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire byzantin. VIII[e]–XII[e] siècles*, vol. 2 (Paris 1988) 446–53. A. Komines, ed., *Patmos, Treasures of the Monastery* (Athens 1988). Idem, *Patmiake Bibliotheke* (Athens 1988). S. Papadopoulos, *The Monastery of Saint John the Theologian*[4] (Patmos 1987). A. Orlandos, *He architektonike kai hai byzantinai toichographiai tes mones tou Theologou Patmou* (Athens 1970). M. Chatzidakis, *Eikones tes Patmou* (Athens 1977). –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

PATRAS (Πάτραι), city in the northwestern Peloponnesos, at the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth. Its location, astride important east-west commercial routes, and the cult of St. ANDREW gave it significance. It apparently survived the Slavic invasions, remaining in Byz. hands; ca.805 the city was saved from an attack by Arabs and Slavs, reputedly through the intervention of St. Andrew; thereafter the Slavs were obliged to maintain officials and envoys passing through Patras so that the metropolis was exempted from this burden (*De adm. imp.* 49.65–75). The noble widow DANELIS accumulated a considerable fortune there and possessed numerous slaves. She greeted Basil (I) as the future emperor when he was sent to Patras by Michael III on state business (*TheophCont* 226–28).

The bishop of Patras, originally suffragan of Corinth, was elevated to metropolitan rank, perhaps ca.805; from that time he is identified as metropolitan of ACHAIA (*Notitiae CP* 2.39) and he was able to contest control of the Peloponnesos with his former superior. By the early 10th C. the bishops of Sparta, Methone, Korone, and Bolaine

were subject to Patras (7.549–55). The bishop also had unusual political and economic power.

The Crusaders took Patras in 1205 and created a barony there under the jurisdiction of the principality of Achaia. The Latin archbishopric of Patras was established ca.1207. In 1267 the last baron, William II Aleman, sold his fief to the Latin archbishop of Patras for 16,000 hyperpers. From then until the early 15th C. the bishop was effectively an independent prince. At that time Venetian influence grew and they temporarily held the city; Constantine (XI) Palaiologos took Patras in 1430, but in 1460 it fell to the Turks.

Near the modern Church of St. Andrew is a subterranean fountain decorated with polychrome marbles; coins of the 4th C. and a tomb were found associated with it. Also known in Patras are a *hagiasma* of the 15th C. and an Early Christian basilica. The fortification of the citadel was probably carried out by the 6th C., although there was considerable rebuilding in the 13th and 15th C.

LIT. H. Saranti-Mendelovici, "A propos de la ville de Patras aux 13e–15e siècles," *REB* 38 (1980) 219–32. V. Laurent, "La date de l'érection des métropoles de Patras et de Lacédémoine," *REB* 21 (1963) 130–36. K.N. Triantaphyllou, "Hellenes monachoi tes N. Italias kataphygontes eis Patras ton ennatou aionos," *La Chiesa greca in Italia*, vol. 3 (Padua 1973) 1085–94. E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras* (Leipzig 1903). Andrews, *Castles* 116–29. –T.E.G.

PATRIA (*πάτρια*), the name of a literary genre devoted to local topography, monuments, history, and legends. The term appears first in Kallinikos of Petra, who lived under Diocletian and wrote *On the Patria of Rome,* fragments of which have survived. The 5th–6th-C. *patria* of Tarsos, Anazarbos, Berytus, and Nicaea (by a certain Claudian), those of Thessalonike, Miletos, Tralles, Aphrodisias, and Nakle in Syria (by CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS), *patria* of Hermoupolis and of Alexandria by Hermias of Hermoupolis and Horapollon, respectively, are mentioned in various sources (Photios, the *Souda*) but lost. Several *Isaurika* were composed by Pamprepios, Kandidos, Christodoros, and Kapiton. Traces of works of this genre can be found in Agathias, Malalas, and some other writers. After the 6th C. the genre of provincial *patria* disappeared, but the local chronicle of the capital seems to be represented by the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

LIT. Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 9–13. Christ, *Literatur* 2.2:802f, 960. –A.K.

PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE, or *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, conventional titles of a collection of texts devoted to the history and the monuments of Constantinople. It contains the PATRIA of Constantinople by the "illustris" HESYCHIOS of Miletos, revised in the 10th C.; the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI; the *Patria* of ca. 995; the *Story of the Construction of Hagia Sophia*, written between the reign of Justin II and 995, probably in the 9th C.; and a topographical survey dedicated to Alexios I. To this group is related a post-Byz. text called "A Miraculous Story," probably by John Malaxos, about the column of Xerolophos in Constantinople (J. Paramelle, G. Dagron, *TM* 7 [1979] 491–523). The *Patria* contains unique information about the origins of Constantinople and about its monuments, but sometimes fact is difficult to distinguish from Constantinopolitan legend. According to Dagron, the political purpose of the *Patria* was to glorify the city and to debase the emperor, who does not appear in these texts either as the master of the Hippodrome or of Hagia Sophia, two major imperial strongholds according to *De ceremoniis*. In the *Patria* the emperor is portrayed not in the midst of sumptuous ceremonial but as a private, "domesticated" individual whose main function is as a chronological indicator.

ED. *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum,* ed. T. Preger, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1901–07; rp. New York 1975). *Vizantijsko-slavjanskie skazanija o sozdanii chrama Sv. Sofii Caregradskoj,* ed. S.G. Vilinskij (Odessa 1900).

LIT. G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire* (Paris 1984). E. Vitti, *Die Erzählung über den Bau der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel* (Amsterdam 1986). R. Marichal, "La construction de Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople dans l'Anonyme grec (Xe siècle?) et les versions vieux-russes," *BS* 21 (1960) 238–59. –A.K.

PATRIA POTESTAS (*ἐξουσία*). Under Roman law, the descendants of a *pater familias*, even if of age, remained under his authority until the father died or until he emancipated them. In the Byz. period, the personal aspect of the *patria potestas* was essentially reduced to the principle that an *hypexousios* (i.e., someone subject to authority) can marry only with the father's consent (cf., e.g., *Peira* 1.1), but when it came to property rights, the principle was maintained that those subject to authority could not acquire their own property except for a part of the PECULIUM (cf. *Ecloga* 16, *Epanagoge* 31, *Prochiron* 22, *Tractatus de peculiis*). The post-Justinianic sources provide no certain information on the manner, the reason, and time of the release from *patria potestas*, though they suggest that the *patria potestas* ends with the attainment of majority. Whether marriage brought with it the release from *patria potestas* remains controversial: the *Prochiron* (26.7) repeats the old law, by which even a married (minor?) son was still subject to the *patria potestas*, but novel 25 of Leo VI defines a son of the house as already emancipated if he lives an independent life with the (tacit) agreement of the person in authority; this should hold even when he is not married. At marriage a daughter is transferred from the *patria potestas* of her father (cf. *Peira* 49.9) to that of her husband, from which she is released if her husband goes bankrupt (cf. *Peira* 25.9 and 38.6) or if the marriage is terminated (cf. *Peira* 38.9 and 45.8).

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 106–15. –M.Th.F.

PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL, sometimes called the "Patriarchal Academy," modern term for an academic institution organized in Constantinople in the 12th C. Its foundation was laid in 1107 by Alexios I, who established three positions for DIDASKALOI: the teachers of the Gospel, of the Apostle, and of the Psalter. These presumably taught theology, mainly to future clergy or monks. Probably by the mid-12th C. the office of the MAISTOR TON RHETORON was added. The Patriarchal School was located in Hagia Sophia; it is not clear whether some adjacent church schools, in which grammar *inter alia* was taught, were connected with it. The *didaskaloi*, who belonged to the corps of deacons of Hagia Sophia, often ended their careers as bishops in the provinces.

The question of the existence of the Patriarchal School prior to 1107 has been hotly debated. Some scholars (e.g., Dvornik) assume the uninterrupted existence of a theological academy from the days of Constantine I to 1453. As Lemerle (*Humanism* 105–07, 211–14) has demonstrated, however, the evidence for an earlier foundation of the Patriarchal School, such as the use of the term *oikoumenikos didaskalos*, is questionable; so too is Dvornik's hypothesis of a Photian reorganization of a previously established Patriarchal School (*AB* 68 [1950] 108–25). Moreover, the story of Leo III's execution of 12 *didaskaloi* has been shown to be an iconodule legend. Darrouzès thinks that the Patriarchal School flourished in the 12th C., but that some didascalic offices were previously in existence. Clearly the patriarchate must have had some institution for training clergy, though its nature may have changed through time.

LIT. Browning, "Patriarchal School." Darrouzès, *Offikia* 66–79. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.III (1966), 69–81. Speck, *Univ. von KP* 74–91. F. Dvornik, "Photius' Career in Teaching and Diplomacy," *BS* 34 (1973) 211–18. –A.K., R.B.

PATRIARCHATES. The term and its cognate "patriarch" were originally used to designate prominent and respected members of the episcopate (PG 36:485B). In the 6th C., the title of "patriarch" acquired its precise canonical sense by being applied particularly to the incumbents of the five major sees (JUSTINIAN I, nov.123.3). The term *patriarchate* (*πατριαρχεῖον*) designated in the 6th C. the residence of a patriarch (Malal. 468.7) and, thereafter, patriarchal see (e.g., pseudo-John of Damascus, PG 95:332C-D).

A general trend toward ecclesiastical centralization—the practice of grouping several provinces under one central authority—began in the 4th C. The bishops of ROME, ALEXANDRIA, and ANTIOCH were in fact exercising supra-METROPOLITAN jurisdiction beyond the limits of their own frontiers or adjoining provinces before 300. The status of these sees, however, was first recognized *de jure canonico* by NICAEA I (canon 6). In 381, at Constantinople I (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) this list was modified to include the DIOCESES of Thrace (Herakleia), Pontus (Caesarea in Cappadocia), and Asia (Ephesus) headed by "exarchs of dioceses." Likewise, the council decided to place Constantinople, as the newly emerging capital of the empire, second after Rome in order of precedence (but without extending its jurisdiction), while Alexandria was given third place (canon 3). In effect, the church was modeling its own organization on the civil diocesan division of the empire—the principle of political accommodation sanctioned earlier by Nicaea (canon 4). In the words of the church historian SOKRATES, the council had "constituted patriarchs" (Sokr. *HE* 5.8). This terminology was premature, since the primates of these dioceses were

in fact called EXARCHS. Besides, even though the canonical foundations for the erection of patriarchates had been laid, the system was not yet fully in place. This was achieved at the Council of CHALCEDON (451) when Thrace, Pontus, and Asia were placed under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, while JERUSALEM was added to the list (canon 28). The number of patriarchates was thus restricted to five and a precise order of precedence established: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem.

The decision of 451 resolved the bitter struggle for hegemony among the sees; nonetheless, it also created a new rivalry. Alexandria had not in fact abandoned its claims to preeminence in the East. Hence its repeated and often successful attempts to thwart the rise of Constantinople. Therefore, canon 28, confirming Constantinople's jurisdiction over its neighboring territories, was a *de facto* challenge to Egypt's pretensions. Scholars are equally agreed (Dvornik, Hermann, Jugie, Meyendorff) that the canon was not intended to deny Rome's honorary PRIMACY among the patriarchates. Even so, a new rivalry, between Rome and Constantinople, was now generated. Fearing that Constantinople's new status might undermine its own position, Rome refused to ratify the canon. The Roman position emphasized that the "Petrine" criterion of apostolicity alone, that is, the founding of a see by Peter, was to determine patriarchal status. The idea of hierarchy of patriarchates was accepted by the secular authority, and Justinian I (nov. 131.2) placed Rome at the first place and Constantinople at the second, without mentioning other patriarchal sees. The struggle for primacy between Rome and Constantinople grew stronger, when the bishop of Constantinople claimed the epithet of the ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH. Political independence of Rome from Byz. contributed to its success in the struggle for primacy, however; therefore, by the 11th C. Byz. theoreticians elaborated the theory of PENTARCHY—the nominal equality of five patriarchates—even though by this time oriental patriarchates (Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem) had lost their significance and could not compete with Rome and Constantinople.

Besides the five traditional patriarchates, some new ones were created. In the West the title of patriarch was only a solemn epithet, and the patriarch of AQUILEIA/GRADO (since the 6th C.) was not the pope's rival. In the East new patriarchates emerged either in non-Orthodox churches (e.g., Armenian) or in Orthodox lands as a symbol of their political independence from Constantinople, as in Bulgaria (mid-13th C.) and Serbia under Stefan Uroš IV Dušan.

LIT. F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York 1966). J. Meyendorff, "La primauté romaine dans la tradition canonique jusqu'au Concile de Chalcédoine," *Istina* 4 (1957) 463–82. T.A. Kane, *The Jurisdiction of the Patriarchs of the Major Sees in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C., 1949). W. de Vries, *Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens* (Freiburg-Munich 1963). –A.P., A.K.

PATRIKIA ZOSTE. See ZOSTE PATRIKIA.

PATRIKIOS (πατρίκιος), high-ranking DIGNITY etymologically connected with the Roman status of *patricius*. The dignity of *patrikios* was introduced by Constantine I as an honorific title without specific administrative functions; according to a 5th-C. historian (Zosim., bk.2.40.2), the *patrikios* was placed above the PRAETORIAN PREFECT. The importance of the *patrikios* increased in the West, where the title was bestowed in the 5th C. on powerful MAGISTRI MILITUM and in the 8th C. on Frankish kings. It had less importance in the East, where Justinian I made it available to all ILLUSTRES. In the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. it occupies the place between *anthypatos* and *protospatharios*; in the 8th–10th C. this dignity was granted to the most important governors and generals. Depreciated thereafter, *patrikios* disappeared after the beginning of the 12th C.

Theodosios II tried to disqualify eunuchs from this title but in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 137.18) eunuch *patrikioi* hold a high place, before the *strategoi*. The insignia of the *patrikios* was an inscribed ivory tablet. The title of *protopatrikios* is attested between 364 and 711 (A. Karamaloude, *Symmeikta* 5 [1983] 161–68). The title *patrikia* designated the spouse or widow of a *patrikios* (Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 258–60), with the exception of ZOSTE PATRIKIA, which was a specific female dignity.

LIT. W. Heil, *Der konstantinische Patriziat* (Basel-Stuttgart 1966). Guilland, *Institutions* 2:132–69. Guilland, *Titres*, pts. VII–XIV. –A.K.

PATRIOTISM (φιλοπατρία). Local patriotism was inherited from the Roman Empire, persisted in hagiography's literary conventions (vitae sometimes praise a saint's birthplace), and spurred rhetorical *ekphraseis* early and late in the empire's history, for example, Prokopios of Gaza and the *Nikaeus* of Theodore Metochites. It possibly nourished the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE, which may be a local Constantinopolitan reaction to imperial power (Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 17–19), and may underlie geographic family names. Awareness of ROMANIA, a new cultural-political identity, fostered a second, transregional patriotism that drew on loyalty to the emperor, antibarbarism, a sense of Byz.'s atemporal universality closely connected with its christianizing mission, and shared cultural traditions. While the emperor's primordial role remained constant—the dialogue PHILOPATRIS (The Patriot) is mostly concerned with loyalty to an emperor, not to Byz.—the contribution of the other elements changed; for example, the Christian component merged with antibarbarism and became a militant hatred of "infidels" like Jews and Muslims (e.g., the "Christ-loving *tagmata*" of Constantine VII, ed. R. Vári, *BZ* 17 [1908] 75–85) and later of Latin or Armenian Christians.

The West perceived Byz. "Greekness" from the 8th C. and, refurbished by the Macedonian revival, HELLENISM slowly gained strength in Byz. patriotism. Sheer survival against overwhelming odds added a providential dimension: Byz. was "the only empire God has fixed indissoluble on earth" (Nicholas I Mystikos, ep.25.105–07). This combined with a sense of divine election and cultural superiority—theirs was the language of the Apostles and Homer—to swell Byz. arrogance toward the *barbaroi* (see BARBARIANS), even Orthodox ones. Expressions of patriotism peaked during crises (e.g., after Alaric's sack of Rome or the Latin sack of Constantinople), but late Byz. decline provoked a crisis in patriotism—how could the chosen people of an eternal empire be so maltreated by God (C.J.G. Turner, *BZ* 57 [1964] 346–73)? The response came in Plethon's relativizing the destiny of the empire (limited for Plethon to Greece and the capital, according to Beck, *Ideen*, pt.VI [1960], 91f) and the more traditional view of catastrophe as chastisement for sin. The latter reinforced Orthodoxy as a kind of surrogate patriotism allied with Greek culture, which, by its anti-Latin hatred, undermined the emperors' diplomatic efforts to seek union with the West in order to halt the Turkish advance.

LIT. K. Lechner, "Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner," (Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1954). F. Paschoud, *Roma aeterna: Études sur le patriotisme romain dans l'Occident latin à l'époque des grandes invasions* (Rome 1967). H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1975). –M.McC.

PATROCINIUM VICORUM (lit. "protection of estates"), a specific type of social PATRONAGE whereby a rural cultivator placed himself under the protection of a powerful patron (*patronus*), who received in exchange cash or (more commonly) possession of his client's land. It developed out of (and by the 4th C. largely displaced) the urban *patrocinium civitatis*. Patrons included military officials, civil bureaucrats, large landowners, and CURIALES; clients generally comprised free peasants or free COLONI (*Cod.Theod.* XI 24.1), although ADSCRIPTICII and even slaves are also attested (*Cod.Just.* XI 54.1). Clients enjoyed patrons' influence in law courts, and *coloni* invoked their protection in disputes with landlords (Libanios, *On Patronage* [ed. Harmand 17–20]). Above all, patrons could reduce their clients' tax liabilities by pressuring officials of the fisc or—in the case of *curiales*—by controlling local assessment. The exact nature of the *patrocinium vicorum* remains the subject of considerable discussion, in particular whether it led to the transformation of free peasants into serfs of their patron or simply signified the transfer of properties that had been under the control of *curiales* to great landowners not restricted by urban organization (A. Kazhdan, *VDI* [1953] no.3, 102f).

The central government initially refused to accept the legality of *patrocinium vicorum*, instead prohibiting it as a form of tax evasion (*Cod.Theod.* XI 24.4). Consequently, ties of patronage often assumed the guise of a (nominal) sale of land to the patron who, in turn, leased it back to his client; after the client's death, however, his holding normally reverted to the patron, while his heirs became *coloni* (Salvian, *De gubernatione dei* in MGH *AuctAnt* 1:62f). Emp. Honorius legalized possession of lands acquired *sub patrocinio* prior to 397 and made patrons responsible for their clients' CAPITATIO. They were barred, however, from obtaining new lands in rural villages, and this prohibition was periodically renewed as late as Justinian I (nov.17).

LIT. P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IVe siècle après J.-C.* (Paris 1955) 372–82. I. Hahn, "Das bäuerliche Patrocinium in Ost und West," *Klio* 50 (1968) 261–76. A.R. Korsunskij, "Byli li *patrocinia vicorum* v Zapadnoj Rimskoj imperii?" *VDI* (1959) no.2, 167–73. –A.J.C.

PATRONAGE, SOCIAL (προστασία, Lat. *patrocinium*). A system of patron-client relationships developed in the late Roman Empire; Libanios delivered a special oration *On Patronage*, while imperial legislation vainly endeavored to prohibit the practice (see PATROCINIUM VICORUM). The word *prostasia* was also employed with the nontechnical meaning of support and protection (e.g., the vita of Patr. Eutychios, PG 86:2349D) and, metaphorically, for the protection of ANGELS.

In later centuries there is evidence for the existence of various forms of patronage (usually not designated by the term *prostasia*), such as the dependency of ANTHROPOI, FRIENDSHIP (*philia*), and esp. bureaucratic and imperial favoritism: thus Eustathios BOILAS calls the local governor and his family "patrons or lords" (*authentai*); Psellos considered a man without influential patrons to be insignificant and boasted of the patronage he exercised for his friends. Clienteles might also form a private "army" or HETAIREIA, although Byz. retinues seem to have been looser and less stable than their Western counterparts. The terminology of patronage was largely modeled on servile (DOULOI) or household (OIKEIOI) relations. The term *prostasia* itself survived into the late Byz. period, being applied primarily to the supervision of ecclesiastical and monastic institutions (*Docheiar.*, no.6.72, after 1118; *Lavra* 3, no.138.16, a.1360).

LIT. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XI (1965), 1–32. H. Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur la société byzantine au XIe siècle," *TM* 6 (1976) 108–10. Weiss, *Kantakuzenos* 23–53. –A.J.C., A.K.

PATRONS AND PATRONAGE. No Byz. equivalent existed for these terms, although epithets such as donor (*doter*) and entrepreneur (*entalmatikos*) are occasionally found; in modern usage, the concept of patron implies much more than the legal status of the term KTETOR. The provision of funds to build or decorate a monument, to construct a charitable institution, or copy a MS may have been a gesture little different from a grant of land, but this in no way disqualifies patronage as an activity considered significant in its own time and as a field of modern study. Patrons made major contributions to ART, ARCHITECTURE, LITERATURE, and social welfare (PHILANTHROPY) throughout the history of the empire. The term *patron* is used here to denote an individual who conceived of a work, paid for its manufacture, or fundamentally affected its design. Yet founder and funder were by no means always the same person, so that the term patron may apply to one or more of the stages of creation.

Patronage of Art and Architecture. Beyond the expense of a monument and thus its degree of elaboration, it is often hard to identify the nature of the patron's intervention. Reflecting a cultural attitude toward production, literary sources attribute the creation of a work not to the architect or artist, but to an individual in political or monastic authority (THEODORE PSALTER) or to the purveyor of funds necessary to its undertaking. The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II credits the emperor, rather than its scribe or painters, with "having created a book truly like unto heaven." Similarly, in an inscription at KASTORIA, the patron Theodore Lemniotes, addressing the *anargyroi* to whom his church was dedicated, declares "I paint the pictures of your miracles."

The patron was not always the source of ideas, much less of the details in a work. A donor's wishes were more likely to be expressed in its content than in its manner of fabrication. BASIL THE NOTHOS sponsored MSS in radically different "styles." Particularly in small communities, where commissions were insufficient to justify a resident artist, a patron would have to rely on distant craftsmen or itinerant artists who, albeit ready to adapt schemes of decoration to his wishes, brought with them their own manners of working. Even on objects for personal use, subject matter did not always reflect an individual's choice. The iconography of lead seals—the most "private" of commissioned objects—could be and was dictated in part by the tradition of a family and social group. In monumental painting, the presence of locally revered saints might indicate regional rather than personal devotion. Images containing the PORTRAIT of the patron—a favorite means of advertising an act of donation, veneration, or supplication—were as much determined by social convention as by the taste of an individual. Communal and cooperative patronage, phenomena observed in 6th-C. Palestine, 11th-C. Cappadocia and southern Italy, and 14th-C. Crete, might efface all but a donor's name from the work that resulted.

Nonetheless, the wishes of a mighty patron could carry great weight. The size and splendor of Justinian's Hagia Sophia, it has been suggested, were a response to ANICIA JULIANA's Church of St. Polyeuktos, while the Persian-looking sculpture found at the latter site might as well be an expression of personal taste as proof of the influx of foreign craftsmen.

The PERSONIFICATIONS of Megalopsychia ("magnanimity") and Love of Foundation (*pothos tes philoktistou*) in Anicia's DIOSKORIDES MS reflect Aristotelian ideas of VIRTUE, in which acts of patronage are duties required of the powerful. Similar attitudes are found in Gregory of Nazianzos's funeral oration on his father, a builder. But, progressively, Christian notions of philanthropy supplemented and then replaced classical impulses. By the 6th C., when the perpetuation of one's name was recognized as a main incentive to church building (proem to Justinian, nov.67), visions and miracles (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.6.6) were as likely to impel creation of a building as love of earthly renown.

Whatever its cause, widespread construction of churches and monasteries stimulated employment and the circulation of goods (Patlagean, *Pauvreté* 196–203). Professed motives for patronage—penance for a sin, thanksgiving for a cure, the desire for saintly intercession, or hope of one's own and one's relatives' salvation—display remarkable consistency whatever the medium, place, or period in which they were expressed. Widely as well as personally felt, such sentiments led to buildings and objects in which, material value aside, social distinctions are virtually invisible. Whether a man was a member of the civil or military aristocracy, whether a dignitary came from the eastern provinces or the capital, his rank and origin were revealed not in the work that he sponsored, but in the inscriptions that it might bear. Conventionally these subscribe to the topos of MODESTY and often show that a sponsor was content to be identified as a "restorer" or "second founder" (*anakainistes*). On the other hand, Eumathios Philokales and others were proud to confess responsibility for building a church "from the very foundations."

Patronage ran in families. Between ca.540 and 640 the lineal descendants of four or five clans continued to offer silver to their church at KAPER KORAON. From the 10th C. onward, deceased family members were assembled in mausoleums (in Constantinople, for example) as they had foregathered in life. In 12th-C. Kastoria successive generations of Lemniotai beautified the foundations of their predecessors. Beyond these microstructures, ethnic and other narrow groupings focused patronage at a particular site: Gregory PAKOURIANOS excluded Greeks from his foundation; Andronikos PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of Thessalonike, supported the cloister of DIONYSIOU on Mt. Athos because he saw it as "a monastery of our kindred." Since conspicuous veneration was a socially approved habit, such displays entailed both ethical and paradigmatic consequences. Local priests seem always to have emulated their metropolitan superiors in this respect; from the 11th C. onward provincial magnates did likewise. When, in the 14th C., imperial sponsorship of art and architecture all but disappeared, its place was taken by commissions of aristocrats, bureaucrats, and monks. From the 12th C. onward, women, usually of noble birth, emerged in number as patrons.

The donations that funded construction or embellishment varied widely in scale. "Even the poorest" member of a congregation was expected to offer at least one pound of silver, according to SEVEROS of Antioch (PO 22:247). Almost contemporaneously, JULIANUS "ARGENTARIUS" spent 26,000 solidi on S. Vitale in Ravenna. The exceptional sum of 288,000 solidi expended on Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, in 532 is put into perspective by the fact that his first consulship (521) cost Justinian the same amount and by the supposition that a "normal church" was built for 14,400 solidi (Hendy, *Studies* 201); a small provincial church might cost much less (100 solidi: *AASS* Mai. III:9*B). By no means were all offerings monetary: the people of Sparta collected building materials for a church for NIKON HO "METANOEITE," while local *archontes* hired masons and gave him land and two antique columns. Some founders actually supervised the construction of their buildings, a scruple that led to the death of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS.

The role of most patrons in their commissions is usually undetectable and, where recorded, often mythical. Direct complicity is probable in the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS, where the man's verses as well as his likeness are prominent. Yet the degree to which PHOTIOS or LEO OF OHRID participated in the works associated with their names remains problematic. The desire of Khan BORIS I for a hunting scene is plausible; his change of mind

and the picture of the Second Coming that ensued are best explained by Theophanes Continuatus (*TheophCont* 163.19–164.17) as the result of divine intervention. Part of the obscurity attaching to the creation of works of art, as against those of literature, lies in the nature of the medium: unlike writers, painters left no author's dedications or expressions of gratitude.

Patronage of Literature. The role of the patron of literary texts is relatively well known, thanks to their dedications and COLOPHONS. The emperor is often supposed to have played a leading role; in hagiographical texts there are many hints that they were commissioned by *hegoumenoi* of monasteries dedicated to particular saints. A change in the nature of patronage is evident in the 9th and 10th C.: patrons such as ARETHAS were more concerned with copying of MSS than with original creativity. In the 11th and esp. the 12th C., with the shift from the author-functionary (both secular and ecclesiastical) to the professional but begging author, the question of patronage acquired special significance: the uppermost echelon of the aristocracy assumed this role, alongside the emperor. It remains uncertain whether patrons of the 12th C. (many of them noblewomen, such as Anna KOMNENE or the *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE) were surrounded by circles of literati or acted strictly as individuals (Mullett, *infra*); at any rate, relations between a poet and his patron often lasted for years and reveal an enduring fealty, as in the case of Manganeios PRODROMOS. In the 14th C. the emperor's and court's monopoly of patronage was challenged by provincial aristocrats (Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.I [1971], 69–92).

LIT. R. Cormack, "Patronage and New Programs of Byzantine Iconography," 17 *CEB, Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 609–38. A. Cutler, "Art in Byzantine Society: Motive Forces of Byzantine Patronage," *JÖB* 31 (1981) 759–87. M. Mullett, "Aristocracy and Patronage in the Literary Circles of Comnenian Constantinople," in *Byz. Aristocracy* 173–201. –A.C., A.K.

PAUL (Παῦλος, Lat. Paulus), a cognomen primarily in the Roman *gens Aemilia*, later a personal name. The transformation of the persecutor Saul into the apostle Paul in the New Testament signified the christianization of the name. It was widely used in the 4th (*PLRE* 1:683–85) and esp. 5th C. (*PLRE* 2:849–56); *PLRE* 2 includes 40 instances of this name, to which several known clergymen and monks should be added. Four early patriarchs of Constantinople (4th–8th C.) were called Paul, but no emperor. Sozomenos has nine Pauls (third only to EUSEBIOS [14] and JOHN [11]) and Prokopios lists ten Pauls, following John (32) and THEODORE (11). In Theophanes the Confessor, Paul retains only seventh place with the same number of individuals (19) as STEPHEN. Thereafter, the name quickly lost its earlier popularity, and Niketas Choniates mentions only one Paul, the apostle. In the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), Paul plunges to thirteenth place (16 cases), equal to Athanasios and Euthymios, while the later acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), list a tiny number of Pauls, only five. The acts of Esphigmenou contain three or four Pauls of the 11th C. and only one peasant, Paul Sgouros, of ca.1300; the acts of Xeropotamou include five Pauls of the 10th–11th C. and only two of the later period (14th–15th C.). –A.K.

PAUL, formerly named Saul; apostle and saint; feastday 29 June. He was considered in Byz. as the author of 14 epistles included in the NEW TESTAMENT. These epistles were broadly commented on by John Chrysostom and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (their texts survive in full) and by many writers whose exegeses of Paul are known only from catenae (Didymos of Alexandria, Eusebios of Emesa, Apollinaris of Laodikeia, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Severianos of Gabala, etc.). The eventful life of Paul—his execution of Stephen the First Martyr, conversion on the road to Damascus, travels, martyrdom—inspired various apocryphal works: forged correspondence with Seneca, acts, and homilies. The major problem concerning Paul's reputation in Byz. was his relationship with PETER, who early became a symbol of Rome and the papacy. The Byz. insisted on their equality, called them both *koryphaioi* (princes of the apostles), and celebrated their feasts together; in addition to their common feastdays, Paul was celebrated on 1 Sept., in honor of his vision and conversion. On the other hand, Paul was esp. respected by sectarians, such as the Marcionites and PAULICIANS. Niketas Choniates stressed that Andronikos I was particularly fond of Paul's epistles and quoted them often.

Hagiographical tradition presents Paul as a bald man, three cubits tall, with gentle eyes and a white

complexion. John Chrysostom devoted several homilies to him to show that he was more significant than the heroes of the Old Testament: unlike NOAH, he built his ark not of planks but epistles and saved not his family but the whole *oikoumene*. Other eulogies of Paul were compiled by Proklos of Constantinople, Leo VI, Niketas Paphlagon, etc.

Representation in Art. Bearded, brown-haired, and balding, Paul joins Peter as the first of the APOSTLES to exhibit a distinct iconographic type. He appears with Peter *en buste* on 4th-C. commemorative medals and gold glass as well as in scenes of his arrest and of the TRADITIO LEGIS on "Passion" sarcophagi. Scenes involving Paul but not Peter first appear in the 5th C.: Florence, Carrand Diptych (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.108); murals in San Paolo fuori le Mura (ROME). His presence among the apostles, esp. in depictions of episodes preceding his conversion (e.g., APPEARANCES OF CHRIST AFTER THE PASSION, ASCENSION, PENTECOST), signals the symbolic rather than historical function of the apostles as an image of the church. Paul figures extensively in Byz. ACTS cycles. These canonical scenes often recur in other contexts: his presence at the stoning of Stephen, his conversion and baptism, his preaching, the episodes at Lystra. He also appears alone or with Timothy in New Testament MSS before the texts of his epistles and occasionally in evangelist portraits of LUKE. Noncanonical scenes are rare, although his beheading occurs in cycles of the apostles' martyrdoms, and his ecstatic meeting with Peter seems to have become an image of brotherly accord, appearing independently of other Pauline scenes. Monumental cycles of Paul's life are known only in Norman Sicily (Cappella Palatina, PALERMO; MONREALE), where Western influence is strong.

ED. and SOURCES. K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*[2] (Münster in Westfalen 1984). *Jean Chrysostom, Panégyriques de S. Paul*, ed. A. Piédagnel (Paris 1982). A. Vogt, *Panégyrique de St. Pierre, Panégyrique de St. Paul* (Rome 1931).

LIT. *BHG* 1451–1465x. J.M. Huskinson, *Concordia apostolorum* (Oxford 1982). P. Gorday, *Principles of Patristic Exegesis* (New York 1983). E. Dassmann, "Zum Paulusverständnis in der östlichen Kirche," *JbAChr* 29 (1986) 27–39. K. Shelton, "Roman Aristocrats, Christian Commissions: The Carrand Diptych," *JbAChr* 29 (1986) 166–80. L. Eleen, *The Illustrations of the Pauline Epistles in French and English Bibles of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford 1982) 1–31. K. Kreidl-Papadopoulos, "Die Ikone mit Petrus und Paulus in Wien: Neue Aspekte zur Entwicklung dieser Rundkomposition," *DChAE*[4] 10 (1980–81) 339–56. –J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

PAUL I, bishop of Constantinople (ca.337–39; end of 341–beginning of 342; and beginning of 346–Sept. 351) and saint; born Thessalonike ca.300, died Koukousos 351?; feastday 6 Nov. Scholars differ in their evaluation of Paul: for Telfer, he is a figure equal in significance to AMBROSE of Milan, whereas Dagron attributes to Paul a minor role in events that was subsequently magnified by hagiographical legend. Paul was elected to the see of Constantinople ca.337, but soon replaced by the Arian EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA. After the death of Eusebios, Paul was reelected but ran into resistance from the Arians; the conflict resulted in a popular rebellion in 342 during which the *magister equitum* Hermogenes, the representative of Emp. Constantius II, was killed in a skirmish. Consequently, Paul was exiled to Pontos, as ATHANASIOS of Alexandria testifies, or to Thessalonike, as Dagron suggests. Thereafter Paul went to Italy in search of the support of Pope Julius, Athanasios of Alexandria, and the Western emperor Constans I. Under pressure from the West, Paul was reinstated but could not get along with the Arian government. It was probably after the death of Constans that Paul was accused of complicity in the usurpation of MAGNENTIUS (350–53) and exiled to Koukousos; Dagron hypothesizes that it was the same exile as his deportations to Singara and Emesa mentioned in Athanasios. In exile Paul was strangled—as the legend has it, by Arians. The cult of Paul had developed already by the 5th C., as a Constantinopolitan counterpart of Athanasios. A summary of his vita is included in Photios's *Bibliotheca* (cod. 257); it was reworked by Symeon Metaphrastes.

LIT. *BHG* 1472–1473h. W. Telfer, "Paul of Constantinople," *HThR* 43 (1950) 30–92. D. Stiernon, *Bibl.sanct.* 10:286–93. Dagron, *Naissance* 422–35. –A.K.

PAUL I, pope (29 May 757–28 June 767); born and died in Rome. Brother and successor to Pope Stephen II (752–57), Paul completed his brother's attempt to reduce Rome's dependence on Byz. and establish a system of Frankish protection. His consecration was delayed because of the opposition of a faction supporting the Byz. alliance, but Paul immediately notified Pippin III, king of the

Franks (751–68), about his election and pledged his loyalty to the pact that Pippin had concluded with Pope Stephen. In Italy, Desiderius, king of the Lombards (757–74), subjugated Spoleto and Benevento and was the major threat to the papacy. Paul tried to convince Pippin to intervene; the Franks, however, avoided military confrontation but by diplomatic means forced Desiderius to return to the pope some lands he had conquered. The threat of a Byz.-Lombard alliance was also real: Emp. Constantine V hoped to attract to this coalition a pro-Byz. party in Rome and some elements in the church of Ravenna, and he started negotiations with Pippin as well. The conflict between Rome and Constantinople focused on the question of ICONOCLASM. Paul was an unyielding opponent of Iconoclasm; he supported eastern Iconophiles who emigrated to Rome, and he accommodated Greek monks in the monastery of Sts. Stephen and Silvester, founded in 761. The Byz. attempt to attract the Franks to Iconoclasm failed in 767 when the local synod of Gentilly approved of the Roman concept of the image.

LIT. M. Baumont, "Le pontificat de Paul I^{er} (757–767)," *MEFR* 47 (1930) 7–24. D.H. Miller, "Byzantine-Papal Relations during the Pontificate of Paul I," *BZ* 68 (1975) 47–62. –A.K.

PAUL II. See under PYRRHOS.

PAULICIANS (Παυλικιάνοι, Arm. Pawłikeank'), sect of Armenian origin that threatened the eastern provinces of Byz. between ca.843 and 879. At this time, the Paulicians had a separate state, with TEPHRIKE as its capital. Under KARBEAS and then CHRYSOCHEIR, they collaborated with the Muslims, raided as far afield as Nicaea, and sacked Ephesus in 869/70. The later history of the Paulicians from the establishment of the state to its destruction by Emp. Basil I and the migration of many Paulicians to Syria, southern Italy, and the Balkans (where they were still found in the reign of Emp. Alexios I) is reasonably well known. In contrast, their earlier history, dates, leaders, and the details of their doctrine remain unclear and highly controversial; some documents are suspect and Byz. and Armenian sources differ. Scholars agree that the sect was Armenian in origin, that it was the probable precursor of the TONDRAKITES, that it was violently iconoclastic, and that it rejected the authority and sacraments of the official clergy to follow its own leaders and practices; everything beyond this is still disputed.

On the basis of the Greek sources, Runciman, Lemerle, and a number of others have traced the Paulicians to a succession of leaders who first appeared in Asia Minor in the 7th C. and established a number of communities and churches and ultimately an independent state. These scholars see the Paulicians as DUALISTS, heirs of MANICHAEANISM, adherents to a Docetic Christology in which the Incarnation was thought to be illusory. As such, they were accepted as a link in the transmission of these beliefs from the ancient Near East to the BOGOMILS of the Balkans and the CATHARS of southern France.

The Armenian sources do not, however, sustain these conclusions, although they do confirm the Iconoclastic beliefs of the Paulicians. These sources know nothing of later Paulician history under Byz. According to them the Paulicians, who are considered followers of Bp. Paul of Samosata (condemned in 280), should be traced back to at least the 5th C. and were "Old Believers" following early Syrian traditions that preceded the hellenization of the ARMENIAN CHURCH in the 4th C. In no way Dualists, they were adherents of an Adoptianist Christology (see ADOPTIANISM), which claimed Jesus had been adopted as son of God at baptism; their leaders, none of whom bore the same names as those listed in Greek sources, were thought to have been adopted in the same way and were worshiped as Christs. This original Adoptianist Paulicianism is shown to have survived in Armenia to the 19th C. Byz. Docetic and Dualist "Neo-Paulicianism" was thus a secondary, divergent form developed in the 9th C., probably under Sergios/Tychikos and under the influence of Byz. ICONOCLASM.

LIT. S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge 1947; rp. 1955). Lemerle, "Pauliciens." F.C. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth* (Oxford 1898). Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*. –N.G.G.

PAULINUS, more fully Meropius Pontius Paulinus, bishop of Nola (near Naples) from 409, Latin writer and saint; born Bordeaux 353?, died Nola 22 June 431. Paulinus being of a rich and noble family, his first career was secular, rising from (seemingly) advocate to governor of Campania (ca.380). He then retired, first to Bordeaux, where he was baptized in 390, then to Spain, where he married Therasia. Personal conviction allied to the grief occasioned by the deaths of his son and brother led him into a fully religious life. After disbursing his and Therasia's fortunes for charity, he was ordained in Barcelona in 394—a sensation according to AMBROSE of Milan—and subsequently migrated to Nola, where he served as bishop until his death.

His letters are mainly on religious topics, such as correspondence with several Christian luminaries, including JEROME, AUGUSTINE, and Ausonius. In his poems, various in meter and themes, including a series on the festival of St. Felix, he helped pioneer the distinction between form and content in classical literature, jettisoning mythology for biblical matter, but adopting and adapting the old style. His language can be difficult, but an affecting individualism and seriousness shine through.

ED. *Opera*, ed. W. Hartel, 2 vols. (Vienna 1894). *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, tr. P.G. Walsh, 2 vols. (Westminster, Md., 1966–67). *The Poems of St. Paulinus of Nola*, tr. P.G. Walsh (New York 1975).

LIT. W. Frend, "Paulinus of Nola and the Last Century of the Western Empire," *JRS* 59 (1969) 1–11. J.T. Lienhard, *Paulinus of Nola and Early Western Monasticism* (Cologne 1977). R.P.H. Green, *The Poetry of Paulinus of Nola* (Brussels 1971). P. Fabre, *Saint Paulin de Nole et l'amitié chrétienne* (Paris 1949). A. Lipinsky, "Le decorazioni per la basilica di S. Felice negli scritti di Paolino da Nola," *VetChr* 13 (1976) 65–80. –B.B

PAULINUS OF PELLA, Latin poet; born Pella (in Macedonia) 376/7, died ca.460. Of consular family and a grandson of Ausonius, Paulinus moved as a young child to Carthage, Rome, and Bordeaux in the wake of his father's career. He was educated at Bordeaux in both the Greek and Latin classical authors. After the Visigothic sack of Bordeaux (406 or 414?), he went to Bazas, where he (by now married to a rich heiress) negotiated the lifting of an Alanic siege. Under Attalus, Paulinus was *comes privatarum largitionum* (414–15), a sinecure. Baptized at the age of 45, he was discouraged by his wife from becoming a monk. Paulinus lived many years in reduced circumstances near both Marseilles and Bordeaux. In 459, at age 83, he summed up his own life and times in the *Eucharisticon*, or *Thanksgiving to God in the Form of My Memoirs*. This hexameter poem is a philosophic acceptance of life's vicissitudes in an uneasy fusion of Vergilianisms and the new Christian style of self-revelation. This distinctive autobiography comports the aristocratic philosophy of the time, lamenting the collapse of traditional values, but without blaming God or the Germans.

ED. *Poème d'action de grâces et prière*, ed. C. Moussy (Paris 1974), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. in *Ausonius*, ed. H.G. Evelyn White, vol. 2 (London–New York 1921) 293–351.

LIT. J. Lindsay, *Song of a Falling World* (London 1948; rp. Westport, Conn., 1979) 190–99. P. Courcelle, "Un nouveau poème de Paulin de Pella," *VigChr* 1 (1947) 101–13. J. Vogt, "Der Lebensbericht des Paulinus von Pella," *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte. Festschrift für F. Vittinghoff* (Cologne-Vienna 1980) 527–72. P. Tordeur, *Concordance de Paulin de Pella* (Brussels 1973). –B.B.

PAUL OF AEGINA, physician; born Aegina, died after 642. Paul spent much of his life in Alexandria, remaining there to teach and practice after the Arab invasion (642). Islamic sources ascribe to Paul three works on gynecology, toxicology, and medical practices and procedures. Only the third, a seven-book summary, has survived, usually called the *Epitome of Medicine*. Paul intended his *Epitome* as a general encyclopedia of medicine, borrowing liberally from ORIBASIOS and GALEN; in his preface, Paul outlines the important parts of medicine: hygiene and dietetics, the lore of fevers, diseases arranged in a "head-to-toe" manner, diseases that afflict various parts of the body, wounds and bites of poisonous creatures, antidotes for poisons, surgery, and simple and compound drugs. The *Epitome*'s pharmacy and PHARMACOLOGY (bk.7), derived mainly from DIOSKORIDES, presents precise synopses of 90 minerals and metals, about 600 botanicals, and approximately 170 animal products employed as pharmaceuticals (J. Scarborough, *DOP* 38 [1984] 228–32). Greatly valued in Islamic medicine, the *Epitome* was rendered into Arabic by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq in the 9th C. Book 6 on SURGERY (Bliquez, "Surgical Instruments") had esp. widespread influence and is embedded in a similar summary by al-Zahrāwi (Albucasis) in the 11th C. Book 3 was translated into Latin in northern Italy ca.800.

ED. *Paulus Aegineta*, ed. I.L. Heiberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig-Berlin 1921–24). *The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta*, 3 vols., tr. F. Adams (London 1844–47).

LIT. I. Brotses, *Ho byzantinos iatros Paulos ho Aiginetes* (Athens 1977). M. Tabanelli, *Studie sulla chirurgia bizantina. Paolo di Egina* (Florence 1964). I. Bloch, *HGM* 1:548–56.

Hunger, *Lit.* 2:302. K. Dimitriadis, "Ein siebenbändiger Paulos von Aegina *Peri ouron* und wie er zustande kam," *Fachprosa-Studien. Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Wissenschafts- und Geistesgeschichte* (Berlin 1982) 313–17. –J.S., A.M.T.

PAUL OF ALEXANDRIA, astrologer; fl. Alexandria 378. Paul was the author of an elementary handbook of ASTROLOGY entitled *Introduction*, which he addressed to his son Cronamon. The surviving version appears to be the first edition of the treatise to which has been attached the preface of a second edition. In chapter 20 he gives an example for "today, 20 Mecheir 94 Diocletian," or 14 Feb. 378. Because of its brevity Paul's work was a favorite introduction to astrology for Byz. A course of lectures was delivered on it at Alexandria in the summer of 564, almost certainly by OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA (L.G. Westerink, *BZ* 64 [1971] 6–21). LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN studied the *Introduction* in the 9th C., and numerous scholia on it exist, some of which were compiled in the 12th C. Chapter 28 was translated into Syriac in the early 6th C. by SERGIOS OF REŠʿAINA (*Inedita Syriaca*, ed. E. Sachau [Vienna 1870] 125f), and chapters 1–2 into Armenian by ANANIAS OF ŠIRAK in the late 7th C. (A.G. Abrahamyan, *Anania Širakac'u Matenagrut'yune* [Erevan 1944] 327–30).

Several scholars have contended that there is a relation of direct dependence between the geographical list in Acts 2:9–11 and Paul's astrological geography; this view has been refuted by B.M. Metzger (in *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, ed. W.W. Gasque, R.P. Martin [Exeter 1970] 123–33). Another Paul of Alexandria of the 5th C. was known as an astrologer by Abū Maʿshar (D. Pingree, *Centaurus* 14 [1969] 172).

ED. *Elementa apotelesmatica*, ed. E. Boer (Leipzig 1958). *Heliodori, ut dicitur: In Paulum Alexandrinum Commentarium*, ed. E. Boer (Leipzig 1962). –D.P.

PAUL OF KALLINIKOS, early 6th-C. Monophysite bishop of Kallinikos in Osrhoene. He actively advanced the cause of the Jacobite churches by translating a number of the most important works of SEVEROS of Antioch into Syriac. The one specific date known from Paul's life is the notice at the end of his translation of Severos's *Against Julian of Halicarnassus*, to the effect that Paul completed the translation in the year 528 at Edessa (Vat. Syr. 140, fol.146). Other works of Severos that Paul translated into Syriac are the *Philalethes* (Lover of Truth), *Against the Impious Grammarian*, and some homilies and epistles, esp. correspondence with Sergios the Grammarian.

LIT. Baumstark, *Literatur* 160. –S.H.G.

PAUL OF LATROS, or Paul the Younger, saint; born Elaia, near Pergamon, died LATROS 15 Dec. 955. Paul was the younger son of Antiochos, *komes* of the fleet. After his parents' death, he suffered from poverty and worked as a swineherd. After receiving the tonsure he lived in solitude in a cave on Mt. Latros; for a brief period he retired to Samos. Paul gained the respect of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos and PETER OF BULGARIA (r. 927–69), who both sent him letters; he was supposedly famous among the "Cretans, Scythians (the Rus'), and Romans." Paul struggled against the "Manichaeans" active in Miletos and the area of Kibyrrhaiotai, and imposed strict discipline upon his disciples, slapping their faces if necessary. Before his death, Paul wrote a monastic rule (a will) for his community.

A vita compiled soon after his death cites numerous eyewitnesses; it also mentions Paul's "diary," *biblos ton praxeon* (Delehaye, *infra* 58.6–7). A charter of 1196 (MM 4:306.24–27) ascribes this Life to SYMEON METAPHRASTES and reveals that it was used as evidence during a trial. The anonymous author of the Life emphasizes the theme of food and starvation: Paul is constantly presented as suffering from hunger, eating acorns, or mixing milk with other foods to mask their pleasant taste. The Life also has rich information on cattle breeding, provincial administration, and local lords such as Theophanes of Samos.

SOURCE. [H. Delehaye,] "Vita S. Pauli Iunioris in Monte Latro," *AB* 11 (1892) 5–74, 136–82, with Lat. tr. Also in T. Wiegand, *Milet* 3.1 (Berlin 1913) 105–57.

LIT. *BHG* 1474–1474h. F. Halkin, "Une vie prétendue de saint Athanase l'Athonite," *Makedonika* 5 (1961–63) 242f. –A.K.

PAUL OF MONEMVASIA, bishop of Monemvasia in the second half of the 10th C., the author of a series of brief edifying stories, conventionally titled NARRATIONES. They are modeled on JOHN KLIMAX (to whom Paul specifically refers). The particularity of their form consists in their structure: they are stories within a story (similar, e.g., to the vita of THEOKTISTE OF LESBOS), and the narrator of each appears only as a vehicle for reporting the tale of his hero or heroine. The chronological framework of the novelettes is contemporaneous with the author, the emperors Leo VI, Alexander, and Constantine VII being mentioned; the action takes place primarily in Constantinople, rarely in provincial towns (Monemvasia, Larissa in Thessaly); typical characters are monks and nuns, as well as imperial functionaries, foreigners (e.g., an unbaptized Scythian), slaves, and the poor. The stories frequently feature miracles, from resurrection to marvelous birds carrying fruit to a convent. The themes of sexual chastity and of honesty in commercial transactions also occur, and confession of sinful intentions plays an important role.

ED. J. Wortley, *Les récits édifiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie et d'autres auteurs* (Paris 1987).

LIT. J. Wortley, "Paul of Monembasia and his Stories," in *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* (Camberley 1988) 303–15. A. Kominis, "Paolo de Monembasia," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 231–48. –A.K.

PAUL SILENTIARIOS, 6th-C. poet and courtier (SILENTIARIOS). AGATHIAS, his friend and admirer (and perhaps his son-in-law), reports that Paul was from a noble and immensely wealthy family. His most important poem is the description of HAGIA SOPHIA, a lengthy hexameter poem with a rare double iambic prologue celebrating Justinian's restoration of the church, both most probably delivered on 6 Jan. 563 (M. Whitby, *CQ* n.s. 35 [1985] 215–28). Our fullest account of the decoration of the church in his time, it provides unique information on its LIGHTING, TEMPLON, figured ENTABLATURE, and ENDYTE, all now lost. Even more detailed is Paul's description of the AMBO of the Great Church, also in hexameters with iambic preface. This poem, filled with compound adjectives, is invaluable for its account of materials and techniques employed in the construction.

In a very different vein are his 80 or so EPIGRAMS preserved via the *Cycle* of Agathias in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY. Paul's generic range is wide, but the erotic predominates, with many critics regarding him as the most sensual of Agathias's contributors. These poems are fantasies rather than autobiographic fact, but Paul's combination of Christian and pagan themes is a salutary warning against inferring a poet's faith from his poems. His possible use of Roman poetry is of interest in tracing Byz. awareness of Latin literature (J.C. Yardley, *CQ* 30 [1980] 239–43).

ED. Friedländer, *Kunstbeschreib.* 227–65; rp. with Germ. tr. in appendix to *Prokop/Bauten*, ed. O. Veh, W. Pulhorn (Munich 1977) 306–75. Partial Eng. tr. in Mango, *Art* 80–96. *Epigrammi*, ed. G. Viansino (Turin 1963) with It. tr.

LIT. R. Macrides, P. Magdalino, "The Architecture of *Ekphrasis*: Construction and Context of Paul the Silentiary's *Ekphrasis* of Hagia Sophia," *BMGS* 12 (1988) 47–82. –B.B., A.C.

PAUSANIAS, Greek geographer of the 2nd C., originating perhaps from Lydia or Damascus. His *Periegesis* (Description) of Greece encompasses Attica, the Peloponnesos, Boeotia, and Phokis; in addition to historical and geographical data, it contains some elements of myth and PARADOXOGRAPHY. According to Diller (*infra* [1956]), he was not popular in antiquity. Circa 535 STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM discovered an early apograph of his text, which he transcribed and used. The uncial text made by Stephen was in turn found centuries later by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA and ca.900 copied in minuscule (this suggestion has been challenged by Lemerle [*Humanism* 268, n.111]); it is also possible that Arethas compiled some scholia to Pausanias. Some excerpts from Pausanias are included in the *Souda*, and a citation of Pausanias, possibly an interpolation, is found in Aelianus. The source of the *Souda* and Aelianus fragments remains unclear. In the Palaiologan period the codex commissioned by Arethas was known to Planoudes and also read by Nikephoros Gregoras in the library of the Chora monastery. Circa 1400 the codex was brought to Italy and eventually deposited in the San Marco library in Venice. It served as the base for four or five apographs, none of which is earlier than 1450 (A. Diller, *TAPA* 88 [1957] 169–88).

ED. Scholia—*Graeciae descriptio*, ed. F. Spiro, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1903; rp. Stuttgart 1959) 218–22.

LIT. A. Diller, "Pausanias in the Middle Ages," *TAPA* 87 (1956) 84–97. –A.K.

PAVEMENT (λιθόστρωτον, ἔδαφος). Byz. paving materials vary in size: marble slabs more than 70 cm in length set in MORTAR or fresh cement; terracotta tiles, a few cm thick, ranging from 10 to 70 cm on a side and set in a masonry bed; or nearly cubic paving blocks ranging from 10 to 25 sq. cm at the surface. The term FLOOR MOSAIC is reserved for pavements whose elements measure less than 10 cm on a side. Types of pavement popular around the Mediterranean from Hellenistic times continued to appear in Byz. buildings: OPUS SECTILE; *opus tessellatum*, in which the tesserae are cut to uniform shape and size (5–10 sq. cm) and desired patterns are achieved by color and by delineating the contours of figures with courses of tesserae; the so-called *opus vermiculatum* in which tesserae are cut to varied shapes, very small in size (often less than 5 mm), which allows pictorial decoration similar to fresco painting. An edict of Theodosios II of 427 (*Cod.Just.* I 8) forbade use of the image of the cross on floors. The white Prokonnesian marble pavement of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, was interpreted as representing Earth, the green porphyry as the rivers (G. Majeska, *DOP* 32 [1978] 299–308). –W.L.

PAVLOVKA, village in the region of Rostov, U.S.S.R., where a rich, late 4th-C. tomb was discovered in 1898. It contained an iron sword, a gold buckle, gold ornaments from a belt or harness, and a silver bowl with a stamp depicting a Tyche holding a scepter and orb (Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, no.82). These objects are now in the State Historical Museum, Moscow.

LIT. V. Kropotkin, *Rimskie importnye izdelija v Vostočnoj Evrope* (Moscow 1970), no.733. –A.K.

PAWN. See PIGNUS.

P'AWSTOS BUZAND, PSEUDO-, also Faustus of Byzantium, Faustus Buzanta/Podandos, traditional names for the putative author to whom a *History of Armenia* of the second half of the 5th C. was attributed. Controversies over the identity and date of the author and the original language of the work have now led to the conclusion that neither the name of the author nor the traditional title of his work is correct. Malχasyanc' and Perikhanian's analyses (*infra*) of the actual title, *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* (Epic Histories), later altered to *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (History of Armenia), have shown that the first term, *buzand-aran*, does not contain the toponyms Byzantium or Buzanta at all, but is rather a term of Iranian origin referring to bardic recitations, followed by the suffix of place *-aran*. The name of the author is not given. The work is then an anonymous compilation originally composed in Armenian on the basis of local oral tradition, entitled *Epic Histories*. It dates most probably from the 470s. This compilation, the first attempt to relate Armenian history, covers the period of the later ARSACID dynasty and its relations to Byz. and the Sasanians (from ca.330 to the partition of Armenia between these two powers in ca.387). The work is epic rather than strictly historical in character but has preserved otherwise unknown material on the iranized social structure of early medieval Armenia, on the ARMENIAN CHURCH, and on the all but lost oral literary tradition. Despite its value, the *Epic Histories* was not adopted as part of the Armenian received tradition and has been largely ignored until recent times.

ED. [*Pseudo*] *P'awstosi Buzandac'woy Patmut'iwn Hayoc' ie č'ors dprut'iwns*[4] (Venice 1933).

LIT. St. Malχasyanc', *P'awstos Buzand*[3] (Erevan 1968) 5–61. A. Perikhanian, "Sur Arménien *būzand*," in *Armenian Studies in Memoriam of Haïg Berbérian* (Lisbon 1986) 653–57. Garsoïan, *Epic Histories* 1–55. –N.G.G.

PBOW, cenobitic monastery east of the Nile, about 60 km north of Luxor. Established in 330, Pbow was the second monastery founded by PACHOMIOS (*Life of Pachomius*, ch.54) and became the administrative center of the order. The Pachomian monks gathered there twice a year: to celebrate Easter and, in Aug., to review business at the individual monasteries (ibid., chs. 78, 83). It has recently been hypothesized that the library of Pbow was the place of origin of many Greek and Coptic biblical, Gnostic, and literary MSS.

Excavations at Pbow have revealed the remains of a large 5th-C. basilica (36 × 72 m). The five aisles were separated by rose granite columns, the floor paved with uneven limestone slabs. Underneath, the remains of a 4th-C. basilica were discovered. The basilicas are the oldest and the largest in Egypt (J.E. Goehring in *Roots of Egypt. Christ.* 252–57).

LIT. H.E. Winlock, W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, vol. 1 (New York 1926) 120. B. van Elderen, "The Nag Hammadi Excavation," *Biblical Archaeologist* 42 (1979) 225–31. –J.T., A.K.

PČELA (The Bee), the name for three separate Slavonic translations of the Byz. MELISSA. The first and most influential translation was produced in Rus', most likely in Kiev or Galitza in the late 12th or early 13th C. Widely copied and cited, it spread to Serbia by the 14th C. and remained popular in Muscovy until the 17th C. The text derives from an interpolated and abbreviated version of the *Melissa*, shorter than that attributed to Antony (PG 136:765–1244) and arranged in 71 chapters (cf. the *Capita theologica* ascribed to Maximos the Confessor, PG 91:719–1018). The closest Greek parallels to this redaction are found in comparatively late MSS. Each chapter of *Pčela* consists of a string of citations on a particular topic (e.g., virtue, wisdom, rulers, women). The citations are arranged in hierarchical order: first the Gospels, then Acts and Epistles, next the wisdom books of the Old Testament, then patristics, and finally sayings of the "external philosophers" of the ancient world. These meager and corrupt extracts from the classics were virtually the only classical writings to reach medieval Rus'. *Pčela* also survives in a Bulgarian translation (probably 14th C.) and in a second eastern Slavic translation dated 1599.

ED. *Drevnjaja russkaja Pčela po pergamennomu spisku*, ed. V. Semenov (St. Petersburg 1893); rp. with introd. by D. Čiževskij, *Melissa* (Munich 1968).

LIT. M.N. Speranskij, "Perevodnye sborniki izrečenij v slavjano-russkoj literature," *Čtenija v Imperatorskom obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskich* (1905) no.1:155–392. –S.C.F.

PEACE AND WAR. To the Byz., peace and nonviolence were ideals rooted in the teachings of the New Testament and church fathers (esp. St. Basil), but in reality they rarely knew prolonged periods of peace. The Byz. considered war evil, but their attitude was tempered by the recognition of its necessity in defending their Christian empire and brethren; thus courage, prowess in arms, and good generalship were praiseworthy attributes in historical figures such as Herakleios and Basil II, or in such legendary figures as Digenes Akritas. The Byz. also bestowed praise, however, on emperors such as Alexios I Komnenos, who avoided unnecessary bloodshed by sparing conquered enemies and using diplomacy to resolve conflicts. Although divine favor in war was sought through MILITARY RELIGIOUS SERVICES, the cults of warrior saints (see MILITARY SAINTS), and prayers for the success of imperial expeditions (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 146, 149), Byz. churchmen deplored war, esp. between Christians, and refused to sanction killing; Patriarch Polyeuktos countered the petition of Nikephoros II Phokas to have his slain soldiers declared martyrs with St. Basil's ruling that soldiers who had killed in battle could not receive communion for three years. The concept of holy war, as practiced by their Muslim enemies and the Crusaders, remained largely foreign to the Byz.; only once was a plenary remission of sin granted to a Byz. army (N. Oikonomides, *REB* 25 [1967] 115–20, 131–35).

LIT. L.J. Swift, *The Early Fathers on War and Military Service* (Wilmington, Del., 1983). R. Daly, "Military Service and Early Christianity: A Methodological Approach," *StP* 18.1 (Kalamazoo 1985) 1–8. V. Laurent, "L'idée de guerre sainte et la tradition byzantine," *RHSEE* 23 (1946) 71–98. –E.M.

PEACOCKS (sing. ταώς, ταῶς), splendidly feathered birds considered Oriental ("Persian") or Hungarian ("Paeonian") and used for food (Koukoules, *Bios* 5:70, 408f) or to adorn rich gardens. Represented in the earliest Christian funerary art, the peacock brought multiple connotations from antiquity: of splendid, even paradisiac gardens; of springtime and renewal, since their feathers regenerate in the spring; and of the imperial, as peacocks had been Juno's bird and bore empresses' souls to their APOTHEOSIS. Used at first simply to give tombs the aura of paradisiac gardens, peacocks were accorded stricter symbolic meanings in 4th-C. art (as spring, paradise, redemption). In the 5th C. they flanked imperial triumphal symbols like the CHRISTOGRAM to create a Christian imperial imagery of eternal triumph in heaven. As images of heavenly splendor, peacocks strut in ornament in every medium of Byz. art; that they continued to carry aulic connotations is shown by the peacock represented in Ioakeim's garden in a CHORA mosaic, which signals the regal as well as the saving role of Mary. Peacock feathers were also used to represent the many-eyed wings of SERAPHIM and often CHERU-

PEACOCKS. Peacocks drinking; fresco in a painted tomb, 4th C. Iznik (Nicaea).

BIM and ARCHANGELS. Accordingly, silver RHIPIDIA were often edged with incised peacock feathers and likened to angels' wings, which emit prayers as they move.

LIT. E.T. Reimbold, *Der Pfau: Mythologie und Symbolik* (Munich 1963) 37–43. –A.W.C.

PEASANT. In Byz. peasants were never a homogeneous group. Constantly evolving social and economic conditions created many categories of peasants; thus, it is not a matter of what types of peasants existed in any particular era, but rather what their dominant status was and what the evolutionary trend was in regard to peasants in any era. The leading view is that during the 4th–6th C. there was a decline of the small-holding, free peasant; because of the great demand for MANPOWER, peasants were increasingly tied to the soil as unfree COLONI and ADSCRIPTICII. On the contrary, P. Vinogradov (*Srednevekovoe pomest'e v Anglii* [St. Petersburg 1911] 98) suggested that the 4th and 5th C. witnessed improvement of conditions for peasants; new sources, for example, the Egyptian papyri and excavations of rural sites in northern Syria, seem to confirm Vinogradov's theory (A. Kazhdan, *VDI* [1953] no.3, 89–104). At any rate, in the 7th–10th C. there were free peasants who paid their taxes to the fisc. By the 10th C. peasants were becoming increasingly dependent upon large landowners. The sources of the 10th–12th C. show a great diversity in the terminology describing peasants and their status.

Though the full significance of many of these terms is still obscure, peasants were categorized in accordance with the property, if any, in their STASIS (as ZEUGARATOI, *boïdatoi*, KAPNIKARIOI, AKTEMONES, APOROI) and on the status of dependency, either on a private landowner (as PAROIKOI, DOULOPAROIKOI) or on the state itself (as DEMOSIARIOI, EXKOUSSATOI). In the 13th–15th C., while almost all peasants were *paroikoi* (although other terms such as PROSKATHEMENOI, ELEUTHEROI, etc. were in use), there was substantial variance in the sizes of their holdings and degree of personal FREEDOM.

Identified by their short tunics, ornamented leggings, and manual labor, peasants engage in harvesting, fruit farming, fowling, and similar rural pursuits in 5th–6th C. mosaics of the SEASONS and the miniatures of the Venice *Kynegetika* (see OPPIAN) as well as in the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine* (Brussels 1956). G. Litavrin, "Krest'janstvo Zapadnoj i Jugozapadnoj Bolgarii v XI–XII vv.," *UčZapInstSlav* 14 (1956) 226–50. V. Smetanin, "Kategorii svobodnogo krest'janstva v pozdnej Vizantii," *VizOč* (1971) 75–85. P. Zepos, "Kalliergetai xenes ges eis to Byzantinon kratos," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 27–44. –M.B., A.C.

PEĆ (Πέκιον), town in modern state of Kosovo-Metohija, in southern Yugoslavia, on the Bistrica River. First mentioned in the early 13th C. as a village in the *župa* (district) of Hvostno, Peć was transformed in 1346 into a patriarchate. Constantinople evidently did not acknowledge this title, even after the restoration of the union of the Byz. and Serbian churches in 1375; the EKTHESIS NEA calls the Serbian prelate "archbishop of Peć and of all Serbia" (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 27 [1969] 40.20–21), but places him separately from other archbishops, immediately after the patriarch of Tŭrnovo. Peć was the major center for the production of SERBIAN LITERATURE as well as an important commercial center where a colony of merchants from Dubrovnik lived.

Preserved in Peć is a complex of ecclesiastical buildings, the Patriaršija, the oldest of which is the Church of the Holy Apostles, erected around the 1230s at the instigation of Arsenios, *hegoumenos* of Žiča. He is credited in an inscription in the apse with sponsoring the wall painting. These frescoes—notably the Deesis in the conch—seem to reflect the intention of SAVA OF SERBIA that the church be a mausoleum for Serbian archbishops. The decoration of the patriarchal complex received special attention during the reign of STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN, when portraits of the Nemanjids were painted in the former narthex, and again ca.1330 when the genealogy of this dynasty was depicted in the form of a Tree of Jesse (Djurić, *Byz. Fresk.*, fig.58) for Archbp. DANIIL II. The same prelate erected the Church of the Virgin shortly before 1337. The fourth church in the complex, that of St. Dimitrije, built before 1324, was not decorated until ca.1345 under Archbp. Joanikije. The Byz. scheme of representing ecumenical COUNCILS was here supplemented by images of two Serbian synods.

LIT. F. Barišić, "O izmirenju Srpske i Vizantijske crkve 1375," *ZRVI* 21 (1982) 159–82. V. Laurent, "L'archevêque de Peć et le titre de patriarche après l'union de 1375," *Balcania* 7 (1944) 303–10. P. Mijović, *Pećka Patriaršija* (Belgrade 1960). Dj. Bošković, "Osiguranje i restauracija crkve manastira sv. Patriaršije u Peći," *Starinar* 8–9 (1933) 90–165. R. Ljubinković, *L'église des Saints-Apôtres de la Patriarchie à Peć* (Belgrade 1972). G. Subotić, *The Church of St. Demetrius in the Patriarchate of Peć* (Belgrade 1964). M. Ivanović, *The Virgin's Church in the Patriarchate of Peć* (Belgrade 1972). – A.K., A.C., J.S.A.

PECHENEGS (Πατζινάκοι), a nomadic people of disputed origin who moved from Central Asia to the basin of the Volga where they appeared in the late 9th C. After clashes with the KHAZARS and HUNGARIANS they settled in the steppe between the Don and the Lower Danube. Byz. diplomacy paid great attention to the Pechenegs as commercial middlemen between CHERSON and northern sedentary peoples, and as a military force able to check dangerous neighbors of the empire such as the Bulgarians and Rus'. Yet sometimes the Pechenegs changed sides and attacked Byz. SYMEON OF BULGARIA persuaded the Pechenegs to march against the Hungarians during the war of 894–96 with Byz., thus securing the rear against an attack. Around 917 Bogas, the *strategos* of Cherson, organized a coalition with the Pechenegs against the Bulgarians, but the Pechenegs deserted even before the battle at ACHELOUS. Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep.9.100–112) indicates that Symeon sought an alliance with the Pechenegs and proposed several intermarriages. The Pechenegs supported IGOR and SVJATOSLAV of Kiev in their expeditions against Byz. but, finally, the Byz. bought their assistance; the Pechenegs crushed and killed Svjatoslav.

The Pecheneg danger increased in the mid-11th C. Around 1045 a group of Pechenegs, commanded by KEGEN, settled in Bulgaria; they served as mercenaries but revolted and were expelled ca.1050. In 1046/7 another horde crossed the Danube and plundered Thrace but was defeated (A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 71–77). In 1059 Isaac I Komnenos routed the Pechenegs. In 1078 they pillaged the district of Adrianople and in 1087, acting in concert with the Uzes and Cumans, they reached the Sea of Marmara. Alexios I Komnenos crushed the Pechenegs at Mt. LEBOUNION in 1091 and John II struck the final blow in 1122. A special feast celebrating the victory over the Pechenegs was established in Byz. (Nik.Chon. 27–29). By the 13th C. they disappeared as an independent entity.

LIT. O. Pritsak, *The Pečenegs* (Lisse 1976). Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 1:1–175. P. Diaconu, *Les Petchénègues au Bas-Danube*

(Bucharest 1970). S. Pletneva, "Pečenegi, Torki i Polovcy v južnorusskich stepjach," *MatIssArch* 62 (1958) 151–226.
–O.P.

PECHYS (*πῆχυς*, lit. "forearm"), the cubit, a unit of length, of which two variations are attested. The shorter cubit of 24 DAKTYLOI (= 1.33 *podes* [see POUS] = 46.8 cm) was used esp. in construction with stone and wood, and was therefore called also *lithikos* (stone), *xylopristikos* (wood sawing), *pristikos* (sawing), *tektonikos* (builder's), or generally *demosios* (public) *pechys*. The longer cubit of 32 *daktyloi* (= 2 *podes* = 62.5 cm) was used for the measurement of fields by the fisc and was therefore called *geometrikos* or *basilikos pechys*. At the same time, many other *pecheis* of local validity were used for measuring various materials (cotton, wool, linen, or silk).

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 20f, 43–55. –E. Sch.

PECULIUM (*πεκούλιον*), term designating the property of persons under another's authority. Sons of the family, i.e., persons who remained under PATRIA POTESTAS, and slaves could not, in principle, own property. Nevertheless, the person in authority over them could allot a special kind of property to them, the *peculium*; it remained the property of the person in authority to the extent that he could revoke it, but it was given to the son of the family or slave to administer. Whatever he earned by means of the *peculium* reverted to the *peculium* and, hence, to the property of the person in authority. In addition to this basic type of *peculium*, the so-called *peculium paganum*, another type of *peculium* developed: the *peculium (quasi) castrense*, the son's income as a soldier (see PECULIUM CASTRENSE), as a servant in imperial service, as a cleric, or as the heir of his siblings. The son had property rights over the *peculium (quasi) castrense*—in contrast to the *peculium paganum*—as well as the use of it and right of bequeathal. A son could also acquire the so-called *aprosporista*, which included donations from his mother's property as well as income from his own work.

Thus the property of the person under another's authority could consist of three categories, each managed differently. The son managed the *peculium paganum* to the benefit and burden of the father, and he managed the *peculium (quasi) castrense* like a person free of authority. The *aprosporista* constituted "dead" capital until he gained freedom from authority. The legal rulings on the subject of *peculium* are contained in the treatise DE PECULIIS.

LIT. J.A.C. Thomas, *Textbook of Roman Law* (Amsterdam–New York–Oxford 1976) 239–43. B. Biondo, "Il peculium dei palatini costantiniani," *Labeo* 19 (1973) 318–29. –M.Th.F.

PECULIUM CASTRENSE (*στρατιωτικὸν πεκούλιον*). The 8th-C. ECLOGA (16.1) defines *peculium castrense* as goods (i.e., wages, BOOTY, legacies, etc.) acquired while in military service, which were the soldier's own to bequeath or dispose of as he wished. It was his right to keep these goods separate from all other income and patrimonial inheritance with no obligation to share them with family or dependents. These privileges and testamentary rights dated from the time of Augustus and were extensively discussed in Roman law (*Digest* 49.17).

The *Ecloga* (16.2), however, modifies the exemptions traditionally associated with the *peculium castrense*, stating that a brother in military service must divide his wages (ROGA) equally among the household revenues generated by his brother(s) remaining at home in case they decide to separate. Only after 13 years was the soldier entitled to keep any wages he had saved; but equipment, booty, and endowments were still exclusively his from the beginning of his service.

LIT. J.A.C. Thomas, *Textbook of Roman Law* (Amsterdam–New York–London 1976) 416f. A. Dain, "Sur le 'Peculium castrense,'" *REB* 19 (1961) 253–57. Haldon, *Recruitment* 67–72. N. Oikonomides, "Middle Byzantine Provincial Recruits: Salary and Armament," in *Gonimos* 121–30. –E.M.

PEDIADITES, BASIL, writer, metropolitan of Kerkyra (from 1201); died Kerkyra ca.1219. Browning ("Patriarchal School" 21) proposed the identification of Basil Pediadites (*Πεδιαδίτης*) with Basil Hagiopanton, a teacher at the grammatical school of St. Paul, whom a later note calls metropolitan of Kerkyra: Basil Hagiopanton was deprived of his rank as deacon on 24 Jan. 1168 on account of some blasphemous poems he had written, which are now lost (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.1077). Pediadites' rhetorical activity belonged to a later period: an *enkomion* of Patr. Chariton (1178-79), a speech to Patr. Niketas Mountanes (1186-89),

and a speech to an unspecified patriarch, perhaps Basil II Kamateros (1183-86)—all still unpublished. From his Kerkyra period we have a letter to Constantine STILBES describing the difficult conditions on the island (S. Lampros, *Kerkyraika anekdota* [Athens 1882] 42-49) and an epistle to Pope INNOCENT III (ed. K. Manaphes, *EEBS* 42 [1975-76] 435-40) protesting against the convocation of an ecumenical council (i.e., Lateran 1215) without the participation of the patriarch of Constantinople.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 78-85. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 229f. –A.K.

PEDIASIMOS (*Πεδιάσιμος*; etym. "inhabitant of a valley"), a family name. They are known from the end of the 10th C., when Leo Pediasimos supported John I Tzimiskes. Seals, mostly of the 11th–12th C., represent several Pediasimoi, including Basil, *protos* of an unnamed monastery (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1308). Apparently in the 14th C. the family lived in the Serres region, where Niketas Pediasimos signed a charter in 1366 as a high-ranking imperial official (*Chil.* 1, no.151.149–50). The writer Theodore Pediasimos was closely connected with Serres, while John Pediasimos, *chartophylax* of Ohrid, was active in the neighboring region (see PEDIASIMOS, THEODORE and PEDIASIMOS, JOHN).

LIT. V. Laurent, "Légendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines," *EO* 31 (1932) 327–31. *PLP*, nos. 22233–36. –A.K.

PEDIASIMOS, JOHN, known also by the name Pothos; teacher and writer; born ca.1250, died early 14th C. Pediasimos studied in Constantinople, possibly first under Manuel HOLOBOLOS, but certainly under George AKROPOLITES, together with George of Cyprus (later Patr. GREGORY II). Shortly thereafter Pediasimos was appointed *hypatos ton philosophon*. A letter of George of Cyprus indicates that Pediasimos also taught at Ohrid, where he was *chartophylax* by ca.1280. If the identification of Pediasimos with the deacon John Pothos, *megas sakellarios* of the metropolis of Thessalonike, is correct, then Pediasimos was in that position by 1284. Probably for pedagogical reasons, he wrote a wide range of works on subjects such as mythology, syllogistic, geometry, music, astronomy, and medicine. His treatise on prohibitive degrees of marriage, written while *chartophylax* in Ohrid, draws on the work of his predecessor Demetrios CHOMATENOS.

ED. A. Schminck, "Der Traktat *Peri gamon* des Johannes Pediasimos," *FM* 1 (1976) 126–74. V. de Falco, *Ioannis Pediasimi in Aristotelis Analytica scholia selecta* (Naples 1926).
LIT. Constantinides, *Education* 117–25. A. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy* (Urbana-Chicago-London 1972) 75–77, 123. –R.J.M.

PEDIASIMOS, THEODORE, writer; fl. early 14th C. Pediasimos received a classical education in Thessalonike and spent at least part of his life in SERRES, which may have been his birthplace. His oeuvre includes both secular and religious compositions: *enkomia* of the sun and summer; an *enkomion* of JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER (*BHG* 947), which is based not on the 13th-C. version of John the Deacon, but on a certain Theophanes; and letters to friends such as Nicholas KABASILAS, Andronikos Zarides, and Sophianos. His most interesting works are a brief but detailed *ekphrasis* of the cathedral of Serres, which was dedicated to his patron saints, THEODORE STRATELATES and THEODORE TERON (A. Orlandos, *EEBS* 19 [1949] 259–71), and an account of contemporary miracles wrought by the two Theodores (*BHG* 1773), which mentions the expedition of THEODORE II LASKARIS to rescue MELNIK (F. Dölger, *IzvBŭlgArchInst* 16 [1950] 275–79) and the joint Turco-Catalan attack on Serres in 1307.

ED. *Theodori Pediasimi eiusque amicorum quae extant*, ed. M. Treu (Potsdam 1899) 1–38, rev. by P.N. Papageorgiu, *BZ* 10 (1901) 425–32.
LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 700. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:132, 183, 193, 236. –A.M.T.

PEGAI (*Πηγαί*, now Karabiga), city on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmara. Although mentioned in the 9th C., Pegai only rose to prominence in the late 12th C., when it had a large Latin population and was a major trading port. The Latins of Constantinople took Pegai in 1204 with the help of local inhabitants. In 1211, they defeated an attempt of Theodore I Laskaris to regain the city, but it fell to John III in 1225. The Latins briefly recaptured it in 1233. In 1306, when it was blockaded by the Turks, Pegai had received so many refugees that it suffered an outbreak of

plague and famine (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:415.4–7). It nevertheless held out until 1363 as the last Byz. outpost on the coast of Asia Minor. Pegai, not previously attested as a bishopric, became a metropolis under the Laskarids. In 1354 the metropolitan of Pegai, whose church was in serious straits because of Turkish attacks, extended his jurisdiction over the vacant see of Sozopolis (MM 1:330f). The powerful walls that protect the peninsula of Pegai are well preserved; they are apparently the work of John III.

LIT. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 98–100. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 154f. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2357. –C.F.

PEGE (Πηγή, Turk. Balıklı), ancient sanctuary of the Virgin, located outside the Theodosian Walls of Constantinople, opposite the Silivri gate. It was planted with trees and had a source of water (*pege*) that came to be regarded as miraculous. There Justinian I built a church and monastery of the Virgin, which later tradition attributed to Leo I. Empress Irene was healed of a hemorrhage by drinking from the source and made rich offerings to the church, including a mosaic representing herself and her son Constantine VI; after the earthquake of 869 Basil I rebuilt the church and decorated it with a cycle of mosaics (*AnthGr* 1:109–14). Burned by Tsar Symeon of Bulgaria in 924, the church was soon repaired and was regularly visited by the emperor on the feast of the ASCENSION (*De cer.* 108.13–114.9, 774.19–775.6). Next to the church was a palace. The miracles of the "Life-containing Source" (Zoodochos Pege) continued until the 14th C., and were recorded by Nikephoros Kallistos XANTHOPOULOS; he also describes in some detail the church's fresco decoration (Bénay, *infra* 225, 227). Xanthopoulos himself wrote an *akolouthia* for the feast of its dedication, celebrated in his time on the Friday after Easter, and Manuel PHILES and others composed epigrams on the sanctuary and its paintings. In 1422 Sultan Murad II made it his headquarters while besieging Constantinople. The church disappeared thereafter and was rebuilt only in the 18th C. The legend of the half-fried fish that jumped into the source during the siege of 1453 is of late origin.

Liturgical references to the Virgin from the 9th C. onward as the Zoodochos Pege led to the creation of a complex icon designed expressly to convey the meaning of the epithet. Perhaps based on the silver image of the Virgin "epi tes phiales" in the imperial bath area at Blachernai (*De cer.* 554.22–23), the image, which first appears in the 14th C., comprises the bust of the Virgin *orans* with the Christ Child before her chest (see VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA), here placed into a sort of basin from which flow two streams of water. The flourishing of the icon type is surely connected with that of the monastery of Pege in this period; at Pege the miraculous spring water flowed into a marble basin accessible by staircases inside the church. The monastery itself came to be known as the Zoodochos Pege in the 14th C.

SOURCES. "De sacris aedibus deque miraculis Deiparae ad Fontem" in *AASS*, Nov. 3:878–89. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos in PG 147:72–77.

LIT. S. Bénay, "Le monastère de la Source à Constantinople," *EO* 3 (1899) 223–28, 295–300. Janin, *Églises CP* 223–28. T. Velmans, "L'iconographie de la 'Fontaine de Vie' dans la tradition byzantine," in *Synthronon* 127–34. D. Medaković, "Bogorodica Živonosni istočnik' u srpskoj umetnosti," *ZRVI* 5 (1958) 203–05. –C.M., N.P.Š.

PEGOLOTTI, FRANCESCO BALDUCCI, Florentine merchant, employee of the Company of the Bardi ca.1310–ca.1340, politician, "banner bearer" in 1331, and "banner bearer of Justice" in 1346; born Florence before 1290, died after 1347. Pegolotti was the author of the *Book of Descriptions of Countries and of Measures of Merchandise*, more commonly known by the title of the first edition, *La Pratica della Mercatura*. The book was compiled over a long period of time, between 1310 and 1340. While the author was active mostly in western Europe, he was in Cyprus from 1324 to 1329, and again in the 1330s, and became well acquainted with the conditions of trade in the eastern Mediterranean as well as with the route to China. The book provides information about trade with China before the breakdown of the *Pax Mongolica*.

Pegolotti's book is not the only commercial handbook surviving from the Middle Ages, but it is the most complete. It gives information about the merchandise to be found in various ports of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, its provenance and quality, about the means of exchange used in various markets, about the exchange rates, and about the weights, measures, and customs duties that were used in each place. There is also discussion of the manufacture of ALUM in PHOKAIA and sugar in Cyprus. An indispensable source for the history of medieval trade, Pegolotti's book is an equally important guide to the trade and economic activities of the ports of Constantinople, Pera, the Black Sea, and Asia Minor.

ED. *La Practica della Mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936).

LIT. P. Grierson, "The Coin List of Pegolotti," in *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori*, vol. 1 (Milan 1957) 483–92. –A.L.

PEGONITES (Πηγωνίτης), family name of unclear etymology, perhaps connected with the modern Greek *pegouni*, "chin." The first known Pegonites is Niketas, *doux* of Dyrrachion under Basil II, who fought successfully against the Bulgarians in 1018. C. Mango (*AA* 81 [1966–67] 414) identified him with the *strategetes* of Dyrrachion mentioned in an inscription from the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Psellos wrote the epitaph of his daughter Irene. Probably under Romanos III he commanded Rus' and other contingents on the eastern frontier of Byz.; H. Grégoire's hypothesis (*Byzantion* 12 [1937] 291) that he participated in Isaac Komnenos's revolt of 1057 is less plausible because of the chronological gap. Another Pegonites was *doux* of Edessa ca.1065; an 11th-C. seal names Leo Pegonites *strategos* of Great Preslav (N. Bănescu, P. Papahagi, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 602–04). In the mid-12th C. two Pegonitai held fiscal positions: one was *praktor* of Samos before 1157; another, Constantine, was tax collector somewhere on the Black Sea coast, probably on the Cimmerian Bosporos, ca.1180. The family regained military positions by the late 12th C.: Alexios, *doux* of Thessalonike, signed a charter of 1180 (M. Goudas, *EEBS* 4 [1927] 216, no.8B.15); his namesake held the same post ca.1230; and Constantine Pegonites was *doux* of Berroia ca.1220. –A.K.

PEIRA (Πεῖρα, lit. "experience"), a mid-11th-C. collection of excerpts from the statements of verdict (*hypomnemata*) and special treatises (*meletai*) of Eustathios RHOMAIOS. The compendium was compiled by an unknown colleague of Eustathios. The author cut up the texts of Eustathios that were at his disposal—some of which must have been of considerable length—into small fragments that he divided into 75 titles. The titles, which do not follow any identifiable system, contain, in a loosely associated progression, precepts, definitions, and solutions to problems from all spheres of civil and criminal law. Since the author's intention was to write a textbook (*didaskalia*), he was particularly concerned with the arrangement and formation of rules. He therefore not only carefully excerpted the laws cited by Eustathios but also tried to deduce a simple rule from the arguments of the judge and to place it at the head of the text fragments. Controversial issues, on the other hand, he summed up only in a cursory fashion, and to a high degree he suppressed the individual features of the cases. It is perhaps precisely for this reason that the *Peira* was greatly valued in the following period, as one can see from the citations in the scholia to the BASILIKA and in the works of CHOMATENOS and HARMENOPOULOS.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 4:11–260.

LIT. Simon, *Rechtsfindung*. Simon, "Ehegüterrecht." D. Simon, "Die Melete des Eustathios Rhomaios über die Befugnis der Witwe zur Mordanklage," *ZSavRom* 104 (1987) 559–95. A. Schminck, "Vier eherechtliche Entscheidungen aus dem 11. Jahrhundert," *FM* 3 (1979) 221–322. S. Vryonis, "The Peira as a Source for the History of Byzantine Aristocratic Society," in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy, and History: Studies in Honor of G.C. Miles* (Beirut 1974) 279–84. –D.S.

PELAGIANISM, theological system introduced by Pelagius (born Britain? ca.354, died Egypt? ca.420–27) and developed by Celestius and Julian of Eclanum. In the 380s Pelagius was in Rome where he served as the spiritual adviser of the ANICII; according to P. Brown (*JThSt* 19 [1968] 93–114), his tenets reveal aristocratic tendencies. He attacked the concept of predestination as Manichaean and supported the concept of human FREE WILL, the freedom to choose evil or good. Thus, he placed responsibility on man himself, while both grace and ecclesiastical institutions played only an accessory role in the process of salvation. Accordingly, Pelagius required a high moral standard of the Christian community as the union of the elect. Pelagianism was criticized by Augustine, Jerome, and Orosius; Augustine argued that divine grace and the sacraments were the major instruments of salvation. North Africa was the focal point of anti-Pelagian action; Rome's position was undecided and Pope Zosimus wavered between acceptance and condemnation of Pelagianism.

Circa 412 Pelagius moved to Palestine where he spent the rest of his life. There and in Syria Pelagius found support, partially because of Syrian asceticism and the theological ideas expressed, among others, by APHRAHAT (L. Barnard, *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 35 [1968] 193–96). In 415 Palestinian bishops acquitted Pelagius after he had mildly denounced the extreme teachings of Celestius. Julian of Eclanum and other Italian Pelagians were supported by NESTORIOS, but at the Council of Ephesus of 431 both Nestorians and Cyril's partisans accused each other of Pelagianism, and the Roman envoys were able to secure the condemnation of its teachings; by the 6th C. the sect had disappeared.

LIT. J. Ferguson, *Pelagius* (Cambridge 1956). R.F. Evans, *Pelagius. Inquiries and Reappraisals* (London 1968). W.H.C. Frend, *Saints and Sinners in the Early Church* (London 1985) 118–40. O. Wermelinger, *Rom und Pelagius* (Stuttgart 1975). W. Liebeschuetz, "Did the Pelagian Movement Have Social Aims?" *Historia* 12 (1963) 227–41. –T.E.G.

PELAGIA OF TARSOS, saint; feastday 8 Oct. Pelagia, who was of noble birth, underwent baptism and gave away her cloak to the poor. The son of Diocletian, who hoped to marry her, committed suicide in despair at the news of her conversion, and Diocletian ordered Pelagia to be burned in a bronze bull. The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.96) illustrates Pelagia (there commemorated 7 Oct.) being roasted inside the brazen bull. Usener (*infra*) considered the legend of Pelagia a Christian version of the pagan myth of Aphrodite, the goddess of the sea (*pelagos*) and love, an interpretation rejected by H. Delehaye (*Les légendes hagiographiques*[3] [Brussels 1927] 187–94).

SOURCE. *Legenden der hl. Pelagia*, ed. H. Usener (Bonn 1879) x–xi, xx–xxiv, 17–28.
LIT. *BHG* 1480. L. Schütz, *LCI* 8:153. –A.K., N.P.Š.

PELAGIA THE HARLOT, saint; feastday 8 Oct. Pelagia was a famous actress of Antioch, who instantly converted to Christianity under the influence of a legendary bishop Nonnos (of Edessa?), distributed her wealth, and ended her life disguised as the eunuch Pelagios, in a cell on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. The author of her 5th-C. Life pretended to be Jacob, Bp. Nonnos's attendant and Pelagia's contemporary. Pseudo-Jacob's work was translated into Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, and other languages. The Christian concept of repentance is crucial for his story, but the legend was also influenced by pagan romance (Z. Pavlovskis, *Classical Folia* 30 [1976] 138–49) and myth. Chrysostom tells a similar story about an unnamed converted actress who was famous throughout Phoenicia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, and even captivated the brother of the empress (PG 58:636f). Conversions were typical of the period, but the two stories do not coincide completely. Symeon Metaphrastes also wrote a vita of Pelagia.

In the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.98), which calls her a harlot rather than an actress, she is shown twice, first in her extravagant clothes talking to Bp. Nonnos, and then clad as a nun, standing in prayer.

SOURCE. *Pélagie la Pénitente*, ed. P. Petitmengin, 2 vols. (Paris 1981–84).
LIT. *BHG* 1478–1479m. L. Schütz, *LCI* 8:152f.
–A.K., N.P.Š.

PELAGIA THE VIRGIN, saint; feastday 8 Oct. Pelagia was a young virgin from Antioch who, fearful of being raped by persecutors who came to arrest her, threw herself from a roof. Her death was placed in the reign of Numerianus (283–84). EUSEBIOS OF EMESA mentioned her, and JOHN CHRYSOSTOM dedicated a homily to her (PG 50:579–84). In the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.97) she is shown praying while two men with spears approach her.

LIT. *BHG* 1477–1477d. L. Schütz, *LCI* 8:152.
–A.K., N.P.Š.

PELAGIUS OF ALBANO, or Pelagius Galvani, cardinal-bishop of Albano near Rome (from 1213); died Montecassino, probably 30 Jan. 1230. His early life is unknown. He was most likely of Spanish (or Portuguese) origin. Auditor and judge at the curia of Popes Innocent III and Honorius III, in 1214–15 Pelagius came to Byz. as papal legate, with NICHOLAS OF OTRANTO as his interpreter. He aroused the hostility of the Greek population of Constantinople by closing their churches, an action countermanded by the Latin emperor Henry. Nicholas MESARITES, who represented the Nicaean empire at negotiations between the Eastern and Western churches, left a detailed description (probably fictitious, according to G. Spiteris, *OrChrAn* 204 [1977] 181–86) of the discussions that took place in Constantinople and then continued (probably under Pontius, bishop of Ilerda) in Herakleia Pontike, where Theodore I Laskaris addressed the participants. Major issues were theological and liturgical differences (FILIOQUE and AZYMES), Pelagius's harsh treatment of Greek monks who refused to acknowledge papal PRIMACY, and protocol (Pelagius refused to rise when receiving Mesarites, and the Latins referred to the patriarch as "archbishop of Nicaea" or "of the Greeks"). Despite Theodore I's desire for peace, the embassy achieved no results.

In 1218 Honorius III sent Pelagius as papal legate to join the Fifth Crusade. After the initial success and the capture of Damietta (1219), Pelagius arrogantly rejected the peace proposal of the Ayyūbid sultan al-Kāmil (the return of Jerusalem to the Crusaders in exchange for their retreat from the Nile Delta); eventually, the discord in the Crusaders' camp led to their defeat and evacuation of Damietta in 1221.

LIT. *HC* 2:402–26, 435–37. J.P. Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade* (Philadelphia 1950). H.L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1958) 58–115. D. Mansilla, "El Cardenal hispano Pelayo Gaitán (1206–1230)," *Anthologica annua* 1 (1953) 11–66. –A.K.

PELAGONIA (Πελαγονία, mod. Monastir/Bitola), alternative name applied in antiquity to the city of Herakleia Lynkestis in western Macedonia and to the area around it, on the Via EGNATIA west of Thessalonike. Pelagonia is listed among the *poleis* of Macedonia II in Hierokles (Hierokl. 641.5) and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 2.40, ed. Pertusi p.88). In 11th- and 12th-C. texts it appears as a valley (*ta pedia*: e.g., Skyl. 354.77) or region (William of Tyre 2:13, PL 201:163) suitable for cavalry encampments and for spying on hostile tribes (Nik.Chon. 101.60–64) rather than as a city. A 13th-C. historian (Akrop. 78.21) considers it a *chorion*. Near Pelagonia, in Boutele, the Bulgarian tsar Gabriel Radomir (1014–15) built his palace, which was burned by Basil II in 1014 (Skyl. 351.2–4).

The bishop of Herakleia Lynkestis was suffragan of Thessalonike in a notitia of ca.800 (*Notitiae CP* 3.260). In the list of Bulgarian bishoprics promulgated in 1020 he is replaced by the bishop of Boutelis, who was granted possessions in Pelagonia, PRILEP, and some neighboring locations (H. Gelzer, *BZ* 2 [1893] 42.27–29); a correspondent and suffragan of Theophylaktos of Ohrid is identified as bishop of Pelagonia, and a notitia, probably contemporary with Theophylaktos, describes Herakleia or Pelagonia (*Notitiae CP* 13.840) as suffragan of Justiniana Prima.

In the 13th C. Pelagonia was contested among various powers: DOBROMIR CHRYSOS held it ca.1201; the Latins in alliance with Michael I Komnenos Doukas of Epiros defeated the Bulgarian Strezos in the valley of Pelagonia in 1212 (Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:307); John Asen II subdued it, and John III Vatatzes occupied Pelagonia. In 1259, Pelagonia was the site of a battle in which the forces of the empire of Nicaea defeated an alliance of Epiros, Achaia, and Manfred of Sicily (see PELAGONIA, BATTLE OF). Later writers (e.g., Kantak. 1:281.20–22) also consider Pelagonia as a district in which various *polichnia* were located.

LIT. P. Gautier in *Théophylacte d'Achrida, Lettres* (Thessalonike 1980) 60f. S. Ćirković, B. Ferjančić, *VizIzvori* 6 (1986) 330, n.101. E. Maneva, "Rezultati ot zaštitnite iskopuvanja 'extra muros' vo Herakleja," *Macedoniae acta archaeologica* 7–8 (1981–82; publ. 1987) 125–45. –T.E.G.

PELAGONIA, BATTLE OF, decisive encounter in the valley of Pelagonia, between the forces of the empire of NICAEA and a triple alliance of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros, WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN of Achaia, and MANFRED of Sicily (who did not participate personally, but sent 400 German knights). The battle took place in early summer (D.M. Nicol, *BZ* 49 [1956] 68–71) or fall of 1259 (Geanakoplos). The Western coalition was formed in an attempt to thwart the rising power of MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS, the new Nicene emperor. The alliance was strained, however, by rival ambitions in the Balkans and fell apart on the eve of the battle. According to Gregoras (Greg. 1:74.7–21), Michael II and his son Nikephoros abandoned their allies and fled with many troops, while another son, John the Bastard, joined the Nicene forces. Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler 1:119) adds that John deserted because Villehardouin had taunted him about his illegitimate birth. Thus the Nicene army, commanded by the *sebastokrator* John Palaiologos, brother of Michael VIII, was able to crush the weakened forces of the allies and capture Villehardouin and 30 Frankish barons. The Nicene

victory freed Michael VIII from a threat from the West and enabled him to concentrate on the reconquest of Constantinople from the Latins. Furthermore, in order to gain his release Villehardouin had to agree to the Treaty of Constantinople of 1262, whereby he paid Michael a ransom of three key fortresses, MISTRA, MONEMVASIA, and MAINA, the kernel of the future Byz. despotate of MOREA.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 175–82. D.J. Geanakoplos, "Greco-Latin Relations on the Eve of the Byzantine Restoration: The Battle of Pelagonia—1259," *DOP* 7 (1953) 99–141. S. Ćirković, B. Ferjančić in *Vizlzvori* 6 (1986) 157–62. J.L. van Dieten in *Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte,* vol. 1 (Stuttgart 1973) 236, nos. 114–19. –A.M.T.

PELEKANOS (Πελεκάνος), site (*chorion*) in BITHYNIA on the Gulf of Nikomedeia in the plains below Dakibyza (mod. Gebze). In the 10th and 11th C. Pelekanos contained a monastery of the Theotokos and nearby, in Mesampelos, a monastery of St. George. During the First Crusade, Godfrey of Bouillon made his camp there, and Alexios I used it as his base during the siege of Nicaea (An.Komn. 2:226.20, 235.26). Pelekanos was the site of a decisive defeat of the Byz. by ORHAN on 10 June 1329. The battle is described by JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS (Kantak. 1:342–63). When news of the Turkish blockade of Nicaea reached the capital, Andronikos III determined to relieve the city. The Byz. forces under the emperor and Kantakouzenos met the Turks at Pelekanos and were at first successful in a series of skirmishes. As the army withdrew to its camp, however, the Turks attacked and gained a signal victory when the Byz. panicked at news that the emperor had been wounded. The remnants of the army took refuge in the nearby fortress of Philokrene. This failure of the last Byz. attempt to retain control of Bithynia enabled Orhan to capture Nicaea in 1331 and to gain supremacy in the region opposite the capital.

LIT. Arnakis, *Othomanoi* 179–85. Janin, *Églises centres* 88, 94f. –C.F.

PELEKETE MONASTERY, a provincial center of image worship in western Asia Minor during the controversy over ICONOCLASM in the 8th–9th C. Its name, *Pelekete* (Πελεκητή, "hewn with an axe"), derived from its location upon a steep rock. The date of its foundation is unknown; it clearly was in existence by 763 or 764 when Michael LACHANODRAKON, governor of the theme of THRAKESION, attacked the monastery because of its iconodulic stance and burned it to the ground. Some monks, including the *hegoumenos* Theosteriktos, were tortured; 38 were arrested and subsequently buried alive at Ephesus. Pelekete was restored by the end of the 8th C., when a certain Makarios served the monastery as scribe, *oikonomos*, and eventually *hegoumenos* (*BHG* 1003). With the second outbreak of Iconoclasm ca.814, Makarios was forced to leave Pelekete and suffered imprisonment and exile; his monks, however, continued their opposition to Iconoclasm even without his leadership. After the 9th C. Pelekete disappears from the Byz. sources.

Most scholars locate Pelekete in Bithynia, 5 km west of Trigleia (Turk. Tirilye), where there are ruins of a monastery of Pelekete, dedicated to St. John the Theologian. It is a rectangular cross-in-square church, with a central apse containing traces of a *synthronon* and domically vaulted *pastophoria.*

LIT. C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *DOP* 27 (1973) 242–48. Janin, *Églises centres* 170–72. –A.M.T.

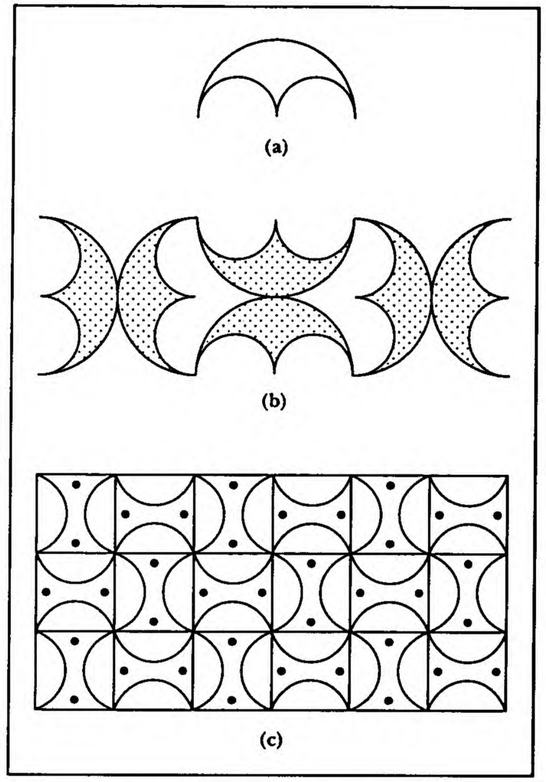
PELOPONNESOS (Πελοπόννησος), southernmost peninsula of GREECE, also known from the Frankish period as the MOREA. In late antiquity part of the province of ACHAIA, the Peloponnesos retained its urban character: HIEROKLES counted 26 cities in the Peloponnesos. From the late 6th C., however, building activity in the peninsula practically stopped: it is still unclear whether this economic decline resulted from hostile invasions, primarily Slavic, or "was also caused by a more general phenomenon of decline" (Lemerle, *infra* 343). The question of the Slavic invasion has been hotly discussed. Slavic penetration in the Peloponnesos is indicated by the evidence of toponyms—M. Vasmer (*Slaven*) counted 429 place names of Slavic origin in the Peloponnesos, although some dozens could be disputed. The Slavs seem not to have occupied the eastern cities, however, and they underwent rapid hellenization, even though in the 14th C. there were independent Slavic communities in the peninsula.

From the late 7th C. the Peloponnesos was part of the theme of HELLAS, and from the early 9th C. it was a theme in its own right, with its capital at CORINTH: Leo SKLEROS may have been the first *strategos*. The coasts of the Peloponnesos were ravaged by Arab pirates in the 9th and 10th C. until the Byz. reconquest of CRETE in 961. After that the peninsula prospered, with plentiful evidence of rich agricultural production, commerce, and industry in cities such as Corinth and PATRAS. Beginning in 1205 the leaders of the Fourth Crusade, notably WILLIAM I OF CHAMPLITTE and GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN captured most of the Peloponnesos without serious struggle, and the land was divided into baronies, loosely under the authority of the principality of ACHAIA. The conquest was completed by 1248, but the Frankish defeat at the battle of PELAGONIA in 1259 and the surrender of MISTRA and other territories with the Treaty of Constantinople in 1262 initiated the revival of Byz. power in the Peloponnesos—henceforth divided between the despotate of the MOREA and the various Frankish states. The Turks first entered the peninsula in 1446 and, except for Venetian strongholds such as NAUPLIA and METHONE, conquered the entire Peloponnesos by 1460.

The bishop of Corinth, originally metropolitan of Hellas and of the Peloponnesos, was challenged, esp. by the metropolitan of PATRAS. Over time the bishops of LAKEDAIMON, ARGOS, and CHRISTIANOUPOLIS also gained metropolitan status.

LIT. A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204* (Paris 1951). Idem, *La Morée franque* (Paris 1969). P. Lemerle, "Une province byzantine: Le Péloponnèse," *Byzantion* 21 (1951) 341–53. G. Huxley, "The Second Dark Age of the Peloponnesos," *LakSp* 3 (1977) 84–110. Ph. Malingoudis, "Toponymy and History," *Cyrillomethodiana* 7 (1983) 99–111. –T.E.G.

PELTA (πέλτη, "small shield"), a term conventionally applied to a crescent-shaped ORNAMENT with two arch-shaped cutouts meeting at an apex on the inner border. In art such shields are traditionally depicted with Amazons, as in a floor mosaic from APAMEIA. A row of *peltai* decorate the top of the pediment above the *augusti* on the *missorium* of Theodosios I (see LARGITIO DISHES, SILVER). Often repeated to form a border or frame, the *pelta* is common from the 4th to the 6th C., for example, in the CALENDAR OF 354 (H. Stern, *Le calendrier de 354* [Paris 1953] 329–31). *Pelta* was a traditional pattern in OPUS SECTILE and FLOOR MOSAICS where it is often repeated to form quatrefoils, whorls, waves, or colonnades. It is rare after the 6th C., except in a small, closely related group of 13th-C. MSS, such as Paris, B.N. gr. 54, where it is repeated in borders to form a "double axe" motif. –R.E.K.



PELTA. Common pelta designs. (a) simple pelta; (b) paired peltas; (c) "double axe" motif (Paris, B.N. gr. 54).

PEN (κάλαμος, γραφίς). In antiquity the main writing instruments were the *stilus* (*graphis*) for writing on wax tablets (with a pointed end for engraving and a flattened one for erasing) and the *kalamos* for writing on papyrus. While in the West the *kalamos* began to be replaced by the goose quill from the early Middle Ages onward, in Byz. it remained dominant, and it is possible that goose quills were never used in Byz. The

kalamos is a piece of reed with an incision at the sharpened end, resembling in this respect modern metal pens. *Kalamoi* made of metal or bone have survived from antiquity and are also attested in Byz. texts. The *kalamos* was kept in a penholder (*kalamarion*). In miniatures the evangelists are very often represented with *kalamos* in hand, either writing or dipping or sharpening (H. Hunger, *RBK* 2:461–63). Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 594.90–91) reports that in 1204 the Crusaders mocked the Byz. as secretaries, by holding reed pens (*grapheas donakas*) and inkwells and pretending to write in books.

LIT. Gardthausen, *Palaeographie* 1:182–202. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 40–43. P. Odorico, "Il calamo d'argento," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 65–93. –W.H.

PENALTIES (*τιμωρίαι, ποιναί*). There were many different penalties in Byz. law, ranging in severity from fines and corporal punishment (whipping, shaving the head, BLINDING, MUTILATION, TORTURE), to EXILE and various forms of the death penalty. Confinement in PRISON was viewed by the law only as military arrest or as detention pending investigation; internment in a monastery was regarded as a form of relegation (milder exile). Often different kinds of punishment were combined; CONFISCATION and INFAMY were generally associated with other penalties. In many cases the law allowed for differentiation in the type and degree of penalty according to the social or financial position of the offender. The final choice of penalty was often left to the appropriate official. A coherent penal system was developed only in the ECLOGA; it competes, in the later legal collections, with the penal prescriptions of the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. The death penalty, after a high point in late antiquity, was awarded with considerable restraint. Nevertheless, beheading, hanging on a stake (*furca*), and even burning were applied in some cases of ROBBERY, rebellion, conspiracy, or grave heresy. Under religious influence, crucifixion as a death penalty was prohibited. The enforcement of penalties was supposed to rest in the hands of the state. When the church, which prescribed its own EPITIMIA, overstepped the strict bounds of its jurisdiction, it tried to forbid the imposition of additional state punishment.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 330–34. Sinogowitz, *Strafrecht* 17–39. J. Gaudemet, "De la responsibilité pénale dans la législation post-classique," in *Sodalitas: Scritti in onore di A. Guarino* 6 (Naples 1984) 2569–74. Troianos, *Poinalios*. –L.B.

Depiction of Punishment in Art. Penalties visited on the enemies of Israel in such MSS as the JOSHUA ROLL and the Istanbul Octateuch (Uspenskij, "Seral'skij kodeks," nos. 238, 244, 253) include hanging on crossed stakes (*didyma xyla*), stoning, and crushing with rocks. The means by which the martyrs meet their end in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II are various, and include spearing, roasting, dismemberment, beheading, and drowning. –A.C.

PENANCE (*μετάνοια*, lit. "change of mind"), refers both to the ecclesial discipline that ultimately evolved into the SACRAMENT of penance or confession (*exomologesis*) of sins, and to the penitential act (EPITIMION) imposed upon penitents in satisfaction for SIN. Though MONTANISM and NOVATIANISM had rejected the possibility that grave sin could ever be forgiven once baptism had taken place, this view was condemned at the First Council of Nicaea. Penance was formally recognized by the Byz. as a sacrament at the Council of LYONS.

The penitential discipline of "canonical penance" was developed esp. for those Christians who had lapsed under the persecution in the 3rd C. In this system, modeled on the CATECHUMENATE, those guilty of serious crimes (murder, idolatry, fornication) confessed their guilt, were enrolled in the class of penitents (a class with several grades in some areas like Asia Minor), excluded from COMMUNION in the Eucharist and prayers, prayed over and dismissed from services before the prayers of the faithful, and did penance, often for many years, before being publicly reconciled at the end of LENT and received again into communion at Easter.

Monastic practices of CONFESSION and spiritual direction by a PATER PNEUMATIKOS led to the spread of private "tariff penances" in which each sin was assigned an appropriate penance. Some Byz. PENITENTIALS containing lists of sins and the corresponding *epitimia* have survived.

Early EUCHOLOGIA provide penitential prayers, but a complete confession rite for the use of monks and laity under the spiritual guidance of monks—such as the *Nomokanon* falsely attributed to Patr. JOHN IV NESTEUTES (E. Herman, *OrChrP* 19 [1953] 80)—evolved only toward the end of the 10th C. and came into general use gradually thereafter. One penitential KANON of uncertain date was richly illustrated, ode by ode, in a MS of the 12th–13th C. (Vat. gr. 1754, Martin, *Heavenly Ladder* 128–49, figs. 246–77).

Fasting, prayer, alms, forgiveness of one's enemies, renunciation of judgment and retaliation, or more generally, love of neighbor and of God were commonly recommended as means of *metanoia*. The gift of tears of CONTRITION for men of all classes occupied a special place in this list. NIKON HO "METANOEITE" made the appeal to repentance the cornerstone of his tenets.

Representation in Art. Penitence did not acquire an established iconography in early Christian art despite its sometimes highly dramatic ceremonial, and it remained iconographically indeterminate thereafter. The greatest scene of penitence in the Bible, David rebuked by Nathan, was depicted as an act of PROSKYNESIS in Psalter illustration; the same posture is assumed by the emperor in the mosaic above the imperial door at HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, interpreted as LEO VI penitent about his fourth marriage (N. Oikonomides, *DOP* 30 [1976] 170–72). *Proskynesis* was in no sense limited to penitence, however, and penitents could assume other poses as well. The monk observing his soul's judgment in the Psalter MS Athos, Dion. 65, hunches in terror (*Treasures* I, fig.118); the figures of monks accompanying the Penitential Kanon in certain 12th-C. MSS of John Klimax's *Heavenly Ladder* engage in self-mortifying activities (T. Avner, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 5–25). It is impossible in the countless images of crouched or praying monks and donors to distinguish penitence as such from a more general imploring.

LIT. A. Almazov, *Tajnaja ispoved' v pravoslavnoj vostočnoj cerkvi* (Odessa 1894). Arranz, "Rites d'incorporation" 68–70. R. Taft, "Penance in Contemporary Scholarship," *Studia Liturgica* 18 (1988) 2–21. F. Leduc, "Péché et conversion chez S. Jean Chrysostome," *PrOC* 26 (1976) 38–58; 27 (1977) 15–42; 28 (1978) 44–84. G. Wagner, "Bussdisziplin in der Tradition des Ostens," in *Liturgie et remission des péchés* (Rome 1975) 251–64. R. Barringer, "The Pseudo-Amphilochian Life of St. Basil: Ecclesiastical Penance and Byzantine Hagiography," *Theologia* 51 (1980) 49–61. D. Kristoff, "A View of Repentance in Monastic Liturgical Literature," *SVThQ* 28 (1984) 263–86. C. Vogel, *Le pécheur et la pénitence dans l'église ancienne* (Paris 1982). Cutler, *Transfigurations* 53–110, esp. 80–91. N. Suvorov, "Verojatnyj sostav drevnejšgo ispovednogo i pokajannogo ustava v Vostočnoj cerkvi," *VizVrem* 8 (1901) 357–434; 9 (1902) 378–417. –R.F.T., G.P., A.W.C.

PENDANT (*κρεμαστάριον*). The term may generally refer to anything worn on a chain around the neck or suspended from a ring, such as an ENKOLPION, a seal, cameo, amulet, or small reliquary. More specifically, the term is used for hanging elements of court insignia and regalia. A gold medallion of Constantius II and the mosaic of Justinian I in S. Vitale, RAVENNA, show the emperors wearing a *fibula* with three pendants of gold or pearls, which identifies their imperial status. A pendant from a 6th-C. Byz. crown, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (ed. A. Garside, *Jewelery: Ancient to Modern* [New York 1980], no.421), consists of a strip of gold foil with repoussé ornament and inset gems. All images of Justinian and Theodora and many later imperial portraits in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, show them wearing crowns with pendant jewels. GLASS PENDANTS were an inexpensive form of jewelry. –S.D.C.

PENDENTIVE (*τρίγωνον*), an architectural element used to form the transition between a square and a circle. Prokopios (*Buildings* 1.1.43–46) saw the pendentive as a spherical triangle presenting its concave face to the center of a square area covered by a DOME. Pendentives, constructed of stone or brick, provide surfaces of continuous curvature between arches spanning adjacent sides of the area. Rising to the crowns of these arches they form a horizontal circle on which a DRUM and dome can be erected. The advantage of the pendentive over such alternative methods as a SQUINCH lies in the purity of its geometric shape, the concavity of its surface (ideal for mosaic tesserae), and the apparent simplicity with which it joins square and circle. Although pendentive domes (i.e., domical vaults of continuous curvature from the base of a pendentive to the crown of a dome) are known in cut stone from the 2nd C. (Gerasa, West Baths; A. Boëthius, J. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* [Baltimore 1970] 438, pl.229) and in brick masonry from the early 5th C. (Mausoleum at Side: A.M. Mansel, *JDAI* 74

[1959] 364–78), pendentives as defined above appear to be a creation of the 6th C., most notably at HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople. In churches of the 10th C. and after, the surfaces of pendentives were usually decorated with EVANGELIST PORTRAITS or scenes from the life of Christ.

LIT. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 251–53, 536. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia* 162–66, 208–10. M. Rumpler, *La coupole dans l'architecture byzantine et musulmane* (Strasbourg 1956) 101–04. –W.L., N.E.L.

PENITENCE. See PENANCE.

PENITENTIAL, a work that instructs the confessor on what kind of EPITIMIA he should impose on the penitent for specific SINS. With the increasing ecclesiastical control over social life there appeared parallel to the state penal system (see PENALTIES) an ecclesiastical penitential system (see PENANCE) that was based on the penitential CANONS of councils and church fathers—esp. those of the 4th C. These penitential canons, usually somewhat altered, were collected in lists that are transmitted anonymously or pseudonymously under the names of, for example, the Apostles, Basil the Great, and Theodore of Stoudios.

According to Herman (*infra*), the so-called *kanonarion*, probably dating to the first half of the 9th C., is the oldest (preserved) penitential. It begins with general statements on penitence and continues with a long-winded exposition on sins, mostly sexual; it tends to shorten what were previously very long penitential periods. Perhaps as early as the 9th C. this text was expanded to include an "*Akolouthia* and *Taxis* for Confessants" (PG 88:1889–1918), a "*Logos* for One Who is to Confess to His Spiritual Father" (*ibid.* 1919–32), and a "*Didaskalia* of the Fathers Concerning Those Whom It Behooves to Confess Their Sins" (N. Suvorov, *VizVrem* 8 [1901] 398–401). The *Nomokanon* traditionally ascribed to Patr. JOHN IV NESTEUTES, a further reworking datable at the latest to the early 10th C., contains for the first time penitential prescriptions for nuns.

Penitential texts, sometimes called *Kanonika*, and again falsely attributed to John IV Nesteutes (cf. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1.1, no.270), were occasionally designated in the 11th C. as not binding (M.V. Strazzeri, *FM* 3 [1979] 334f) but apparently still remained in use, as an excerpt produced by Matthew BLASTARES proves (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:432–46), and as does the large number of surviving MSS (still insufficiently researched). There are also translations into Georgian (11th C.) and into Old Slavonic.

ED. Kanonarion—I. Morinus, *Commentarius historicus de disciplina in administratione Sacramenti Poenitentiae tredecim primis seculis in Ecclesia occidentali, et huc usque in orientali observata* (Paris 1651) Appendix, 101–117.

LIT. E. Herman, "Il più antico penitenziale greco," *OrChrP* 19 (1953) 71–127. A. Raes, "Les formulaires grecs du rite de la pénitence," in *Mélanges en l'honneur de Monseigneur Michel Andrieu* (Strasbourg 1956) 365–372. J.H. Erickson, "Penitential Discipline in the Orthodox Canonical Tradition," *SVThQ* 21 (1977) 191–206. D. Simon, "Die Bussbescheide des Erzbischofs Chomatian von Ochrid," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 235–75. –A.S.

PENTAKOUBOUKLON (*πενταϰούβουϰλον*), a room divided in an unspecified manner into five bays, perhaps a tetraconch built around a central space. A "great *triklinos*" of this name was added by Basil I to the GREAT PALACE, where it adjoined the Portico of Marcian (*TheophCont* 335.9–10). Two chapels were attached to it—one of St. Paul, the other of St. Barbara. The epic of DIGENES AKRITAS (ed. E. Trapp, 328, G VII 51–52 [3189–90]) describes, in the hero's palace, cross-shaped halls and strange "*pentakouboukla* [ornamented] with extremely bright and brilliant marble."

LIT. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:291, n.76. –A.C., A.K.

PENTAPOLIS (Πεντάπολις, "Five Cities"), name applied to two groups of cities, one in Italy, the other in North Africa.

PENTAPOLIS IN ITALY, a military province in Italy established in the late 6th C. incorporating parts of the civil provinces of Flaminia and Picenum and ruled by a *dux* based in Rimini. It extended from the river Marecchia north of Rimini to the river Musone south of Osimo; in the west its probable boundary was the Apennine watershed, although it included part of the road corridor south to Rome and at times Perugia. Its name appears to derive from its two groups of cities: Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Senigallia, and ANCONA in the north; Urbino, Fossombrone, Iesi, Cagli, and Gubbio in the south. Hence, references occur to two provinces (Pentapolis *maritima* and Pentapolis *annonaria*) and to Decapolis. Its social and political institutions were closely linked to those of the exarchate of RAVENNA, whose exarch appears to have exercised some direct authority over it. Most of Pentapolis was occupied by the Lombard king Liutprand between 726 and 743 and all of it was conquered by Aistulf in 751. Although incorporated into the papal patrimony soon after, the archbishop of Ravenna retained considerable lands and influence.

LIT. N. Alfieri, "La Pentapoli bizantina d'Italia," *CorsiRav* 20 (1973) 7–18. A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'Empire byzantin au VIIe siècle* (Rome 1969). –T.S.B.

PENTAPOLIS IN NORTH AFRICA, the five Greek *poleis* on the coast of the Djebel Akhdar plateau in northeastern Libya. Under Diocletian they were formed into the province of Libya Pentapolis or Libya Superior. Between 390 and ca.450, the province was subjected to frequent attacks by local tribes, particularly the Austuriani (see MAURI), leading to the construction of additional frontier fortifications and the repair of urban defenses. The chronic warfare also contributed to the creation of an independent *dux* of Libya Pentapolis by no later than ca.470. Although considerable damage was inflicted on the province by the tribal razzias, the letters of SYNESIOS of Cyrene and a recent archaeological survey suggest surprising continuity in the local agrarian economy (see CYRENAICA), perhaps owing to increased ecclesiastical ownership of rural estates. In the late 5th or early 6th C. the provincial capital was evidently transferred from water-starved Ptolemais to APOLLONIA. Raiding by the Mazikes in the same period prompted Anastasios I and Justinian I to further strengthen urban and frontier fortifications. Some indication of the military stability achieved in the province by the mid-7th C. is revealed by the support given to Herakleios in his revolt against Phokas by both the governor and local tribes.

The church of Pentapolis was subordinate to the patriarch of ALEXANDRIA. The metropolitan of Ptolemais did, however, have the authority to call provincial councils. The bishops of the Pentapolis were strong supporters of Arianism in the 4th C. and Monophysitism in the 5th C. The province was conquered by the Arabs between 642 and 645.

LIT. D. Roques, "L'économie de la Cyrénaïque au Bas-Empire," in *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, ed. G. Barker, J. Lloyd, J. Reynolds (Oxford 1985) 387–94. R.G. Goodchild, *Libyan Studies* (London 1976). P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica Romana (96 a.c.–642 d.c.)* (Rome 1971). A. Laronde, "La vie agricole en Libye jusqu'à l'arrivée des Arabes," *Libyan Studies* 20 (1989) 127–34. –R.B.H.

PENTAPYRGION (*πενταπύργιον*), a construction with five towers or domes, the central member of which is taller than the four minor domes or towers at the corners. The earliest example is found in the 4th-C. Church of S. Lorenzo in Milan. In the 9th C. the five-domed type appeared in the NEA EKKLESIA in Constantinople, emulated in numerous later churches. The form also appears in MSS illustrations and in reliquaries and furniture: most notably, a large cupboard crowned with five towers, built for Emp. Theophilos (829–42), was used to display precious objects in the Chrysotriklinos of the Great Palace.

LIT. E.B. Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton 1956) 193–96. J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople* (Paris 1910) 82. –M.J.

PENTARCHY (*πενταρχία*, "the power of the five"). According to the theory of pentarchy, particular authority in the church was invested in five principal sees of Christendom, with honorary PRIMACY attributed to Rome, followed in order of precedence by Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Ultimately, retention of membership in the pentarchy depended on a see's orthodoxy, not on any divine right. The conciliar documents establishing the status of these sees consider their authority the result of ecclesiastical legislation or law (cf. Council of Chalcedon, canon 28). By the reign of Justinian I, when the theory received the endorsement of civil law, the church was already conceived as being governed by a pentarchy of PATRIARCHATES; together they summed up the whole Catholic church (cf. nov.109, prooemium). In the words of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, this collective earthly authority constituted the supreme pentarchic power of the church (PG 99:1417C). Significantly, he applied the text of Matthew 16:19 equally to all five patriarchs and even described them as the Apostles' five *diadochoi*, "successors." The same verse, however, could also be applied to all bishops.

Although Rome's special position within the union was never denied—its *presbeia*, "privileges," were always respected—the common authority of the other sees was equally essential. The Byz. view

that a council was ecumenical when all the patriarchates were represented was founded on this principle (Maximos the Confessor, PG 91:352D). The Council of HIERIA was thus denied ecumenicity and dogmatic authority by NICAEA II because it lacked this criterion. The absolute equality of all five patriarchs, expressed subsequently by PETER III of Antioch and Neilos DOXOPATRES, was a variation of the same idea. Behind it lay the concept of collective primacy enunciated earlier.

LIT. G.I. Konidares, "He theoria tes pentarchias ton patriarchon kai tou proteiou times auton eis tas 'Notitias episcopatuum,'" *Les Paralipomènes* (Alexandria 1954) 121–43 (cf. H.-G. Beck, *BZ* 49 [1956] 208). P. O'Connell, *The Ecclesiology of St. Nicephorus I (758–828): Pentarchy and Primacy* (Rome 1972). W. de Vries, "The College of Patriarchs," *Concilium* 8 (1965) 65–80. V. Peri, "La pentarchia: Istituzione ecclesiale (IV–VII sec.) e teoria canonico-teologica," *SettStu* 34 (1988) 209–318. J.A. Siciliano, "The Theory of the Pentarchy and Views on Papal Supremacy in the Ecclesiology of Neilos Doxapatrius and His Contemporaries," *BS/EB* 6 (1979) 167–77. –A.P.

PENTATEUCH (Πεντάτευχος, the "five books" or the Law), the first section of the OLD TESTAMENT containing the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Their authorship was ascribed to MOSES. The Pentateuch was esp. respected by the Jews, and Greek theologians (e.g., Origen, Theodoret of Cyrrhus) devoted substantial space to it in their Old Testament commentaries. The beginning of Genesis attracted particular attention and was interpreted in many HEXAEMERA. Cyril of Alexandria, on the other hand, wrote a commentary (*Glaphyra*) on the five books of Moses as a whole; its major purpose was to interpret this text as a prediction of Christ's coming (PG 69:16AB). At the end of the 11th C., Tobia ben Elieser of Kastoria wrote a Hebrew commentary on the Pentateuch, in which he inserted some Greek phrases transliterated in Hebrew letters; he mentions the First Crusade and the Crusaders' cruelty toward German Jews (J. Perles, *BZ* 2 [1893] 574f).

LIT. O. Plöger, W. Werbeck, in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*[3], vol. 5 (Tübingen 1961) 211–17. –J.I., A.K.

PENTECOST (Πεντηκοστή, lit. "the fiftieth [day]"), the day of the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles, according to Acts 2. Pentecost refers both to the 50-day period from Easter to Whitsunday inclusive and to Whitsunday itself.

Pentecost celebrated not an event but a mystery of salvation manifested in several events. The primitive sense of Pentecost as a season symbolic of the new age ushered in by the paschal victory of Christ, in which his glory was manifested, comprised the themes of Jesus' resurrection, ascension, session at the right hand of the Father, and *parousia*, as well as the descent of the Spirit. The Pentecost season was like a 50-day-long "Great" SUNDAY and "Eighth Day," and it retained elements characteristic of Sunday and Easter liturgy: there was no FASTING, KNEELING was forbidden, EUCHARIST was celebrated daily, and BAPTISM was administered (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:97–139). Midpentecost (*mesopentekoste*) on Wednesday of the fourth week after Easter received a special commemoration; on this day the emperor went in procession to the Church of St. MOKIOS (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.17).

The feast's original components eventually split into separate historical commemorations, ASCENSION and Pentecost Sunday, with emphasis on the latter as feast of the event of Acts 2, a development first noted in the 5th C. Pentecost Sunday, celebrated in all churches of Constantinople, was preceded by a VIGIL with *paramone* and *pannychis*. Then, after *orthros* the patriarch administered baptism and chrismation in the baptistery of Hagia Sophia. According to the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 211–13), on both these days the emperor went in solemn procession to liturgy and banqueted following it. The *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.9) provides a lengthy description of the imperial celebration of Pentecost.

Kneeling recommenced with the *gonyklisia* rite. From the 14th C. onward, the liturgy of the Pentecost season, originally contained in the TRIODION, was codified in the PENTEKOSTARION.

Representation in Art. The earliest images of the Pentecost are of the 6th C. (RABBULA GOSPELS, fol.14v; Monza AMPULLA, no.10—Grabar, *Ampoules*, pl.17, p.26f). They show rays descending on the 12 Apostles, who stand to either side of the Virgin, her presence signaling the event's significance in Church history. The Pentecost assumed a different form after Iconoclasm, its meaning as an image of the Church conveyed now by the seating of the Apostles on a *synthronon*-like, semicircular bench with PETER and PAUL in the center. The rays emanate from an arc of heaven that sometimes encloses the HETOIMASIA. Below the Apostles stand groups of armed or exotically clad people representing the "tribes" and "tongues" (*phylai* and *glossai*). From the 13th C. onward, the Virgin occasionally reappears (MILEŠEVA). The *phylai* and *glossai* are often replaced by a crowned personification of Kosmos. The Pentecost is depicted on icons; in monumental painting, where it became a major dome composition (HOSIOS LOUKAS); in monastic chapter houses (Cutler, *infra*); and in MSS—accompanying Psalm 66 in marginal PSALTERS, Homily 41 of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and either Acts 2:1–4 or John 7:37 in LECTIONARIES and GOSPEL BOOKS.

LIT. R. Cabié, *La Pentecôte* (Tournai 1965). J. Gunstone, *The Feast of Pentecost* (London 1967). P. Regan, "The Fifty Days and the Fiftieth Day," *Worship* 55 (1981) 194–218. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 57–70. A. Cutler, "Apostolic Monasticism at Tokalı Kilise in Cappadocia," *AnatSt* 35 (1985) 57–65. G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst* (Gütersloh 1966) 4.1:14–18; 3:pl.460. –R.F.T., A.W.C.

PENTEKOSTARION (πεντηκοστάριον), liturgical book of hymnody, continuation of the TRIODION. The *pentekostarion* contains the "propers" or variable elements for the 50-day PENTECOST season, including Pentecost week and its following Sunday, All Saints' Day. The name *pentekostarion* first appears in MS Serres 84, dated 1348.

ED. H.J.W. Tillyard, *The Hymns of the Pentecostarium* (Copenhagen 1960). *Pentecostaire*, tr. D. Guillaume, 2 vols. (Rome 1978).

LIT. P. de Meester, *Riti e particolarità liturgiche del Triodio e del Pentecostario* (Padua 1943). –R.F.T.

PEPAGOMENOS (Πεπαγωμένος, fem. Πεπαγωμένη), on seals frequently Pagomenos, a family of civil functionaries known from the late 11th C., when some Pepagomenoi were granted the high titles of *sebastophoros* and *rhaiktor*. The Pepagomenoi were primarily judges (John in 1082, a participant in the trials of JOHN ITALOS; John in 1196, a judge of the *velum*) and notaries (Nikephoros, a notary in the *sekreton* of the sea in 1188–99; Nikephoros, imperial *grammatikos*, an envoy to Genoa in 1192). They still held modest posts in the civil administration in the 14th C.: Theodore, *prototaboularios* in 1366; a *logothetes ton agelon* (first name unknown). The Pepagomenoi served also in church administration: Nikephoros BLEMMYDES sent a letter to Pepagomenos, bishop of Nikomedeia; John (?) was *chartophylax* of the bishopric of Hieron in 1214 (MM 6:167.13–14); a *megas ekklesiarches* and a (patriarchal?) *protonotarios* were active in the 14th C. A Greek inscription from the Ancona region mentions Theodore Pepagomenos (1141–86) who took the monastic habit (as Theosteriktos) in a local monastery. Some Pepagomenoi of the 13th–15th C. belonged to the intelligentsia: John Pagomenos, an artist on Crete (see ARTISTS); correspondents of PALAMAS and GREGORAS (Nicholas Pepagomenos, perhaps the author of an *enkomion* of the martyr Isidoros) and of HYRTAKENOS and CHORTASMENOS (see, e.g., PEPAGOMENOS, DEMETRIOS); and several scribes.

LIT. P. Schreiner, "Eine griechische Grabinschrift aus dem Jahr 1186 in Corridonia," *JÖB* 20 (1971) 149–60, with add. A. Kazhdan, *ADSV* 10 (1973) 60–63. *PLP*, nos. 21283–87, 22339–71. –A.K.

PEPAGOMENOS, DEMETRIOS, writer; fl. first half of 15th C. A member of the PEPAGOMENOS family, Demetrios Pepagomenos was a doctor who lived in Constantinople and corresponded with John CHORTASMENOS, John EUGENIKOS, and BESSARION. In 1415/16 Pepagomenos accompanied Emp. Manuel II on a journey to the Peloponnesos, serving as secretary. He wrote treatises on gout, HAWKING, and DOGS as well as a monody on the death (1433) of Kleope Palaiologina (the former Cleopa Malatesta), wife of THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of the Peloponnesos. The unnamed emperor addressed in Pepagomenos's works was falsely identified by Vergetius, Pepagomenos's 16th-C. editor, with Michael VIII Palaiologos. Subsequent scholarship has mistakenly asserted the existence of a 13th-C. Demetrios Pepagomenos.

ED. G. Schmalzbauer, "Eine bisher unedierte Monodie auf Kleope Palaiologina von Demetrios Pepagomenos," *JÖB* 20 (1971) 223–40.

LIT. A. Diller, "Demetrius Pepagomenus," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 35–42. *Chortasm.* 57–59, 113–17, 199–203. –R.J.M.

PERA. See GALATA.

PERFUMES AND UNGUENTS. The word *myron* (μύρον) encompasses a variety of products—perfumes, sweet oils, and unguents—usually characterized by their fragrance. The production of perfume was well developed in antiquity and the terms *myrepsos* and *myropoles* are frequently attested (H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, vol. 1 [rp. Hildesheim 1969] 361). In EVAGRIOS

PERFUMES AND UNGUENTS. Perfume production. Miniature in an Octateuch manuscript (Vat. gr. 747, fol. 114r); 11th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

SCHOLASTIKOS (*HE* 2.3), a *myrepsos* was a craftsman who made fragrant substances. The Council in Trullo prohibited copies of the Holy Scriptures from being handed over to booksellers and *myrepsoi* for destruction (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:463f), but it is not clear how the *myrepsoi* would destroy the books—by burning them as fuel or by using them to wrap unguents.

In 10th-C. Constantinople the *myrepsoi* formed a guild; they traded in spices, incense, musk, myrrh, amber, aloes, wood, and dyestuffs that were brought primarily from Chaldia and Trebizond (where they evidently had been imported from the Middle East) and that they sold from *abbakia* (counters) and *kadia* (barrels) located between the Chalke Gate and the Milion. The *Book of the Eparch* (ch.10), however, mentions neither their workshops nor any processing of unguents or perfumes. Psellos describes how the empress Zoe, who had a passionate interest in the production of COSMETICS and perfumes, set up a "household workshop" in the palace and made her servants toil over hot braziers in her chambers summer and winter (Psellos, *Chron.* 1:148, par.64.7–12). Patr. Loukas Chrysoberges considered the profession of perfumer dishonorable, since the workshops of *myrepsoi*, like bathhouses, teemed with deception and greed (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 6:343.19–21).

Myrepsika ergasteria or perfume workshops are mentioned in several documents of the late Byz. period (*Lavra* 3, no.123.110; MM 2:525.21). In Thessalonike *myrepsoi* evidently formed a guild: a document of 1320 refers to their exarch (Dölger, *Schatz.* no.111.30–31).

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 36–38. *Bk. of Eparch* 202–08. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 111. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:206f. –A.K.

PERGAMON (Πέργαμον, now Bergama), city of northwestern Asia Minor. In the 4th C. Pergamon was an important intellectual center where Aidesios taught Neoplatonic philosophy and "Chaldean wisdom" was popular; MAXIMOS OF EPHESUS and EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS worked there, and Julian came to study. Otherwise the city seems not to have flourished in late antiquity. Pergamon withdrew to its hilltop acropolis, fortified by Constans II, and became a city of the THRAKESION theme. It had an Armenian community and was the home of the emperor PHILIPPIKOS. It was attacked by the Arabs in 663 and 716. After attacks by the Turks in 1109 and 1113, Pergamon was rebuilt by Manuel I ca.1170 and probably became the capital of NEOKASTRA. Pergamon fell to the Turks of Karasi soon after 1302. It was a suffragan of Ephesus, elevated to metropolis in the 13th C.

Excavations reveal that the city of the 12th–13th C. consisted of small houses, with a few public buildings and churches, built along narrow streets on the slopes of the acropolis. Theodore II Laskaris, who visited Pergamon before 1254, described the insignificance of the buildings of his day compared with the great works of antiquity. Pergamon preserves the remains of its two circuits of walls and of the medieval town.

LIT. H. Gelzer, *Pergamon unter Byzantinern und Osmanen* (Berlin 1903). Foss, "Twenty Cities" 479–81. W. Radt, "Die byzantinische Wohnstadt von Pergamon," in *Wohnungsbau im Altertum*, vol. 3 (Berlin 1979) 199–223. –C.F.

PERGE. See PAMPHYLIA; SYLLAION.

PERIBLEPTOS MONASTERY, a monastic community dedicated to the Theotokos *he Peribleptos* (Περίβλεπτος, "celebrated"), located in the southwestern part of Constantinople. The church was built between 1030 and 1034 by Emp. ROMANOS III ARGYROS, who spared no expense in its construction (Psellos, *Chron.* 1:41–43). Both Romanos and NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES, a later benefactor of the monastery, were buried in the church. In the 11th and 12th C. the Peribleptos monastery was involved in the BOGOMIL controversy; EUTHYMIOS OF AKMONIA, who denounced the PHOUNDAGIAGITES, was a monk at Peribleptos. In 1143 the monk Hilarion, who was condemned for Bogomilism, was confined at Peribleptos. Greek monks continued to occupy the monastery during the first years of the Latin occupation of Constantinople but were replaced by Latin monks some time after 1206.

The Peribleptos was restored by MICHAEL VIII after his recovery of Constantinople, and played a significant role throughout the Palaiologan period. The imperial court visited the church annually on the feast of the Presentation in the Temple. It possessed numerous relics, notably the hand of St. John the Baptist and the head of St. Gregory of Nazianzos, which attracted Russian pilgrims and Western visitors. In 1403 CLAVIJO tells of paintings on the exterior of the church, (unidentified) imperial portraits in the interior, and the representation of 30 castles and towns in the monastery's domain. Its refectory contained Christological mosaics and the cloister an image of the Tree of Jesse.

Greek monks remained in the monastery until 1643, when the Ottoman sultan granted the monastic complex to the Armenians for the site of their patriarchate; it then took the name of St. George of Psamathia or Sulumanastir. The original 11th-C. church was burned twice, in 1782 and 1872; the present structure is completely modern.

LIT. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 276–83. R. Janin, "Le monastère de la Théotocos Peribleptos à Constantinople," *BSHAcRoum* 26 (1945) 192–201. Janin, *Églises CP* 218–22. –A.M.T., A.C.

PERINTHOS. See HERAKLEIA.

PERIODEUTES. See CHOREPISKOPOS.

PERIORISMOS. See PRAKTIKON.

PERIPLOUS (περίπλους, lit. "sailing around"), a collection of sailing directions, belonging to an ancient documentary genre that survived in late antiquity and was eventually continued in the PORTULANS. The *periploi* contain data on shorelines, harbors, market towns, and neighboring tribes and their wares. Evidence concerning their authorship and date is usually rare: thus pseudo-Arrian's *Periplous of the Erythrean (Red) Sea* is usually dated in the 3rd C., but A. Dihle (*Umstrittene Daten* [Cologne-Opladen 1965] 9–35) asserts that the trade with India described therein was not typical of the 3rd C. and suggests an earlier date. Some *periploi*, like those of MARKIANOS OF HERAKLEIA, were compilative. The *Periplous of the Euxine (Black) Sea* (not earlier than the first half of the 6th C.) was a mélange of three ancient geographic texts—Menippus, Arrian, and an anonymous *periegesis* addressed to king Nikomedes; quite rarely the author of the *Periplous of the Euxine Sea* added a contemporary name for a people or a site. The *Periplous of the Euxine Sea* gives the distances not in Greek *stadia* but in Roman miles. The EXPOSITIO TOTIUS MUNDI can be considered as a *periplous* but it is more original and richer in economic data. Another genre of guidebooks, *hodoiporiai*, are brief and strongly influenced by Christian tradition; they claim to represent the route from Paradise via India to Rome.

ED. and TR. G.W.B. Huntingford, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (London 1980). L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Princeton 1989).

LIT. F. Gisinger, *RE* 19 (1938) 841–50. A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Oxford 1952) 102–46. N. Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien* (Berlin-Amsterdam 1969) 100–09. –A.K.

PERI POLITIKES EPISTEMES, an anonymous tract on political theory partially preserved in a Vatican palimpsest and dating from the reign of Justinian I. It is plausibly, though not certainly, equated with the anonymous treatise *Peri Politikes*, reviewed by PHOTIOS (*Bibl.* cod.37); older identifications of one or both of these with the *Peri politikes katastaseos* of PETER PATRIKIOS are now rejected. The text described by Photios was a dialogue in six books between the *patrikios* Menas

and the *referendarios* Thomas; it advocated, with some criticism of Plato's *Republic*, the classical Peripatetic theory of the mixed constitution, a combination of the best elements of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Only parts of books 4 and 5 survive, dealing with military and political issues. Its emphasis on the SENATE as repository of the best men has been taken to reflect that body's revival in the 6th C., with connections made with the relevant opinions expressed by JOHN LYDOS and PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA. The treatise is esp. notable for its use of and familiarity with Latin texts, above all Cicero's *De Republica* (C.A. Behr, *AJPh* 95 [1974] 141–49); the elder Cato (A.S. Fotiou, *ClMed* 33 [1981–82] 125–33), Juvenal, Livy, and Seneca are also adduced.

ED. *Menae patricii cum Thoma referendario, De scientia politica dialogus*, ed. C. Mazzucchi (Milan 1982). Partial Eng. tr. E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* (Oxford 1957) 63–75.

LIT. A.S. Fotiou, "Dicaearchus and the Mixed Constitution in Sixth Century Byzantium: New Evidence from a Treatise on 'Political Science,'" *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 533–47. Av. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (Berkeley 1985) 248–52. G. Fiaccadori, "Intorno all'anonimo vaticano Peri politikes epistemes," *ParPass* 34 (1979) 127–47. –B.B.

PERI STRATEGIKES, conventional title for an anonymous treatise on STRATEGY perhaps written around the mid-6th C. during the reign of Justinian I (Dennis) or later (Baldwin). The beginning of the pamphlet and possibly some other sections are missing; 47 chapters are preserved. An initial brief analysis of class divisions delineates the multitiered structure of Byz. civilian society and defines the function of each group; this account can be linked with such contemporary discussions as those of AGAPETOS and the anonymous PERI POLITIKES EPISTEMES. The author then embarks upon a much lengthier discussion of strategy, both offensive and defensive. Drawing both on classical manuals and his own military experience, the anonymous writer, perhaps a retired army engineer, treats such topics as tactics, signal fires, fortifications, siege machinery, armor, and weaponry.

ED. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 1–135.

LIT. B. Baldwin, "On the Date of the Anonymous *Peri strategikes*," *BZ* 81 (1988) 290–93. –B.B., A.M.T.

PERITHEORION (Περιθεώριον), a stronghold erected on a hill in the Rhodope Mountains by the shore of Lake Porou. The *bandon* and the *kastron* of Peritheorion (in the theme of BOLERON) are mentioned in the *typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos (P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 37.299–303). The bishopric of Peritheorion or Datos, under the jurisdiction of Traianoupolis, is known from the 10th C. onward (*Notitiae CP* 7.602). A 14th-C. historian (Kantak. 2:197.9–10) asserts that the town (*polis*) was previously called Anastasioupolis and was renamed Peritheorion by Andronikos III; this identification is evidently incorrect, since Peritheorion had been known earlier and esp. since notitiae of Nicholas I Mystikos listed two separate bishoprics—Peritheorion and Anastasioupolis.

Peritheorion in the 11th C. was an agricultural town. Pakourianos's brother maintained a household (*aule*) there and Vatopedi possessed a *metochion*. It was also involved in commerce, and the Venetians had trading privileges in Peritheorion. Like many other Thracian centers, Peritheorion was destroyed by Kalojan in 1206 and its inhabitants were resettled along the banks of the Danube. It reappeared by the 14th C., became a metropolis after 1341 (when Andronikos III fortified it), and played an important role in the civil wars of the mid-14th C. In 1345 MOMČILO was defeated outside its walls (M. Bartusis, *BS* 41 [1980] 209f). The expansion of swampland around Peritheorion forced its citizens to desert the town, probably after 1431, when BERTRANDON DE LA BROQUIÈRE noted its strategic position when he passed through the area.

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 98–104. C. Ćirković, B. Ferjančić, in *VizIzvori* 6:260, n.113; 455, n.316. –A.K.

PERNIK (Πέρνικος), Bulgarian fortress on the upper Struma, on the hill "Krakra," commanding one of the routes from Niš to Sofia. In the 4th–6th C. it was a modest, unfortified town; remains of churches dating from that period have been found. It survived to the time of Justin II. In the 8th C. a Slav village was located on the hill; in the 9th C. it was surrounded by a wall. Contacts with Byz. are indicated by coins from Basil I onward. In the reign of SAMUEL OF BULGARIA Pernik was held by the boyar Krakra, who withstood sieges by Basil II in 1004 and 1016 but surrendered Pernik in 1018. The fortress seems to have flourished in the 11th–12th C., when several churches were built; Byz. coins of emperors up to Alexios III have been found in Pernik as well as seals of Nikephoros III and several high-ranking officials. The army of FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA passed through Pernik in 1189; at the end of that year STEFAN NEMANJA captured and plundered the fortress. It never fully recovered, although a cemetery of the 13th–14th C. shows that life on the hill continued.

LIT. *Pernik*, ed. T. Ivanov, D. Ovčarov, 2 vols. (Sofia 1981–83). –R.B.

PERSAI (Πέρσαι), "Persians," the classical ethnic term that designated the population of IRAN. The term was used by the authors of the 4th–7th C., who were contemporaries of the Byzantino-Persian wars (PROKOPIOS, GEORGE OF PISIDIA, etc.), and by later writers, such as THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR who often speaks of "inner Persia," identifying it as Khurāsān (Theoph. 366.27, 484.4). The Byz. knew that the Arabs conquered the territory of the Persians, who subsequently rebelled frequently against their masters, but there is no confusion between the Arabs and Persai in Byz. texts. An 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 442.90–91) clearly notes that the Saracens took over the power of the Persai. From the 11th C. onward, the term was transferred to the Turkic peoples (e.g., SELJUKS, OTTOMANS) and also MONGOLS; some literati emphasized the identity of the Persai and Turks (e.g., Attal. 105.11), but later (in Eustathios of Thessalonike, Niketas Choniates, John VI Kantakouzenos, etc.) the term *Persai* was indiscriminately applied to the Turks, whereas the term TOURKOI acquired a different meaning. Various related terms were derived from Persai: Persanax or Persarches, the ruler of the Seljuks; Persarmenioi, the Turks under the rule of the DANIŞMENDIDS; Persotourkoi/Tourkopersai; Persoscythians, etc. Manuel II's anti-Muslim treatise bears the title "Conversations with a certain Persian."

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:252–55. –A.K.

PERSEPHONE, or Kore (Lat. Proserpina), in Greek mythology the only daughter of Demeter, whom Hades or Pluto carried off to the netherworld; Demeter was able to liberate her on the condition that Persephone would remain underground part of the year. Another myth is related by NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS (*Dionysiaka* 6:155–76): Zeus, in the form of a dragon, entered the bedchamber of the "virgin Persephone" and she bore to him Zagreus, the horned baby; Zagreus was murdered and dismembered by the Titans, but he was miraculously resurrected and began his new life as DIONYSOS. The core of this myth, the triumph of nature over death, contributed to its assimilation by Christianity: the scene of Pluto carrying off Persephone in a chariot while she tries to free herself from his embraces appeared on a Christian sarcophagus.

The rape of Persephone is depicted in a miniature in Paris, B.N. Coisl. gr. 239 (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.51), in which Pluto drags Persephone into a chasm.

LIT. A. Gotsmich, *Proserpina—virgo sacrata dei* (Munich 1962). Weitzmann, *Gr.Myth.* 43–46, 79f. –A.K., A.M.T.

PERSIA. See IRAN.

PERSIAN LITERATURE. The tradition of contacts between Greek and Iranian civilization dates back to the period of the Greco-Persian wars (5th C. B.C.). It is very probable that at that time the literary image of the Greek "enemy" began to develop in Iranian folklore and literature. The principal monuments of old Persian literature (Pahlavī and Sasanian) are apparently lost, even though they still existed in the 6th C.; Agathias (Agath. 4.30) describes Sasanian books on history that he read with the aid of the Syrian monk Sergios. Fortunately, however, the information provided by Sasanian literature on Byz.-Iranian contacts has not been totally lost, since most of it, compiled in a voluminous history, the *Khwadāynāmag*, was translated into Arabic (abstracts are included in the *History* of al-Ṭabarī and translations in ibn Muqaffaʿ) and into the Neo-Persian language (Firdausī's *Shāh-nāma*). The national Iranian legacy in which the Greeks appeared as "enemies" to the Iranian state was retained up to the medieval period. Only when Greece (Byz.) became a Christian state did this attitude undergo a transformation. With the triumph of the new faith in Byz. and its restriction in Zoroastrian IRAN, the centuries-old rivalry between the two states became primarily a religious struggle and continued as such when Iran became an Islamic state.

The Iranians living under the ʿAbbāsid caliphate began to develop a national and cultural self-consciousness in the second half of the 9th C. The new Iranian ideology, at once Islamic and national, was expressed in the establishment of quasi-

autonomous states, such as those of the Ṭāhirids and SĀMĀNIDS. This ideology powerfully influenced the rise of a new Persian literature, composed in the Fārsī and Darī dialects and written in the recently borrowed Arabic script. Familiarity with Arabic now meant that Persian writers were included in the whole Islamic literary tradition. Persian literature consequently evolved under the triple influences of Islamic scholarship, the wider Arabic literary tradition, and the national Iranian legacy. It thus absorbed and perpetuated the content and forms of expression characteristic of each. Works inspired by the Islamic and Arabic legacies include Qur'ān commentaries, *ḥadīth*, and world and local chronicles. Specifically "national" Iranian genres include heroic and epic poetry and folklore. Consequently the image of foreign nations, including "Rūm" (Byz.), is highly diverse and varies according to genre.

In Persian literature, the term RŪM and its ethnic connotations were derived primarily from ARAB GEOGRAPHERS. Rūm variously signified the ancient Greeks (known also as Yūnānī [from Ionians]), occasionally the ancient Romans (known also, just like the people from western Europe, as Farangi [from Franks]), and the Byz. From the 11th C. the term *al-Rūm* (i.e., *Rūm* with the definite article) was used to denote Asia Minor. In addition, theological writers regarded the *Rūm* as descendants of the biblical Yōnan (cf. Gen 10:2,4) and/or a certain Romal(n)us (this detail is of Byz./Christian origin). Those writing in national genres, such as Firdausī in the *Shāh-nāma* and Niẓāmī in the *Iskandar-nāma*, connected the Rūm with Alexander the Great, whom they came to view as the national hero not only of Rūm, but also of Iran.

Persian geographers derived their data about the land of Rūm from Arab geographers and travelers, such as al-JARMĪ, HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ, and al-QAZWĪNĪ. In the ḤUDŪD AL-ʿĀLAM, for example, the land of Rūm is situated on the shores of the Bosporos in the western part of *al-maʿmūra* (Pers./Ar. for Gr. *oikoumene*). It is described as a prosperous country, divided into 14 *nāḥiyat* or themes, each headed by a *sipāhsalār* or governor. The information on Constantinople is also derived from Arab geographers like al-Qazwīnī. Authors writing in the national genres, in contrast, generally provide few details (cf. Firdausī, Hāfiẓ, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, and others). These authors often mention Rūm together with other "western" peoples, primarily the "Rus'," then the "Franks" and Bulgarians.

Persian historians were not very interested in Byz. history. Their knowledge of it was essentially limited to the facts of their "common" history, for instance, the Byz.-Persian wars of the 6th C. The fact that Persian historians and writers (e.g., Firdausī, Balʿamī) deal with these subjects suggests that the Sasanians (and consequently the islamized Persians) primarily claimed to be warriors. Some war themes, for example, the story of the flight of CHOSROES II to Byz. and his alleged marriage to Maria, a daughter of Maurice, were in vogue in Persian literature (Firdausī, Niẓāmī). The Byz., on the other hand, ignored this subject. In the Persian chronicles there is also a list of Byz. emperors up to Nikephoros II Phokas with a few details about their reigns (Balʿamī, Bayḍāwī, Banākitī, Abū Bakr Shabānkārā'ī, and the so-called Anonymous of Iskandar). Quite rare in Persian literature are "original data" such as the observations of Balʿamī on the relations between Bābak and Theophilos ca.831, and some details on the history of Pontos (e.g., Muʿīn al-Dīn Parwāna and IBN BĪBĪ's description of the capture of Sinope; the works of Aqsarayī, Abū Bakr Tihrānī, and Hwagi-Halfa). Some information on Byz.-Seljuk relations (esp. on the battle of Mantzikert, Romanos IV Diogenes, and Alp Arslan's victories) is provided by Kāshānī (his text survives in the Arabic translation by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfāhānī), Bundārī, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, and in the 14th-C. anonymous chronicle, *Ta'rih Al-i-Saljuk*. In addition there is some "historical data" in poetic texts, such as two *qaṣīdas* by KHĀQĀNĪ (dedicated to Andronikos I Komnenos who in 1173–74 lived at the courts of the shahs of Shīrwān) and the *qaṣīda* of Muhī al-Dīn ibn al-Zākī, who describes the conquest of Jerusalem during the First Crusade.

Persian authors rarely distinguished between civil and military officials when describing Byz. administration and the army. They were familiar with the basics of Byz. administration from certain Arabic sources, such as al-MARWAZĪ's translation of al-ʿAwfī and al-Ahwāzī as cited in al-BĪRŪNĪ. Normally, however, Persian authors mentioned only a few ranks, notably the *qayṣar* (emperor) and *biṭrīq* (*patrikios*). In the *Shāh-nāma*, ibn Bībī, Aqsarayī, and Abu Bakr Tihranī these officials are, in fact, identical. The confusion of some administrative titles with similarly sounding ecclesiastical titles often resulted in erroneous conceptions about the Byz. army. The Byz. fleet was known to the Persians primarily from Arabic sources, but a few eyewitness accounts do exist, for example, Naṣīr-i Khusrau's report on the use of mirrors in defense against the Byz. fleet. The image of the Byz. army, its might and military genius is more apparent in the national genres, where the Rūm were considered equals since they derived their origins from Alexander the Great and possessed an ancient culture as noble as that of the Iranians. In poetry and folklore Byz. warriors appear as knights, equipped with gleaming weapons, banners, trumpets, cymbals, and the obligatory cross (*Shāh-nāma*).

In Persian literature the Rūm are distinguished by their Christian faith. The Persian description of Christianity did not differ from that in Arabic literature. Persian sources include information about Christian sects, hermits, the church hierarchy, the ceremony of baptism, and icons. Some features of the Christian cult were regarded favorably. In poetry the dress of the beloved was sometimes compared with the Christian cross or the golden altar of the Christians. In the epic of Amīr Arslān, the oath that the Franks swear "in the name of Jesus and Mary" strikes the Persians as persuasive. Saʿdī al-Shīrāzī quotes the Gospels to add force to his words, and other poets such as Ḥāfiẓ employ allusions from the Gospels. In the *Shāh-nāma* it is stated that Christianity, like Islam and Zoroastrianism, is one of the defenders of the truth. The same text extols Alexander the Great because he was wedded "in Christian prayer."

The attitude of Persian writers toward Byz. cultural achievements was ambivalent. In a negative vein, they considered the Byz. to be pale imitators of the ancient Greeks, a view that can be traced to Arab authors. This perception of Byz. inadequacy was heightened because of the empire's location in the west—in Ṣūfī thought, the source of all evils. Byz. emperors, moreover, were seen as too harsh. In a positive vein, the Rūm were also viewed as the heirs of the ancient Greeks, and as such were bearers of good. Like the Greeks, they were depicted as skilled musicians, artisans, and even doctors, rivaled only by the Chinese. Persian authors often mention the Rūm as superb painters and describe their icons. Rūm was also considered to be the land of wisdom. The wealth of Byz. was central to the positive image of Rūm, which was popularly depicted as a land rich in gold, jewels, furs, silks, etc., and its luxury products were considered as valuable as those coming from China.

In medieval Persian the term *rūmī* was associated with certain colors, esp. red (as the *rūmī* shoes of the emperor), gold (as in *rūmī* dinars), and white (as in *rūmī* slave girls). The word *rūm* often appears as a metaphor for dawn, as in the poetic cliché, "The world has received the adornments of light; the throng of Ethiopians has fled from the 'Rūm.' "

The influence of Persian literature on Byz. literature was slight, but borrowings are found in the tale of BARLAAM AND IOASAPH and a story from *Kar-nāmaq* about the birth of Ardashīr, son of Bapak. The latter was included by Agathias in his work (Agath. 2.27). There are also some motifs in the ALEXANDER ROMANCE of Persian origin (the apophthegmata of Alexander which are found in the *Shāh-nāma* and *Qabūs-nāma*) and in the chronicle of GEORGE HAMARTOLOS (35.3–5; cf. Plutarch, *Alex.* 21). Especially in the Palaiologan period a few Byz. scholars were familiar with Persian treatises on ASTRONOMY, some of which they translated into Greek. Medieval Greek borrowings from Persian vocabulary, with the exception of proper names, are relatively rare; examples are *tzykanisterion*, or polo-ground, from Pers. *čowgan*, polo-game, and *karbanion*, caravan, from Pers. *ḳarvan*, vessel (*De adm. imp.* 9.27, 45.88f).

LIT. N.G. Garsoïan in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. E. Yarshater, vol. 3.1 (Cambridge 1983) 568–92. Miquel, *Géographie* 2:381–481. W.W. Barthold, *Sočinenija* 7 (Moscow 1971) 29–334. I.U. Kračkovskij, *Istorija arabskoj geografičeskoj literatury* (Moscow-Leningrad 1957). E.E. Bertel's, *Izbrannye trudy*, 2 vols. (Moscow 1965). F. Tauer, "Les versions persanes de la légende sur la construction d'Aya Ṣofya," *BS* 15 (1954) 1–20. –N.S.

PERSON (πρόσωπον, lit. "face"), a term used in Trinitarian and Christological controversies, equivalent to the Lat. *persona*. The concept of divine *prosopon* (different from the metaphorical "Face of God" in the Old Testament) appears by the 3rd C., in Tertullian in Latin and Hippolytus in Greek, designating the concrete presentation of the individual; Hippolytus speaks of two *prosopa*—the Father and Son—and one power (*dynamis*) of God. The term was used by the adherents of Sabellianism who seem to have spoken in

the vein of MONARCHIANISM of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as being "of the same matter (*pragma*) and *prosopon*" (Athanasios of Alexandria, PG 26:732C). They evidently were not consistent in their terminology, however, and Eusebios of Caesarea (PG 24:1016A) ascribes to them the formula "One hypostasis of three persons." The lack of clear discrimination between SUBSTANCE, NATURE, HYPOSTASIS, and person led many earlier authors to prefer the vaguer use of "three" and "one." Gradually, in opposition to Sabellios and probably under the influence of ORIGEN and his school, the use of hypostasis—as contrasted with *ousia* (substance) and *physis* (nature)—became preferable, although the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, up to the time of Nestorios, applied the term *prosopon* to describe the unity in Christ as contrasted with his two substances, divine and human.

In usual Byz. terminology *prosopon* denoted the individual (*idikon*) as opposed to the common (*koinon*). This distinction between person and nature, albeit not a domain of philosophical thought, found its place in the formulas of the creed. The anthropological paradigm on which orthodox or Chalcedonian Christology is based contributed to the development of the distinction between the individual that does not exclude the common or *communicabile* ("participating"), and the individual in itself, or *incommunicabile*.

LIT. C. Andresen, "Zur Entstehung und Geschichte des trinitarischen Personbegriffes," *ZNTW* 52 (1961) 1–39. A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*[2] (Atlanta 1975) 365–75, 460–66. Wolfson, *Philosophy* 333f. Prestige, *God* 157–62. K.-H. Uthemann, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union," *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 215–312.
–K.-H.U.

PERSONIFICATION, the incarnation in anthropomorphic form of abstract qualities and natural phenomena. Writers of all periods from late antiquity to the end of Byz. used personification as a favored rhetorical device. BOETHIUS presents his *Consolation of Philosophy* as a series of dialogues with the lady Philosophia. Classicizing poets of the 5th and 6th C. personified forces such as Aletheia (Truth) and Eirene (Peace), VIRTUES such as Dikaiosyne (Justice) and Sophrosyne (Moderation), and countries (e.g., Aigyptos). Writers of letters and sermons (e.g., PHOTIOS) were fond of using personifications as vehicles for the points they wished to make.

In art, such devices were widely favored until the 6th C. Based on literature, these figures of Classical or, more often, Hellenistic inspiration are found in floor mosaics and retained in MSS and other works made for Christian patrons. Antique personifications such as Homonoia (Concord) were preserved only as inscriptions on marriage belts and finger rings; iconographically their role was assumed by Christ. On the other hand, pre-Christian concepts such as the TYCHE survived, essentially unchanged in form and meaning, in consular diptychs and MSS. Ancient personifications of disciplines such as Epinoia (Design) and qualities such as Megalopsychia (Magnanimity) and Phronesis (Prudence or Good Sense) appear in the 6th-C. Vienna DIOSKORIDES. Political concepts such as Eutaxia (Good Order), who averts a civil war in Thessalonike (Lemerle, *Miracles* 1:115.19–116.3), are embodied and intervene in human affairs in the manner of saints seen in visions. On the other hand, an illuminated biblical MS like the Vienna GENESIS makes use of pagan personifications such as NYMPHS, conceived as the embodiment of springs of water, for what are apparently purely decorative purposes.

Despite a reduction in the absolute number of Classical personifications employed, those that survived were used relatively often in and after the 9th C. and applied to a broader range of situations. In a 9th-C. Chrysostom MS (Athens, Nat. Lib. 211) figures representing the Winds announce the resurrection of the dead; these emerge from the earth, which is personified as Ge. Other personifications were deliberately revived in order to evoke the Christian virtues of princes—SOPHIA and Prophetia accompany David in PSALTER illustrations, while Aletheia (Truth) and Tapeinosis (Humility) appear on the CROWN of Constantine IX. This symbiosis of pagan and Christian personifications thereafter is one of the features of Byz. art. Where a clear preference for one or the other is evident, this is determined by the context and purpose of the work on which they occur: for example, the THEODORE PSALTER and MSS of JOHN KLIMAX employ Christian personifications such as Gastrimargia (Gluttony) or purely medieval inventions such as Aprospatheia, while textiles made for imperial use depict the Antique figure of the City. The most common manner of their employment is the conversion to Christian purposes of pagan personifications: figures such as NIGHT, BYTHOS, and Erythra THALASSA participate in the history of the Chosen People; HADES, the Antipodes, and HELIOS in his chariot lend a Classical aspect to the illustration of verses in the Psalms and Gospels. The repertory of Palaiologan art was enriched not only by a more widespread use of figures such as EKKLESIA and Synagogue but esp. by the return of Antique forms such as COSMOS.

LIT. Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters.* Martin, *Heavenly Ladder.* L. Antonopoulos, "Contribution à l'étude des abstractions personifiées dans l'art médiobyzantin," *AnnEPHE,* V[e] section (Sciences religieuses) 93 (1984/86) 511–14. L.D. Popovich, "Personification in Paleologan Painting" (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1963).
–L.S.B.MacC., A.C.

PERSONIFICATION. Personifications from the Joshua Roll (Vat. Pal. gr. 431, sheet XII); 10th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. To the left, the reclining male personification of Mt. Ebal; to the right, the seated female personification of the city of Gabaon.

PERSPECTIVE, the art of delineating objects on a surface so that their positions and sizes display the same relationship as in nature. For Roman and late antique writers perspective was a part of optics and, under the name of *skenographia,* applied to architectural projection. This involved the sort of distortion evident in the mosaics of the dome of St. George (see GEORGE, ROTUNDA OF SAINT) at Thessalonike where buildings are represented as if from above but read more correctly when seen from the spectator's normal position below. CONSTANTINE OF RHODES (v. 498) seems to describe such a system in the mosaics of the Church of Holy Apostles at Constantinople. The Hellenistic and Roman use of so-called aerial perspective, in which colors change and tend toward blue as a function of their distance from the spectator, is still present in the BACKGROUNDS of such 10th-C. MSS as the PARIS PSALTER but, in monumental art of this and later periods, is replaced by "inverted perspective," in which elements to the rear of the picture space are set farther apart rather than closer together as in the linear perspective of the Italian Renaissance.

Such arrangements were, however, far from systematic. The closest Byz. artists came to a consistent application of rules devised to avoid optical distortions was in differentiations within figures represented on curving surfaces. The lower limbs of bodies appearing on vertical planes are rendered much larger than parts of the body above them in vaults. This could result in disproportionately small heads, as in the Virgin in the apse of the Koimesis church at Nicaea (Lazarev, *Storia,* fig.77); by the Palaiologan period pear-shaped bodies and tiny heads had become stylistic norms. A coherent system of perspective is described by Nikephoros GREGORAS (*Astrolabika,* ed. Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:222.19–25): he speaks of "painters

seeking to imitate objects exactly . . . [who] show the length and breadth of lofty buildings contracting somewhat . . . so as to make them visually more plausible." A theory of "negative" perspective in which the significant (and sacred) area of space lies between the spectator and the picture plane rather than behind the foreground of the image was developed by Demus (*infra*).

LIT. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic* 30–35, 43–54, 77–85. A. Saltykov, "O prostranstvennych otnošenijach v vizantijskoj i drevnerusskoj živopisi," in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Zarubežnye svjazi* (Moscow 1975) 398–413. G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London 1963) 29–35, 150–53. –A.C.

PESSINOUS (Πεσσινοῦς), now Ballıhisar, a city in the borderland between GALATIA and PHRYGIA famous for its ancient cult of Cybele, which Emp. Julian attempted to revive during his visit in 362. Pessinous became the civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of Galatia Salutaris ca.399. After receiving a benefaction of some kind from Justinian I, it assumed the name Justinianoupolis, which long continued in occasional use. In the late 6th C. Pessinous possessed a Cathedral of Hagia Sophia and a Church of the Myriangeloi ("10,000 angels"). The site offers limited possibilities of defense, and Pessinous disappears from history in the 7th C., though until the 14th C. it existed as ecclesiastical metropolis. Some of its suffragans (GERMIA, AMORION), however, acquired independence. Current excavations have revealed restoration in the early 4th C. and a necropolis in use through the 6th C., but nothing later.

LIT. *TIB* 4:214f. J. Devreker et al., *Les fouilles de la Rijksuniversiteit te Gent à Pessinonte 1967–73* (Brugge 1984). P. Lambrechts, R. Bogaert, "Nouvelles données sur l'histoire du christianisme à Pessinonte," in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben: Festschrift für Franz Altheim*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1969) 552–64. –C.F.

PESSOS. See PIER.

PETER (Πέτρος), personal name, given by Christ to his disciple Simon (Mk 3:16). The etymology is evoked in Matthew 16:18: "You are Petros, and on this rock (*petra*) I will build my church." The name appeared in texts from the 3rd C. onward—a bishop in Africa ca.256, an "Aurelius Petrus," governor of Arabia in 278/9. Its popularity increased in the 5th–6th C., esp. among the clergy: W. Ensslin (*RE* 19 [1938] 1319–35) lists 37 secular Peters of the 3rd–6th C. and 83 clergymen, predominantly bishops. *PLRE* has four Peters (secular) of the 4th C. (1:691f) and 32 of the 5th and 6th C. (2:864–71); among the latter, one Peter "monk and bishop" occurs. In Theophanes the Confessor, Peter is still a common name: 23 Peters are mentioned, fourth in frequency, following JOHN, THEODORE, and CONSTANTINE. Thereafter, the popularity of the name decreased radically: in Skylitzes are found only six Peters, including the apostle Peter and two Bulgarians; in Choniates, among four Peters, one is the apostle, two are Vlachs or Bulgarians, and one a crusader. There are nine Peters in vol. 1 of *Lavra*, and only 15 in the more numerous acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (tied for twenty-first place with Gregorios and Symeon); it is a more popular name in the acts of *Iviron*, vol. 1 (10th–11th C.), but some of them—Peter, son of Ivan; Peter the Vlach—are evidently of non-Greek origin. Peters are also rare in the late acts of other collections of the archives of Athos. –A.K.

PETER, also called Simon and Kephas; apostle and saint; feastday 29 June. The Byz. attributed to him two epistles in the New Testament. A legend preserved in Eusebios (*HE* 2.25.5–6) has him beheaded, together with PAUL, in Rome; other versions tell of his crucifixion head-downward. He became the patron of Rome, the place of his martyrdom and burial; in 319–50 the basilica of St. Peter was built there, allegedly on the site of his tomb. The idea of papal PRIMACY, inherited from Peter, was closely interconnected with this cult. At the same time other ecclesiastical centers (Antioch, Caesarea in Cappadocia) claimed Peter as the founder of their sees. In Constantinople, Peter appears primarily as the leader (*koryphaios*) of the apostles, often venerated together with Paul, but sometimes separately as in a chapel in the Great Palace and in an *apostoleion* near Hagia Sophia. In this *apostoleion* were exhibited Peter's chains, which had miraculously fallen from him when Herod had ordered him arrested.

Peter's story was developed in APOCRYPHAL texts (esp. the *Gospel of Peter*) and in numerous sermons (e.g., by Asterios of Amaseia, Sophronios, George Akropolites), often together with the story of Paul. They had a common major feastday (29 June); the feast of Peter's chains was celebrated on 16 Jan.

Representation in Art. The most clearly characterized of the APOSTLES and the first to exhibit a distinct iconographic type, Peter appears from the 4th C. onward with a square white beard, a straight hairline, and (in painting) a blue tunic and yellow himation in both western and eastern Mediterranean art: Roman CATACOMBS, "Passion" sarcophagi, the Sarigüzel sarcophagus (Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, fig.75), an icon at Sinai (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.2), and in apses of churches. He accompanies the living Christ, acclaims the risen Christ, and is found in scenes of his own ministry and passion. From the 9th C. onward, Peter heads the assembly of the apostles, appears in Gospel scenes as Christ's preeminent disciple, dominates Byz. ACTS cycles, is portrayed at the beginning of his Epistles in New Testament MSS, and occasionally accompanies MARK in series of EVANGELIST PORTRAITS. His imagery is largely canonical, though scenes of his martyrdom occur in cycles of the apostles' deaths; his ecstatic meeting with PAUL was used to symbolize brotherly accord. The only monumental cycles of his life from the 9th–12th C. occur in Hagia Sophia, KIEV, and the churches of Norman SICILY, though Peter appears consistently in Palaiologan mural cycles and often balances Paul in icons hung between the columns of TEMPLON screens.

SOURCE. *Évangile de Pierre*, ed. M.G. Mara (Paris 1973).

LIT. *BHG* 1482z-1501n. A. Penna, D. Balboni, *Bibl.sanct.* 10:588–639. M. Maccarrone, "San Pietro in rapporto a Cristo nelle più antiche testimonianze," *Studi Petriani* (Rome 1968) 41–101. B.A. Johnson, "The Gospel of Peter: Between Apocalypse and Romance," *StP* 16.2 (1985) 170–74. K. Berger, "Unfehlbare Offenbarung: Petrus in der gnostischen und apokalyptischen Offenbarungsliteratur," in *Kontinuität und Einheit. Für Franz Mussner* (Freiburg 1981) 261–326. V. von Falkenhausen, "San Pietro nella religiosità bizantina," *SettStu* 34.2 (1986) 627–74. Kessler, "Acts." K. Weitzmann, *The St. Peter Icon of Dumbarton Oaks* (Washington, D.C., 1983). G. Stuhlfauth, *Die apokryphen Petrusgeschichten in der altchristlichen Kunst* (Berlin 1925). –J.I., A.W.C.

PETER III, patriarch of Antioch (spring 1052–Sept. 1056). A native of Antioch, he studied in Constantinople and, after serving as imperial secretary, provincial judge, and *skeuophylax* of Hagia Sophia, was appointed to the see of Antioch. His surviving correspondence with Pope Leo IX, Dominic of Grado, and Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS sheds valuable light on the debate leading up to the schism of 1054. His synodical letter to Leo IX (1052) is significant because it offers conclusive evidence that a schism existed before 1054. His discussion of Latin irregularities, about which Keroularios informed him after the embassy of Cardinal HUMBERT to Constantinople (1054), is notable for its moderation and conciliatory tone. It contrasts sharply with Humbert's and Keroularios's own impetuous actions. Peter agreed that Byz. eucharistic practice was preferable to the Latin use of AZYMES, and he was convinced that the innovation of the FILIOQUE was unacceptable. Nevertheless, he insisted that Keroularios's other charges against the Latins were either exaggerated or trivial and, as such, no obstacle to unity. Finally, his letters show him to have been a compelling advocate of the PENTARCHY thesis.

ED. C. Will, *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis Ecclesiae graecae et latinae saeculo undecimo composita exstant* (Leipzig-Marburg 1861) 168–228. A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, vol. 2 (Paderborn 1930) 416–75.

LIT. Grumel, "Patriarcat." A. Michel, "Die römischen Angriffe auf Michael Kerullarios wegen Antiocheia," *BZ* 44 (1951) 419–27. Idem, "Die Botschaft Petros' III von Antiocheia an seine Stadt über seine Ernennung," *BZ* 38 (1938) 111–18. Papadopoulos, *Antioch.* 844–60. –A.P.

PETER CAPUANO (sometimes erroneously referred to as Peter of Capua), cardinal-deacon of St. Mary in Via Lata (1192–1201), then cardinal-priest of St. Marcellus; born Amalfi, died 1214. In 1198–99 Peter was legate of INNOCENT III in France where he promulgated the idea of a new (Fourth) CRUSADE. Innocent then sent him to the crusading army in Venice. When the conflict concerning the Venetian plan to attack ZARA arose, Peter criticized the Venetians, but insisted on the necessity of continuing to support the Crusaders. In 1202 he returned to Rome. He then was dispatched on a mission to Palestine, only to leave the Holy Land and join the Crusaders after he learned about the capture of Constantinople. At a conference with the Greek clergy in Hagia Sophia in Dec. 1204, Peter demanded that the Greeks conform to the Latin rite, disregarding the conciliatory efforts of Innocent that were announced publicly by the new papal legate Benedict in 1205. Peter should be distinguished from another Peter Capuano, a theologian at the University of Paris whom Honorius III appointed patriarch of An-

tioch in 1219, but who never arrived at his see (E. Rey, *ROL* 8 [1900–01] 140).

LIT. W. Maleczek, *Petrus Capuanus: Kardinal, Legat am vierten Kreuzzug, Theologe (1214)* (Vienna 1988). *HC* 2:155–57, 173, 196. H. Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* (Göttingen 1969) 104–11. –A.K.

PETER MONGOS (Μογγός, "hoarse"), Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria (477–29 Oct. 490). He was apparently consecrated by only one bishop on the death of the Monophysite patriarch TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS. Because the Chalcedonian TIMOTHEOS SALOPHAKIALOS was still on the throne, however, Peter was forced to go into hiding until Salophakialos died (482). Then, despite Peter's irregular ordination, ZENO and Patr. AKAKIOS of Constantinople officially received him into communion, on the condition that he accept the HENOTIKON. His energetic support of this compromise formula failed to satisfy his more extreme followers, however, who demanded a public condemnation of CHALCEDON and the *Tome* of Leo. This led to schism, and the extremists (left without a personal leader or head) became known as *Akephaloi* ("headless ones"). But Peter's openly Monophysite exegesis of the *Henotikon* also alienated those Chalcedonians who were interpreting it in an Orthodox manner. In sum, his politics had the opposite effect from that which the edict had intended. The Roman synods (484 and 485), which condemned the *Henotikon* and led to the AKAKIAN SCHISM, anathematized both Peter and Akakios.

LIT. E. Schwartz, "Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma," *ABAW*, Phil.-hist. Abt., n.s. 10 (1934). F. Hofmann in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon* 2:30–51. –A.P.

PETER OF ALEXANDRIA (not to be confused with the 3rd-C. martyr of the same name), 10th-C. author of a chronicle entitled *A Brief Survey of Years,* from Adam to the reign of Leo VI and Alexander. A 10th-C. MS preserves the text. Peter lists countries, nations, rivers, and islands, sometimes including the contemporary designation (thus "Danoubes" is mentioned side by side with the ancient Istros); the Slavs are identified as Avars (I. Dujčev, *REB* 17 [1959] 294). Except where Peter refers to Christ's life, historical information is mostly limited to the length of reign, with rare exceptions: the meaning of Anastasios's name, the poisoning of Staurakios by his sister Prokopia, the murder of Michael III by Basil I. Consistently Peter mentions usurpation: Basiliskos, Artabasdos, and others. Since Peter expressly calls Michael III "orthodox emperor" and relates that he burned the corpse of Constantine V, this brief chronicle may have been written to counterbalance the official historiography of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY.

ED. Z. Samodurova, "Chronika Petra Aleksandrijskogo," *VizVrem* 18 (1961) 180–97. –A.K.

PETER OF AMIENS. See PETER THE HERMIT.

PETER OF ARGOS, saint; born Constantinople, died Argos; feastday 3 May. The chronology of ca.850–ca.920 established by Papaoikonomos (*infra*) needs correction, since the lifespan of 70 cited in the vita is a hagiographical convention, and Peter apparently survived both the Slavic revolt in the Peloponnesos ca.922–25 and the great famine of 927/8 (p.66.4–8). The fourth child in a prosperous and generous family, Peter was tonsured like his brother Paul. The brothers were close to Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, who appointed Paul archbishop of Corinth and planned to make Peter *protothronos* (p.63.16–18), that is, archbishop of Caesarea (not Corinth, as Vasiliev states). If Nicholas chose Peter to replace ARETHAS, the event may be dated to 912. Peter followed his brother to Corinth, however, and was elected, although reluctantly, bishop of Argos. Peter wrote several *enkomia* of saints, including KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS and the 9th-C. Athanasios of Methone (see list of K.Th. Kyriakopoulos, *Peloponnesiaka* 13 [1978–79] 264f).

Peter's Life, arbitrarily ascribed by Papaoikonomos to Peter's disciple and successor Constantine (cf. F. Halkin, *AB* 69 [1951] 167), was compiled by Theodore of Nicaea (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 52). The hagiographer praised Constantinople and devoted special attention to Peter's protection of the poor. The Life describes an invasion of Cretan Arabs and the conversion of some pagan Slavic tribes; Peter mentions the attacks of Scythians and Hagarenes in his *enkomion* of Kosmas and Damianos. Laurent published Peter's seal (*Corpus* 5.1, no.571).

SOURCES. Ch. Papaoikonomos, *Ho poliouchos tou Argous hagios Petros* (Athens 1908).

LIT. *BHG* 1504. A. Vasiliev, "The 'Life' of St. Peter of Argos and its Historical Significance," *Traditio* 5 (1947) 163–90. K.Th. Kyriakopoulos, *Hagiou Petrou episkopou Argous bios kai logoi* (Athens 1976). –A.K.

PETER OF ATROA. See ATROA.

PETER OF BRACIEUX (Πέτρος ὁ Πράτζης), more correctly, Bracheux, French crusader; died ca.1210. A vassal of LOUIS OF BLOIS, from the vicinity of Beauvais, Peter joined the Fourth CRUSADE at Zara. A warrior of great height and strength, he won even his enemies' admiration. After the installation of ALEXIOS IV, he commanded a detachment lodged in the Blachernai Palace, probably until late 1203. In Apr. 1204 he was among the first to seize a tower on the city wall. Following the city's capture, he went to conquer the region from Pegai to Nicaea for Louis. At POIMANENON he defeated Theodore I Laskaris. Recalled in 1205 to oppose Kalojan, Peter was too late for the battle of Adrianople. Thereafter he fought in Thrace and Anatolia. In 1206 he occupied Pegai and Kyzikos, whence he raided Laskarid territory. In 1207, however, a truce compelled him to surrender Kyzikos. After a brief visit to France (1209), Peter returned to Pegai and somehow fell into Theodore's hands. How he died is uncertain; Innocent III's allegation that a Crusader was reportedly flayed alive by Theodore can neither be substantiated nor definitively connected to Peter (G. Prinzing, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 424, n.4).

LIT. Longnon, *Compagnons* 91–98. –C.M.B.

PETER OF BULGARIA, second son of SYMEON OF BULGARIA and his successor as tsar (27 May 927–969); born ca.903, died 30 Jan. 969. George Soursouboullos served as the young prince's counselor and co-ruler. The administration of Peter and George reversed previous policy toward Byz. and proposed a peace treaty that was signed in 927. Under its terms the frontier was established (Byz. losing Develtos, Sozopolis, and Agathopolis); Byz. was obliged to pay tribute; Peter was granted the title of *basileus* and married Maria (who then took the new name Irene), daughter of CHRISTOPHER LEKAPENOS; and Byz. also accepted the autocephaly of the Bulgarian church. It is plausible that the speech, "On the treaty with the Bulgarians," preserved in Vat. gr. 483 (see BULGARIAN TREATY, ANONYMOUS TREATISE ON THE), was delivered upon this occasion; the author of the speech was probably Theodore DAPHNOPATES (I. Dujčev, *DOP* 32 [1978] 217–95). The domestic and international situation was strained after long wars. Peter had to deal with the resistance of the BOGOMILS and schemes of the nobles, including his own brothers John (928) and Michael (930). In addition Bulgarian authority in the west was challenged by ČASLAV, and the northern frontier was constantly threatened by the HUNGARIANS. This eventually permitted Byz. to change the conditions of the peace treaty: after Maria-Irene's death (ca.963), the Byz. demanded that two of Peter's sons, BORIS and Romanos, be sent to Constantinople as hostages; also the Bulgarians were to forbid the Hungarians to cross their territory to Byz. In 966 NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS canceled payment of the tribute and incited SVJATOSLAV against Bulgaria. Overwhelmed by these troubles, Peter died (perhaps from a stroke).

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:516–93. G. Bakalov, "Carskata promulgacija na Petŭr i negovite priemnici v svetlinata na bŭlgaro-vizantijskite diplomatičeski otnošenija sled dogovora ot 927 g.," *IstPreg* 39 (1983) no.6, 35–44. Runciman, *Romanus* 96–103. –A.K.

PETER OF BULGARIA, cofounder, with his younger brother ASEN I, of the Second Bulgarian Empire; baptismal name Theodore; died Tŭrnovo 1197. Following the brothers' successful insurrection, Peter was crowned with gold ca.1185 or 1186. He donned boots of imperial purple and probably adopted the name "Peter" in honor of the earlier PETER OF BULGARIA (903–69). E. Pochitonov (*BS* 42 [1981] 52–57) attributes to Peter a series of billon trachy coins found in Bulgaria and issued by a "Theodore." (Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 235f, and Hendy, *Economy* 439, assign these to Theodore MANKAPHAS.) In 1189, when Frederick I led the Germans of the Third Crusade into Thrace, Peter (called "Kalopetrus" in the HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI) offered 40,000 Vlachs and Cumans for Frederick's planned attack on Constantinople and demanded the imperial crown of "Grecia"; indeed, the *Historia* (ed. Chroust, 69.24–25) says Peter "was called emperor of Greece by his followers." Frederick refused both the troops and the title. Circa 1192 or 1193 Peter was won over to alliance with Byz. in opposition to Asen. The rift between the brothers,

however, seems to have been brief; Byz. gained nothing. With Asen's death, Peter returned to lead the Bulgarian state, only to be slain by a fellow countryman.

LIT. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija* 427–65. A. Kazhdan, "La date de la rupture entre Pierre et Asen (vers 1193)," *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 167–74. G. Cankova-Petkova, "Les forces centrifuges et centripètes à Byzance du début du règne d'Isaac Ange," 15 *CEB* (Athens 1980) 4:55–64.
–A.K., C.M.B.

PETER OF COURTENAY, Latin emperor of Constantinople (1217–19?), count of Nevers and Auxerre; born ca.1165. Marriage to YOLANDE brought him the Latin Empire of Constantinople when HENRY OF HAINAULT died in 1216 without direct heirs. Peter went to Rome, where after some hesitation Pope Honorius III (1216–27) crowned him Latin emperor on 9 April 1217. The Venetians ferried his expedition across the Adriatic to Dyrrachion. His plan was to proceed along the Via Egnatia to Thessalonike. It was a bold attempt to strengthen the western frontiers of the Latin Empire, but it proved foolhardy. Peter was intercepted by THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS and disappeared. Rumor placed his death in summer 1219, but it may have been earlier since not a word is said about him during the negotiations in 1218 which secured the release of the papal legate captured with him.

LIT. Longnon, *Empire latin* 153–57. Nicol, *Epiros I* 50–53. *HC* 2:212–13.
–M.J.A.

PETER OF DAMASCUS. See DAMASKENOS, PETER.

PETER OF EBOLI (Petrus de Ebulo), southern Italian cleric, *magister*, and writer; died before July 1220. Peter composed a lost work on Frederick I and a *Liber ad honorem Augusti* (Book in Honor of the Augustus, ca.1195/6) for Henry VI on his war over southern Italy. His detailed account is bitterly hostile to TANCRED OF LECCE and openly seeks a reward from Henry for his support. A MS in Bern (Burgerbibliothek 120) preserves Peter's richly illustrated original and depicts Greek notaries (ed. Siragusa, 1:pl.7 and ed. Rota, pl.6), ceremonies (e.g., pls. 7 and 40, the *adventus* of Tancred and Henry VI into Palermo, complete with musicians), costumes, ships, insignia, military equipment, and castles of southern Italy; some similarities to the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES exist, esp. in the area of siege equipment and tents, but in general the *Liber* was decorated by more competent and ambitious painters using full pages whether one or more scenes were represented. Peter's poem on the medicinal qualities attributed to various baths along the Campanian coast also seems to have been illuminated (e.g., *Petrus de Ebulo, Nomina et virtutes balneorum*, ed. A. Daneu Lattanzi [Rome 1962]).

ED. *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, ed. G.B. Siragusa, 2 vols. [= FSI 39–40] (Rome 1905–06); ed E. Rota in RIS, vol. 31.1 (Città di Castello 1904).

LIT. *Studi su Pietro da Eboli* (Rome 1978). H. Georgen, "Der Ebulus-Codex als Ausdruck der Konflikt zwischen Städten und staufischem Hof," in *Bauwerk und Bildwerk im Hochmittelalter*, ed. K. Clausbert et al. (Giessen 1981) 145–67. P. Schramm, F. Mütherich et al., *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751–1190*[2] (Munich 1983) 269.
–M.McC., A.C.

PETER OF SICILY, author of a Greek treatise entitled *Useful History and Refutation of the Senseless and Vain Heresy of the Manichaeans, also Named the Paulicians*. He claims to have been Basil I's envoy to TEPHRIKE in 869 (PG 104:1241 AG). The treatise has survived in a single MS, Vat. gr. 511 (of the 11th C., not the 10th C. as previously thought). It is dedicated to an unnamed archbishop of Bulgaria, and the first chapters are probably a separate letter addressed to the archbishop. Peter's treatise contains data on the history and dogmas of the PAULICIANS; its primary aim was to prove that the heresy was indistinguishable from the teaching of MANI. Since there are several other texts treating the Paulician heresy (by Photios, George Hamartolos, Peter the Hegoumenos), the question of their interrelation has been a topic of discussion. Most contemporary Byzantinists consider Peter of Sicily's tract as the original work that was eventually used by Photios and Peter Hegoumenos; one cannot, however, exclude the possibility that Peter of Sicily, who borrowed much from Cyril of Jerusalem, derived his information from other existing literary texts. It remains questionable whether he had at his disposal the writings of Paulician heresiarchs (e.g., epistles of Sergios, the vita of Sergios).

ED. "Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure," ed. C. Astruc et al., *TM* 4 (1970) 3–67.

LIT. H. Grégoire, "Les sources de l'histoire des Pauliciens," *BAcBelg* 22 (1936) 95–114. M. Loos, "Deux contributions à l'histoire des Pauliciens," *BS* 17 (1956) 202–17. R.M. Bartikjan, *Istočniki dlja izučenija istorii pavlikianskogo dviženija* (Erevan 1961) 73–88. P. Speck, "Petros Sikeliotes, seine Historia und der Erzbischof von Bulgarien," *Hellenika* 27 (1974) 381–87.
–A.K.

PETER PATRIKIOS, official, diplomat, and writer; born ca.500, died Constantinople 565. Probably of Illyrian origin and from Thessalonike (V. Grecu, *BZ* 40 [1940] 448), Peter earned fame as an eloquent lawyer at Constantinople, where he attracted the interest of Empress THEODORA. In 534 she cajoled Justinian I into sending Peter as envoy to Italy, where he spent three years in an Ostrogothic prison and was somehow involved in the murder of AMALASUNTHA. In 539 Justinian made him *magister officiorum*, a post he held for the unparalleled term of 26 consecutive years. His other activities included involvement in the THREE CHAPTERS controversy and negotiating peace terms with Chosroes I in 561–62; his documentary account of the latter assignment is preserved in a collection of his writings by MENANDER PROTECTOR (ed. Blockley, fr.6.1). A controversial figure, Peter is described as a fountain of virtue in JOHN LYDOS (*De mag.* 2.25) but as a boastful windbag by Menander Protector (fr.6.2). He was the first late Roman author to record and write about protocols, beginning with Leo I's coronation and his reception of foreign embassies (Cameron, *Circus Factions* 249f). Some extracts survive in the *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 84–95, pp.386–433), probably from the work that the *Souda* calls *Peri politikes katastaseos*, perhaps identical with his study of the *magister officiorum*'s office mentioned by John Lydos. This work is probably not the anonymous PERI POLITIKES EPISTEMES, the authorship of which until recently has often been attributed to Peter. Peter also wrote a Roman history from the death of Julius Caesar to that of Constantius II (361), of which nearly 20 fragments survive.

ED. *FHG* 4:184–91.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:723–29. P.T. Antonopoulos, "Petrus Patricius: Some Aspects in his Life and Career," in *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium*, ed. V. Vavřínek (Prague 1985).
–B.B.

PETER THE DEACON, librarian in MONTECASSINO; fl. first half of the 12th C. He was a chronicler and hagiographer of his monastery, notorious for his forgeries. His writings include the *Liber illustrium virorum archisterii Casinensis*, the *Ortus et vita iustorum coenobii Casinensis*, a *Liber de locis sanctis*, exegetical works, sermons, poems, and letters. Much of his work remains unpublished. He was particularly interested in ancient Roman history, but he had some knowledge (primarily through the works of ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS) of Byz. He used this information first of all to compose a biography of the local saint Placidus (ed. Rodgers, *infra* 6–16), allegedly written by a certain Gordianus in Constantinople; Peter refers to libraries of the city of Constantinople (*Constantinopolitanae urbis bibliothecae*), which contained additional data on St. Placidus. He made Placidus a nephew of Justinian I; the saint died a martyr's death in Messina at the hands of the Arabs (*sic*); when his monastery was later destroyed by another Arab raid, Gordianus narrowly escaped being killed. According to Peter, Placidus was invited by Justinian to visit Constantinople, where the emperor promised to confer upon Montecassino a *chrysobullium immunitatis*; Peter gives a long list of estates granted by Justinian in various provinces of the empire. Peter also provides information on the hierarchy of Byz. EUNUCHS, whom he divided into four groups: *spadones*, *falcati*, *thomii*, and *inguinarii*. The three last terms do not occur elsewhere in Latin.

ED. PL 173:763–1144. R.H. Rodgers, *Petri Diaconi: Ortus et vita iustorum cenobii Casinensis* (Berkeley 1972). For other ed., see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 620f.

LIT. E. Caspar, *Petrus Diaconus und die Monte Cassineser Fälschungen* (Berlin 1909). H. Bloch, "Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium and a Rediscovered Treatise in his *Acta S. Placidi*," *SettStu* 34.2 (1988) 797–847.
–A.K.

PETER THE FULLER (Γναφεύς), Monophysite patriarch of Antioch (469?–71, 476–77, 482–88); died 488. Peter began his career as a monk in the Akoimetoi monastery in Constantinople but quarreled with his brethren and accompanied the future emperor Zeno to Syria. In 469 or 470 he was consecrated patriarch of Antioch even though the incumbent Martyrios was still alive. Peter added to the TRISAGION the Theopaschite formula "who was crucified for us," which soon became the touchstone of MONOPHYSITISM. In 471 Peter was deposed and taken to Constantinople. He was restored to the see of Antioch by the usurper Basiliskos but in 477, after the restoration of Zeno, was again exiled, this time to Euchaita. Peter accepted the HENOTIKON in 482 and resumed his see until his death.

Some liturgical innovations introduced by Peter

(e.g., anointment of the entire congregation attending the service) have parallels in pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE. This prompted the hypothesis, developed by U. Riedinger (*BZ* 52 [1959] 281–96), that Peter was the author of the "Dionysian" corpus and that he devoted his many years of exile to this work. Riedinger's thesis has not, however, met with general acceptance.

LIT. A. Solignac, *DictSpir* 12 (1986) 1588–90. Frend, *Monophysite Movement* 167f, 188–90. L. Perrone, *DPAC* 2:2794f. –T.E.G.

PETER THE HERMIT, leader of the "Peasants' Crusade"; called "Koukoupeter" (Κουκούπετρος) by the Byz. (perhaps from Lat. *cucullatus,* "monk"); born near Amiens ca.1050, died Huy 6 or 8 July 1115. Responding to the summons of URBAN II, Peter assembled peasants, burghers, knights, women, and children in northern France and Germany (1095–96). His followers clashed with the Byz. at Niš and suffered heavy losses. To minimize discontent among the "Crusaders," Alexios I's envoys arranged markets for supplies. Peter's forces reached Constantinople on 1 Aug. 1096. Alexios interviewed Peter and gave him money but soon transported his "armies" and his predecessor "Walter the Penniless" to Kibotos in Bithynia. At first they purchased provisions but, as their funds failed in mid-Sept., they began plundering (F. Duncalf, *AHR* 26 [1920–21] 451f). While Peter returned to Constantinople for assistance, KILIC ARSLAN I ambushed and killed most of his followers (21 Oct. 1096); Alexios rescued the survivors. Peter participated in the First Crusade until the capture of Jerusalem, then returned to France ca.1099 or 1100 (C. Dereine, *Nouvelle Clio* 5 [1953] 445f). In Anna Komnene's view, Peter instigated the Crusade to safeguard his pilgrimage after having been frustrated in an attempt to reach Jerusalem before 1095.

LIT. H. Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremite* (Leipzig 1879). *HC* 1:253–62, 280–84. –C.M.B.

PETER THE IBERIAN, early Georgian monk and bishop; pre-baptismal name Murvan; born Georgia 409?, died Jamnia, Palestine, 488? Son of the king of GEORGIA, he was sent at age 12 to Constantinople as a hostage. He fled to Jerusalem ca.430 and became a monk, taking the name Peter. Unlike the Georgian majority, he was a Monophysite and a disciple of Theodosios, the anti-Chalcedonian bishop of Jerusalem, who made him bishop of Maiuma (near Gaza) in 453. Peter spent little time in his see, but his monastery near Maiuma became an important center of Monophysite sentiment. SEVEROS of Antioch studied there. Peter assisted at the consecration of TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS in Egypt (457) and supported the HENOTIKON of Zeno. A notable representative of the important Georgian community in Palestine, Peter founded the first Georgian monastery in Jerusalem and established several other monasteries and hospices.

The biographies of Peter by John Rufus, bishop of Maiuma (surviving only in Syriac), and Zacharias of Mytilene (lost, save for a Syriac fragment) provide much detail on the early struggle between Chalcedonians and Monophysites in the East. The later Georgian Life distorts Peter's anti-Chalcedonian position, attempting to bring him in line with Georgian orthodoxy. To Peter some scholars have attributed the writings of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE.

SOURCES. Vita by John Rufus in Syriac—*Petrus der Iberer,* ed. R. Raabe (Leipzig 1895), with Germ. tr. Vita in Georgian—*Žitie Petra Ivera,* ed. N. Marr, *PPSb* 16.2 (1896).

LIT. D.M. Lang, "Peter the Iberian and his Biographers," *JEH* 2 (1951) 158–68. –R.T., T.E.G.

PETRA (Πέτρα), city in Jordan, ancient Nabataean capital and the center of the caravan trade; it was obscured by the rise of PALMYRA and Persian success in moving the main trade route to the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf. Byz. coins to the reign of Justin II have been found in Petra (N. Khairy in *Petra,* ed. M. Linder [Munich 1986] 66), as has a Vandal *nummus* of Hilderich of the period 523–30 (M. Mackensen in ibid. 189–91). Christianity reached Petra no later than Constantine I's reign. About 300 (not later than 314) Petra was transferred from the province of Arabia to Palaestina Tertia and became its capital. In 451 the bishopric of Petra was placed under the patriarchate of Jerusalem. It was probably a center of local ecclesiastical culture; Theodore, bishop of Petra, wrote an *enkomion* of St. THEODOSIOS KOINOBIARCHES (died 529).

LIT. G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1983) 184f. Y. Tsafrir, "The Transfer of the Negev, Sinai and Southern Transjordan from *Arabia* to *Palaestina,*" *IEJ* 36 (1986) 80–86. P. Parr, "The Last Days of Petra," *Proceedings of the Symposium on Bilād al-Shām During the Byzantine Period,* ed. M.A. Bakhit, M. Asfour (Amman 1986) 2:192–205. –W.E.K., A.K.

PETRALIPHAINA, THEODORA. See THEODORA OF ARTA.

PETRALIPHAS, or Petraleiphas (Πετραλ⟨ε⟩ίφας, fem. Πετραλίφαινα), an aristocratic lineage of Western origin. The family's founder was Peter of Alifa (near Caserta, Italy). After the death of ROBERT GUISCARD, Peter joined Alexios I, participated in the First Crusade, and fled from Antioch when Turks besieged it. Niketas Choniates mentions four Petraliphas brothers, soldiers of Manuel I, who were "Franks" by origin and lived in Didymoteichon. The later tradition, preserved in the romance of BELISARIOS, described the Petraliphas family as an insignificant family from Didymoteichon. At least two members of the Petraliphas family, however, were Manuel's generals: the *sebastos* Alexios in 1166 and Nikephoros; perhaps they were among the "brothers" from Didymoteichon. Nikephoros Komnenos Petraliphas, *sebastokrator,* issued a *sigillion* for the Xeropotamos monastery (probably ca.1200) to confirm his grandmother Maria Tzousmene Komnene's donation (*Xerop.,* no.8). Another *sebastokrator,* John Petraliphas, was governor of Macedonia and Thessaly under the Angeloi. His sister Maria married Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros. One of his daughters, Theodora Petraliphaina (THEODORA OF ARTA) wed MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros. Another branch of the family sided with the empire of Nicaea: George Akropolites (Akrop. 58.19–21) mentions John Petraliphas, a courageous warrior, whom John III Vatatzes appointed *megas chartoularios* ca.1237; identification with the above-mentioned *sebastokrator* John is questionable. A ridge called Petraleiphes, near Perigardikeia (Macedonia), mentioned in a charter of 1341 (*Docheiar.,* no.20.17), is perhaps a trace of the Petraliphas property in the area.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 215f. –A.K.

PETRA MONASTERY, dedicated to the Prodromos, located in the northwestern part of Constantinople near the cistern of Aetios. According to John MAUROPOUS, who lived at Petra in the 11th C., the monastery was founded by the Egyptian monk Baras in the late 5th or early 6th C. In the late 11th C. the monastery was restored by the *hegoumenos* John the Faster, who also composed a rule—as yet unedited (Milan, Ambros. gr. 270)—for the monastery. In 1200 Petra reportedly housed 200 monks. The monastery continued to flourish during the Palaiologan period; STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN founded a hospital there, the XENON OF THE KRAL, which later included a school (*katholikon mouseion*). In 1381 Petra held third place in the hierarchy of monasteries of Constantinople. Russian pilgrims commented on its wealth of relics, and CLAVIJO praised the lavish mosaic decoration of its church. Petra was still functioning in 1453 when it was sacked by Janissaries (Douk. 363.1–3); by the 16th C. its church was in ruins, and a few nuns lived in its cells.

The monastery possessed a substantial library, including the 6th-C. MS of DIOSKORIDES now in Vienna; 28 MSS that once belonged to Petra are still preserved. Between the 11th and 13th C. a number of scribes were active at Petra, copying MSS for the monastic library and for outside patrons (H.D. Kakoulides, *Hellenika* 21 [1968] 3–39).

LIT. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 339–45. Janin, *Églises CP* 421–29. Beck, *Kirche* 214, 555f, 775. –A.M.T.

PETRIC'I, JOHN. See JOHN PETRIC'I.

PETRION (Πέτριον), also called Petria, a region in Constantinople on the Golden Horn as well as the name of a nunnery located near the "Iron Gate" in the Petrion region. The history of the convent remains obscure. Patr. Nikephoros I (Nikeph. 113.20–24) mentions the chapel (*eukterion*) of St. Euphemia "in the so-called Petrion," the foundation of which he ascribes to Kastinos, a legendary bishop of Byzantion (mid-3rd C.), that is, before Euphemia's birth. On the other hand, the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE (ed. Preger 3:274.15–18) makes Basil I the founder of the monastery of St. Euphemia, of the "tombs in Petrin," and of a bathhouse, adding that the emperor "tonsured" his daughters there. Later sources usually refer separately to the nunnery of St. Euphemia and that of Petrion/Petria, and Janin (*CP byz.* 408) distinguishes them, but it is very

probable that they are one and the same. J. Pargoire's hypothesis that Gül Cami should be identified as the monastery of St. Euphemia has been rejected (Mathews, *Byz. Churches* 128f).

The nunnery served as a place of confinement or refuge for several empresses and other women of the imperial family. Besides Basil's daughters, Zoe Karbonopsina was "tonsured in Petrion in the convent of St. Euphemia" (*TheophCont* 397.13–14). In 1031 the Empress Zoe forced her sister Theodora to become a nun "in Petrion" (Skyl. 385.34–36), but she was later released and ascended to the throne. In 1078 Maria of "Alania" retired to Petrion after the abdication of her first husband Michael VII but soon left the nunnery and married Nikephoros III Botaneiates (Bryen. 253.11–14). In 1081 Anna Dalassene and her female relations were imprisoned "in the convent of Petria" (An.Komn. 1:79.9–11). Thereafter Petrion disappears from the sources.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 127–29, 397. –A.M.T., A.K.

PETRITZOS MONASTERY, founded in the late 11th C. by Gregory Pakourianos, a Byz. general of Armeno-Georgian ancestry. Still surviving south of Philippopolis, near modern Bačkovo, it is dedicated to the Theotokos Petritzonissa (or Petritziotissa), whose epithet derives from the medieval *kastron* of Petritzos (Πετριτζός). The monastery was established for the use of 51 Georgian monks; retired soldiers who had served under Pakourianos were its earliest inhabitants. Pakourianos, who had no surviving heirs, endowed the monastery liberally with properties located in the themes of Philippopolis, Boleron, Serres, and Thessalonike (esp. in Stenimachos); both he and his brother Apasios were buried at Petritzos.

Its *typikon*, based largely upon the (lost) rule of the Panagiou monastery in Constantinople, was composed by Pakourianos in 1083 and includes much autobiographical information; it was drafted in Greek and Georgian versions, which survive, and possibly in Armenian. The *typikon* emphasizes the independence of Petritzos both from the authority of the local bishop and from future control by members of his family. The document prohibits the residence of any Greek priests or monks but requires a *notarios* able to read and write Greek who could deal with the local Byz. civilian authorities. Eunuchs and young boys were refused admission, but provision was made for six boys to be trained as priests at the nearby and dependent monastery of St. Nicholas (I.M. Konidares in *Antidoron Pneumatikon: Timetikos tomos Gerasimou Io. Konidare* [Athens 1981] 162–69). The inventory lists the icons, liturgical books, and sacred vessels as well as the livestock that Pakourianos donated to the monastery. He constructed three hostels near Petritzos as refuges for travelers. By the 14th C. the monastery had lost its Georgian character; in 1344 it came under the control of Tsar Ivan Alexander and was inhabited by Bulgarian monks. After Bulgaria fell to the Turks (1393), the monastery became a center of Bulgarian culture.

The double church, built between 1074 and 1083, is the only Byz. structure preserved at the monastery. Its upper story contains two wall-tombs and is of fine brick construction with occasional stone courses. The crypt, with 14 floor-tombs, has a Deesis in the apsidal conch and a fresco of Ezekiel's vision in the Valley of Dry Bones, befitting the role of the ossuary described in the *typikon*. The earliest layer of fresco decoration has Greek inscriptions and includes six life-size saints, among them the Georgians Hilarion and George Mt'ac'mindeli. Ezekiel's vision, like the elaborate Last Judgment in the narthex of the lower church, may belong to a second campaign of decoration under John Iveropoulos (see Artists). The third layer includes portraits of Gregory and Apasios Pakourianos, shown as *ktetores*, and Ivan Alexander; the latter portrait must have been painted between 1344 and 1363. Among rare features of the decoration are the Melismos (see Fraction) in the upper church, and half-length portraits of saints painted as simulated hanging icons in the apses of both stories.

SOURCES. P. Gautier, "Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos," *REB* 42 (1984) 5–145. M. Tarchnišvili, *Typicon Gregorii Pacuriani* (Louvain 1954).

LIT. N. Lomouri, *K istorii gruzinskogo Petriconskogo monastyrja* (Tbilisi 1981). V. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Tipik Grigorija Pakuriana* (Erevan 1978). Lemerle, *Cinq études* 115–91. S. Grishin, "Literary Evidence for the Dating of the Bačkovo Ossuary Frescoes," *ByzAus* 1:90–100. E. Bakalova, *Bačkovskata kostnica* (Sofia 1977). –A.M.T., A.C.

PETRONAS (Πετρωνᾶς), general; died 865?. Younger brother of Empress Theodora and Caesar Bardas, Petronas was of Armenian descent (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 151). He served as *drounarios tes viglas* under Theophilos, who appointed him *patrikios*. The emperor reportedly ordered Petronas to decapitate Theophobos in 840 or 842. On the other hand, a story frequently repeated to illustrate Theophilos's devotion to justice says that the emperor had Petronas publicly stripped and beaten for illegally constructing a building that blocked a widow's view (e.g., Leo Grammatikos, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker [Bonn 1842] 215.20–216.11). Petronas apparently had little influence during Theodora's regency for Michael III; he helped Bardas depose her in 856. He was named *strategos* of the Thrakesion theme and given command of an army that raided as far as Samosata and Amida. In 863 Michael appointed him supreme commander of the army and sent him against ʿUmar, emir of Melitene. Petronas annihilated ʿUmar's army on 3 Sept. at Poson (or Porson) on the border between the Armeniakon and Paphlagonian themes (Grégoire, "Études" 536). After his victory he celebrated a triumph in Constantinople; a chant composed for the occasion is extant (*De cer.* 1:332f). He became *domestikos ton scholon* and was entitled *magistros*. He died while returning from an expedition and was buried in the monastery of Gastria.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:437. Halkin, *Saints moines*, pt.VIII (1944), 187–225. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:251–56. –P.A.H.

PETRONIUS MAXIMUS, Western Roman emperor in 455; born 396, died Rome 31 May 455. Petronius was of noble origin, although nothing is known of his ancestors; Theophanes' assertion (Theoph. 108.22–23) that Petronius was a grandson of the usurper Maximus is not valid. Petronius had a brilliant career, becoming consul, praetorian prefect of Italy, and *patrikios*. He was involved in the plot against general Aetius in 454. After the murder of Valentinian III, Petronius was immediately elected in his stead (17 March), but whether he participated in the conspiracy or was chosen as a weak and honorable representative of senatorial nobility is unclear. In any case Petronius demonstrated his loyalty to Valentinian's traditions by marrying Valentinian's widow and betrothing Valentinian's daughter Eudocia to his own son Palladius. He sought an alliance with the Gallic aristocracy by appointing Eparchius Avitus *magister militum* and sending him immediately as envoy to the Visigothic court in Toulouse. Petronius did not gain the support of the local Roman population, nor was he able to appease the Vandals; in May 455 Gaiseric appeared with his navy in the estuary of the Tiber and Rome was besieged. While fleeing, Petronius was recognized at the gates and literally torn into pieces by angry inhabitants and soldiers. Contrary to common opinion, Czúth (*infra*) denies that Petronius cooperated with the Italian senatorial aristocracy.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 (1930) 2543–45. *PLRE* 2:749–51. B. Czúth, "Petronius Maximus—Kaiser der italischen Senatorenaristokratie," *Oikumene* 4 (1983) 253–58. –A.K.

PETS. See Birds; Dogs.

PHAINA (Φαίνα, Ar. Mismīyah in modern Syria), city, military post, and bishopric of the province of Arabia under jurisdiction of Bostra, noted for its 2nd-C. "Praetorium," which was converted to a church before 450 and destroyed ca.1890. Built on a centralized four-column plan, the "Praetorium" (whose original function is unknown) has been cited by architectural historians as a possible prototype of medieval Byz. churches. It has been suggested that the centralizing elements were added in the 5th C. to the "Praetorium," which otherwise most closely resembles southern Syrian temples at Erre (es-Sanamen) and Slem, a type of building that influenced in many ways the development of local church architecture.

LIT. S. Hill, "The 'Praetorium' at Musmiye," *DOP* 29 (1975) 347–49. G. Hölscher, *RE* 19 (1938) 1562. –M.M.M.

PHAKRASES (Φακρασῆς), family name of unknown origin, surely not Greek; the name Οἰνοφάγος ("wine swiller"), found in Mazaris (18.30), is obviously a pun based on a supposed etymology *φάγω κρασί*. Some members of this family flourished in the 13th–15th C., holding secular and ecclesiastical offices. John Phakrases (ca.1300), *logothetes ton agelon* and correspondent of Maximos Planoudes, Gregory II of Cyprus, and Nikephoros Choumnos, is perhaps to be identified with a *parakoimomenos* John Phakrases to whom one MS attributes the metrical *Description of Imperial Offices*. A certain Phakrasina (Kantak. 1:409.21) was in the retinue of Anna of Savoy in

1330. George Phakrases was a military commander (1342–55) and supported John VI Kantakouzenos; he also wrote an account of the dispute between Gregory PALAMAS and Nikephoros GREGORAS (1355). Manuel Phakrases was an *oikeios* of John V (1370) as well as of Manuel II in 1409, when he took part in a synod in Constantinople. Demetrios Phakrases lived in Thessalonike as *megas primikerios* (1366–77); another Demetrios, also named Palaiologos, appeared as a witness in 1406 (N. Oikonomides in *Docheiar.* 219). Kantakouzenos Phakrases was an ambassador from Constantinople to John VIII at Florence in 1439. Matthew Phakrases, metropolitan of Serres (1377–1409), was captured by the Turks in 1383, but released four years later; John CHORTASMENOS esteemed him highly (Chortasm. 102–04). In sum, the Phakrases family was of minor importance, but occasionally appeared in higher positions and was related to nobler families.

LIT. Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 234–37, add. in *DOP* 27 (1973) 312f. S. Lampros, "Ekphrasis peri ton basilikon offikion hypo Ioannou Phakrase," *NE* 13 (1916) 23–32. –E.T.

PHALERA. See CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS.

PHANTINOS THE YOUNGER, saint; born Calabria late 9th C., died Thessalonike 14 Nov.? or 30 Aug.? in late 10th C. A master of the ascetical life, Phantinos (Φαντῖνος) was at MERKOURION ca.940 when he undertook the spiritual direction of NEILOS OF ROSSANO. He reportedly founded three monasteries, including one for women. Believing himself divinely warned of impending Muslim raids, however, he departed for Greece, where he settled at Thessalonike and met ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS.

Until recently, it was generally believed that there were two different saints named Phantinos the Younger: the abbot at Merkourion known to Neilos, and the saint at Thessalonike known to Athanasios. A still unedited 11th-C. Life, discovered by E. Follieri in a Moscow MS (*infra*), demonstrates that the two traditions refer to the same person.

SOURCE. E. Follieri, "La vita inedita di S. Fantino il Giovane nel Codice *Mosquensis* 478," *Atti del 4° Congresso storico calabrese* (Naples 1969) 19–35.

LIT. *BHG* 1509b, *BHG Auct.* 2366z. B. Cappelli, "Sui santi monaci calabresi Fantino e Nicodemo," *BollBadGr* n.s. 29 (1975) 55–71. –J.M.H.

PHARAN (Φαράν), name of several sites in Palestine and Sinai.

1. The wilderness of Pharan and the mountain of Pharan mentioned in the Old Testament as the site of a divine theophany during the Israelites' wanderings (Num 10:12, Dt 33:2, Hab 3:3) and with the site of Hagar's wilderness journey (Gen 21:14, 21).

2. Episcopal see located in the date-palm oasis of the SINAI peninsula northwest of St. Catherine's Monastery (Wadi Feiran). It was known to Eusebios of Caesarea (*Onomastikon*) in the early 4th C. The pilgrim EGERIA visited the hermits of Pharan on her way to and from the "Mountain of God" of Sinai (*Itinerarium* 6.1–3). Its 5th-C. bishop, Martyrios, pacified nomad attackers. By the 6th C. it was a fortified site on the Sinai pilgrim route. Its 7th-C. bishop, Theodore, a proponent of Monoenergism, is probably to be identified with THEODORE OF RAITHOU.

3. Monastery northeast of Jerusalem, founded by St. Chariton ca.330 and possibly named after the wilderness Pharan (Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (5th C.)* 406). It was a residence of EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT in the 5th C. and John MOSCHOS in the late 6th. It produced a patriarch of Antioch, Gregory, in the 6th C. By the 7th C., Pharan disappears from the sources.

LIT. **2.** R. Devreesse, "Le christianisme dans la péninsule sinaïtique, des origines à l'arrivée des musulmans," *RevBibl* 49 (1940) 205–23.
LIT. **3.** Beck, *Kirche* 203. –L.S.B.MacC.

PHARMACOLOGY. Drug lore was fundamental in Byz. MEDICINE, much as it was in Greco-Roman medicine. The pharmaceutical lists of ORIBASIOS, AETIOS OF AMIDA, and PAUL OF AEGINA owe data to earlier lore gathered by DIOSKORIDES, Xenocrates, and GALEN, but Byz. physicians were in full command of herbs and drugs, illustrated in the medical books by ALEXANDER OF TRALLES. Few new drugs were added to the pharmacopeia after Dioskorides' *De materia medica* (about 65) and the huge compaction of pharmacological doxography in the drug tracts by Galen, but Byz. doctors shrewdly rearranged aspects of drug theory to make sense of Galen's often confusing notions of how drugs "worked." Aetios of Amida's preface on the theory of drug actions, and Paul of Aegina's careful catalog of useful drugs (bk.7), show Byz. pharmacology precisely designed to fit neatly into basic treatments of diseases from PLAGUE to skin rashes. An anonymous tract of sometime during the 11th–14th C. (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 249–301) contains dietetic and pharmaceutic advice, including the recipe for the "perfume of the Empress Zoe." Using approximately 700 fundamental simples, derived from plants, animals (including insects), and minerals, Byz. drug lore became the model for later Arab pharmacology. In turn, late Byz. medical summaries, suggested by the works of Symeon SETH and Nicholas MYREPSOS, reflect the influence of Arab pharmaceuticals, esp. imported substances from the Far East. Almost all of the traditional drugs remained standard through the millennium of Byz. medicine, with the repeated employment of opium poppy, the hellebores, blister beetle solution, caustic mineral washes, soft emollients manufactured from rose oils, kaolin as an antidote, and hundreds of similar compounds. Noteworthy too are the *kyphi* formulas, incorporated into Byz. pharmacy from the venerated folk medicine of Egypt. Generally drug actions were explained by the old theories of elements, qualities, and humors, illustrated by the pharmacy in Oribasios, Aetios of Amida, and Paul of Aegina.

LIT. J. Riddle, "Byzantine Commentaries on Dioscorides," J. Stannard, "Aspects of Byzantine Materia Medica," and J. Scarborough, "Early Byzantine Pharmacology," *DOP* 38 (1984) 95–102, 205–32. –J.S.

PHAROS CHURCH. See NEA EKKLESIA.

PHASIS (Φᾶσις), a river in Colchis, the modern Rioni, which flows into the Black Sea at Poti. The Laz (see LAZIKA) first appear in this area at the beginning of the 6th C. Prokopios was personally familiar with the area, which figures prominently in his *Wars*, books 1 and 4. Later Byz. writers used the term Phasis in this sense (e.g., Nik.Chon. 528.84, 626.59, or Chalk. 1:130.8–9, 2:223.7), but earlier writers often identified the Phasis with the river Araxes (e.g., Theoph. 329.31, *De adm. imp.* 45). This stems from rendering "Basean," the Armenian district on the upper Araxes, as "Phasiane" in Greek (e.g., *De adm. imp.* 45.44) and Latin (COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA, 69). Phasiane appears in Byz. sources in various spellings (Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 196).

LIT. D. Kekelia, "O geografičeskom aspekte lokalizacii Fasisa," *Soobščenija AN Gruz SSR* 102 (1981) no.2, 505–08. –R.T.

PHELA TREASURE, dated to the 6th or 7th C. and found before 1955 in Syria or Lebanon, is composed of seven silver objects (two chalices, two patens, a cross and holder, a seal), five of which bear dedications; the church named in two of these is that "of the Theotokos of the village (*kome*) of Phela." With the exception of the cross holder, now apparently lost, the objects are divided between collections in Bern and Washington. One paten with SILVER STAMPS of 577 was given by an *exkoubitor*, who may have retired to his native village. The seal, a unique example of an early "cone" seal (see SEALS, CONE OR PYRAMID) in silver, had belonged to a "bishop of Kerania" (Kerynia [Kyrenia] in Cyprus?), perhaps another native of Phela. (See also TREASURES, SILVER AND GOLD; LITURGICAL VESSELS.)

LIT. E.C. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures* (Bern 1973), nos. 4–8. Mango, *Silver*, nos. 61–66. –M.M.M.

PHELONION (φελόνιον), a vestment worn primarily by priests and bishops, the Eastern equivalent of the Latin chasuble. Like the chasuble, the *phelonion* derives probably from the Roman PAENULA. The *phelonion* is a form of cape, worn over the STICHARION and simply pulled on over the head. It was made of wool or silk and could be any number of colors. It was originally circular and hung down nearly to the knees in front and back; the front section was gradually shortened over time, so that the garment became more semicircular in shape and allowed the wearer freer use of his arms (for the form in the 10th C., see the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS, fol.3; for the 11th C., the Homilies of John Chrysostom, Paris, B.N. Coisl. 79, fol.2v; Lazarev, *Storia*, fig.233). In the late 11th C., the *phelonion* of a patriarch began to be decorated regularly with an overall pattern of crosses and was referred to as a POLYSTAURION.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 234–47. –N.P.Š.

PHERRAI. See BERA.

PHIAL. See GLASS CRUETS.

PHIALE (φιάλη, also called κρήνη, λουτήρ), the fountain in the open court or ATRIUM preceding a church; in a secular context, a luxurious palace furnishing (Preger, *Scriptores*, 103.4). The term

may also refer to the square, octagonal, or polygonal structure erected over the *phiale* (Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.* 110–14).

Church *phialai* were originally intended for the ablutions of participants in the liturgy. From the 6th C. onward, however, they were also used for the blessing of the waters at Epiphany. *Phialai* often had the form of a shallow bowl. Two important examples of solid stone are the 5th-C. *phiale* of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike and that in the outer narthex of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (L. Bouras, *Gesta* 16.2 [1977] 65). A monolithic *phiale* (1060) in the Lavra on Mount Athos is the only example retaining an elaborate bronze trough (*strobilion*) spouting water. Representations of *phialai* in monumental painting and MS illumination often display troughs ending in a pinecone or eagle finial.

The meaning of *phiale* in the title PROTOSPATHARIOS TES PHIALES is unclear. It probably referred to a part of the Boukoleon harbor.

LIT. G. Millet, "Recherches au Mont-Athos III: Phiale et simandre à Lavra," *BCH* 29 (1905) 105–23. L. Bouras, "Some Observations on the Grand Lavra Phiale at Mount Athos and its Bronze Strobilion," *DChAE*[4] 8 (1975–76) 85–96. A. Khatchatrian, *Origine et typologie des baptistères paléochrétiens* (Paris 1982) 81f. –L.Ph.B.

PHILADELPHIA (Φιλαδέλφεια, now Alaşehir), city of LYDIA and last Byz. possession in Asia Minor. Philadelphia was significant in the 6th C., when the followers of PROKLOS called it "little Athens" because of its festivals and temples (JOHN LYDOS, *De mensibus*, bk.4, ch.58); John Lydos, however, described the suffering of his native Philadelphia under John the Cappadocian, whose agents ruthlessly extracted taxes (*De magistratibus*, bk.3, chs. 58–59). Philadelphia, a city of the THRAKESION theme, was occupied by the Turks after Mantzikert (1071), but was recovered by the Byz. in 1098 and became capital of the theme (by the mid-12th C.), a major bulwark of the frontier, and base for imperial expeditions to the east. The city was a center of resistance to Andronikos I in 1182 and the capital of Theodore MANKAPHAS. Philadelphia flourished under the Laskarids, when it was administered by a *stratopedarches* of Philadelphia and Thrakesion. It was a center of trade, with colonies of Venetians (attested in 1188) and Genoese (1342), and was noted for its production of leather goods and red-dyed silk.

In the 14th C., Philadelphia, as the easternmost Byz. city, was frequently attacked by the Turks. Rescued by the Catalan Grand Company in 1304, it was forced to pay tribute to GERMIYAN after the siege of 1309/10; from 1322 to 1324 it endured a long siege by Germiyan and Aydın, the account of which reveals many details of local topography. Two bishops of that era, THEOLEPTOS and Makarios CHRYSOKEPHALOS, played an enormous role in administering and defending the city. Philadelphia was then a Byz. enclave surrounded by Turkish emirates, prospering through trade and its strategic location. It finally fell to Bayezid I in 1390. Philadelphia, which was a suffragan bishopric of SARDIS, became an independent metropolis under Isaac II and metropolis of Lydia in 1369.

Philadelphia owed its survival in part to its long and powerful walls, whose extensive remains appear to date to the 3rd and 12th–13th C. (A. Pralong et al. in *Philadelphie et autres études* [Paris 1984] 17–67, 101–26). The city also preserves the ruins of a large domed basilica, evidently Justinianic (H. Buchwald, *JÖB* 30 [1981] 301–18).

LIT. P. Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte Philadelpheias im 14. Jahrhundert (1293–1390)," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 375–431. H. Ahrweiler, "La région de Philadelphie au XIVe siècle," *CRAI* (1983) 175–97. –C.F.

PHILAGATHOS, monk of ROSSANO, author of the so-called Italo-Greek homiliary; baptismal name probably Philippos, family name probably Kerameus; born Sicily or Calabria late 11th C., died mid-12th C. According to C. Cupane (*SicGymn* 31 [1978] 5), Philagathos "was a monk of an absolutely new type." Philagathos's homilies were based not only on patristic tradition, but on classical authors as well, and on the principles of ancient rhetoric. In the 27th homily, pronounced after 1143 according to E. Kitzinger (in *Byzantino-Sicula* 2 [Palermo 1975] 301–06), Philagathos described the Cappella Palatina in Palermo in detail and praised the founder of the church, ROGER II. Like his younger contemporary, EUGENIOS OF PALERMO, Philagathos was interested in the *Stephanites and Ichnelates* of Symeon SETH and produced an allegorical commentary on this text. Possibly Philagathos wrote a commentary on HELIODOROS, although Hunger dates this work in the 5th C. (*Lit.* 2:121). The commentary attempts to use the love story of the *Aethiopica* as a Christian allegory.

ED. *Filagato da Cerami, Omilie per i Vangeli domenicali e le feste fisse di tutto l'anno*, ed. G. Rossi Taibbi (Palermo 1969). S. Caruso, "Le tre omilie inedite 'Per la domenica delle palme' di Filagato de Cerami," *EEBS* 41 (1974) 109–27. *Heliodori Aethiopica*, ed. A. Colonna (Rome 1938) 365–70. Russ. tr. S.V. Poljakova, *VizVrem* 31 (1971) 245f.

LIT. M. Gigante, "Il problema Filagato," *SBNG* 633–39. A. Colonna, "Teofane Cerameo e Filippo Filosofo," *BollCom* 8 (1960) 25–28. B. Lavagnini, "Filippo-Filagato promotore degli studi di greco in Calabria," *BollBadGr* 28 (1974) 3–12. –A.K.

PHILANTHROPENOS (Φιλανθρωπηνός). This family, whose name is etymologically connected with the monastery of Christos tou Philanthropou in Constantinople, appeared in the mid-13th C.; many of its members held high positions in the army and administration. Alexios Doukas Philanthropenos, a commander in 1255 near Ohrid in the Bulgarian war, who later became *protostrator* and *megas doux*, died ca.1275; by his daughter Maria, who married Michael Tarchaneiotes, he was the grandfather of the Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS who rebelled against Andronikos II. Later Philanthropenoi, likewise related to the Doukai, included George Doukas Philanthropenos, who was governor of Lemnos and held the dignity of *megas hetaireiarches* in 1346 (*Lavra* 3, no.126.39–40). Alexios Angelos Philanthropenos bore the title of CAESAR and was the real ruler of Thessaly ca.1382–89 (B. Ferjančić, *Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku* [Belgrade 1974] 265–77). He was succeeded by his brother, Caesar Manuel Angelos (ca.1389–94). One of the most eminent 15th-C. Philanthropenoi was George, who, appointed MESAZON by John VIII, accompanied him to the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438/9 (Syropoulos, *Mémoires* 486–92). Alexios Laskaris Philanthropenos, governor of Patras in 1445, was highly esteemed by BESSARION, who sent him a theological treatise.

Numerous Philanthropenoi are of interest either for their relationship to other famous lineages (Kantakouzenos, Palaiologos, Bryennios, Komnenos, Asan, Choumnos, Tarchaneiotes) or because of their profession (*epi tes trapezes*, *megas stratopedarches*, *megas droungarios*, admiral, *protasekretis*, *megas oikonomos*, *protopsaltes*). Several women of the family are noted, for example, Anna Kantakouzene Komnene Palaiologina Bryennissa Philanthropene (fl. ca.1330; Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 150f).

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 167–70. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:365. V. Laurent, "Légendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines," *EO* 31 (1932) 177–81. – E.T.

PHILANTHROPENOS, ALEXIOS, general; born ca.1270?, died after 1323. Second son of the *protovestiarios* Michael TARCHANEIOTES and, through his mother, a member of the Philanthropenos family, Alexios attained military renown at a young age. In 1293 he was made *pinkernes* and *doux* of the theme of THRAKESION and sent to Asia Minor to fight the Turks and regain control of the Maeander region. His campaigns of 1294–95 were marked with successes, such as the reconquest of Miletos and Achyraous. The local population rallied to his support. In late 1295 he rebelled against ANDRONIKOS II and ruled independently for a brief period. He was soon, however, arrested and blinded (on 25 Dec. 1295: *Kleinchroniken* 1:194, 2:214f).

Philanthropenos was the son-in-law of Constantine AKROPOLITES and a friend of Maximos PLANOUDES, who addressed 28 letters to him. Toward the end of his life he regained imperial favor, thanks to the urging of Patr. Isaias (1323–32). In 1323 he was sent to Philadelphia to help raise the Turkish siege (Greg. 1:360–62).

LIT. A. Laiou, "Some Observations on Alexios Philanthropenos and Maximos Planoudes," *BMGS* 4 (1978) 89–99. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 80–87, 292. –A.M.T.

PHILANTHROPOS SOTER MONASTERY. See CHOUMNAINA, IRENE.

PHILANTHROPY (*φιλανθρωπία*, "love of mankind") was regarded as an essential divine attribute, which every good Christian was bound to emulate by ministering to Christ in the person of the POOR, the sick, the aged, the homeless, and the imprisoned. *Philanthropia*, incorporating the quality of *eleemosyne* (mercy or ALMSGIVING), was thus one of the major virtues expected of saints and emperors, the supreme "imitators of Christ." Emperors took every opportunity to characterize, and justify, their legislation as philanthropic.

The most striking manifestation of philanthropy in Byz. society was the systematic public provision of social welfare and HOSPITALITY through a variety of specialized institutions: the HOSPITAL (*xenon*, or, less frequently, *nosokomeion*), the hospice (XENODOCHEION), the old-age home (GEROKOMEION), the poorhouse (PTOCHOTROPHEION), the ORPHANAGE (*orphanotropheion*), and the ecclesiastical welfare center (*diakonia*). These

institutions, like philanthropy itself, had pre-Christian antecedents, but were essentially the product of the establishment of Christianity in the 4th–5th C. and represented a transformation in the pattern of public benefaction (*euergesia*) from the ancient ethos of "bread and circuses" to one that stressed the spiritual salvation of both the giver and the beneficiary. Although many such institutions were lay sponsored, and some of the most important depended directly on the emperor (see CHURCHES, IMPERIAL), all were, like MONASTERIES, ecclesiastical units. From the 10th C., indeed, all new foundations of charitable houses were invariably attached to monastic communities.

LIT. D.J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1968). H. Hunger, *Prooimion* (Vienna 1964) 143–53. Patlagean, *Pauvreté* 181–96. R. Volk, *Gesundheitswesen und Wohltätigkeit im Spiegel der byzantinischen Klostertypika* (Munich 1983). –P.M.

PHILARETOS BRACHAMIOS. See BRACHAMIOS.

PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL (Φιλάρετος ὁ Ἐλεήμων), saint; born Amneia, Paphlagonia?, 702, died in Constantinople in the monastery of Krisis or Rhodophyllion 792; feastday 1 Dec. Son of a well-to-do peasant, Philaretos supposedly owned the most impressive house in Amneia, 48 or 50 farmsteads (PROASTEIA), enormous herds of livestock, and many *oiketai* (slaves). He lost his wealth during the Arab invasion; his *proasteia* were seized by "neighboring magnates" and peasants; and he gradually distributed the rest to the poor. In 788 Maria, the granddaughter of Philaretos, was chosen in a BRIDE SHOW as the spouse of CONSTANTINE VI; Philaretos's family moved to Constantinople, where one of Maria's sisters married the *patrikios* Konstantinakios, and another was sent to become the bride of the Lombard king Argouses (Harichis).

The Life of Philaretos was written in 821/2 by his grandson, the monk Niketas of Amneia, as a Byz. version of the story of JOB. The hero is a man of exceptional generosity, but he differs from the paragon of philanthropy, JOHN ELEEMON, in that John was a politician, directing the patriarchal treasury of Alexandria, while Philaretos was a private citizen who distributed his own possessions, apparently to his own detriment, so that ordinary people, including his wife, considered him a fool. Unlike SYMEON OF EMESA, however, Philaretos is not a wild eccentric, but a mild and temperate person. The Life bears no traces of anti-Iconoclastic polemics. It is a very important source for 8th-C. agrarian history (J. Nesbitt, *GOrThR* 14 [1969] 150–58). The Life is preserved in two versions: Paris, B.N. gr. 1510, a 10th-C. MS, and Genoa, Bib. Franz. 34, 11th C. K. Bonis (in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* [Berlin 1981] 97) ascribes both MSS to the 12th C. L. Rydén (*AB* 100 [1982] 485–95) hypothesizes that the Genoa MS preserves the earlier tradition and that the Paris version represents a revision produced in the same milieu as the Life of ANDREW THE FOOL. The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.218) shows the burial of Philaretos (in the Krisis monastery, according to the text).

SOURCES. M.-H. Fourmy, M. Leroy, "La Vie de S. Philarète," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 85–170, with Fr. tr. A. Vasiliev, "Žitie Filareta Milostivogo," *IRAIK* 5 (1900) 64–86.

LIT. *BHG* 1511z–1512a. P. Giannopoulos, "Paratereseis sto 'Bio tou hagiou Philaretou,'" *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 487–503. S.V. Poljakova, "Fol'klornyj sjužet o ščastlivom glupce v nekotorych pamjatnikach agiografii VIII v.," *VizVrem* 34 (1973) 130–36. P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI.*, vol. 1 (Munich 1978) 204–06. I. Diller-Sellschopp, "Der Weg des Aschenputtelmärchens vom Orient zu den Brüdern Grimm (AT 510)," *FoliaN* 4 (1982) 19f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

PHILES (Φιλῆς, cf. *φίλος* and the component *-φιλής* in *εὐ-φιλής*, "well-loved," etc.), a noble family flourishing only during the 13th–14th C. Theodore, appointed governor of Thessalonike by JOHN III VATATZES soon after 1246, was blinded in 1255 by his great enemy, THEODORE II LASKARIS, and therefore in 1258 went over to Michael VIII Palaiologos (Angold, *Byz. Government* 76–78, 82, 289). Theodore's son Alexios married Maria Palaiologina, second daughter of John Kantakouzenos and Irene Palaiologina and thus niece of the emperor; in 1261 Alexios received the rank of *megas domestikos*. Campaigning in the Peloponnesos in 1262, he was taken prisoner; he died there a year later (A. Failler, *REB* 38 [1980] 87–96). John Philes, also called Palaiologos, was invested with the function of a *protostrator* and campaigned successfully against the Turks (before 1314). A learned man, he corresponded with Michael GABRAS, who also wrote a letter to Theophylaktos Philes, probably John's son. Another John Philes accompanied the Empress Irene (wife of John VI Kantakouzenos) to Didymoteichon in 1352. By far the most renowned member of the family was Manuel PHILES, the poet, to be distinguished from the hymnographer Michael Philes, who probably also lived in the 14th C. (Beck, *Kirche* 707).

LIT. Gabras, *Letters* 1:48, 54, 65. Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 19, 79, 106. –E.T.

PHILES, MANUEL, court poet under Andronikos II and III; born Ephesus ca.1275, died ca.1345. A pupil of George Pachymeres, Philes participated in an embassy to the "Tauroscythians" (Tatars) in 1293 to arrange the marriage of Maria, daughter of Andronikos II, to the khan of the Golden Horde. He also went on a mission to recruit Georgian archers in 1305–06 and claims to have traveled among the "Persians [Turks], Arabs, Indians, and Scythians." He offended an emperor, probably Andronikos II, and was briefly imprisoned. His complaints of poverty, hunger, thirst, and the cold may be a topos. The subjects and addressees of his poems indicate that he had close ties with the imperial family, the aristocracy (he was related to the Melissenoi), and the patriarch.

Philes's poetry, in iambics and political verse, was immensely varied and prolific. It included poems on flora and fauna (e.g., his very lengthy *On the Characteristics of Animals*, based primarily on AELIANUS), his descriptions of an elephant and an ostrich, and two didactic poems on silkworms (Z. Kádár, *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 1 [1965] 49–55). In a panegyric in honor of John Kantakouzenos, Philes converses with abstract notions such as Reason, Virtue, Truth, and Modesty. He wrote *epitaphioi* for members of the imperial family and the nobility, an *enkomion* of Andronikos III (M.I. Gedeon, *EkAl* 4 [1883] 291f), poems on feastdays, petitions (for a horse, bridle, barley, winter cloak, wine, etc.), accounts of historical events such as the Bulgarian campaigns of 1304 and the Catalan raids in Thrace, and *ekphraseis* of relics and works of art. His verses provide information on Vlach sheep shearing and the geography of Thrace, Macedonia, and the Adriatic coast. His poems are a good source for prosopography, and for descriptions of icons, icon frames, and books, which show that the patronage system extended to commissioning epigrams to celebrate such artistic creations (Belting, *Illum. Buch* 18f, 48f). His poetry so closely resembles that of PTOCHOPRODROMOS that there has sometimes been confusion between the two.

ED. *Carmina*, ed. E. Miller, 2 vols. (Paris 1855–57; rp. Amsterdam 1967). *Carmina inedita*, ed. E. Martini (Naples 1900); corr. N. Bees, *VizVrem* 20.2 (1913) 66f and E. Kurtz, *BNJbb* 4 (1923) 51–76. *Poetae bucolici et didactici*, ed. F. Dübner, F.S. Lehrs (Paris 1862) 1–68. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 2:263–74, 61of.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:147, 172, 266f, 275. Ch. Loparev, *Vizantijskij poet Manuil Fil* (St. Petersburg 1891). I. Rosenthal-Kamarinea, "Beobachtungen zur Stellung des Dichters in der byzantinischen Gesellschaft des XIV. Jhs. anhand der Schriften des Manuel Philes," 14 *CEB* 2 (Bucharest 1975) 251–58. N. Radošević in *VizIzvori* 6:591–98. –A.M.T., A.C.

PHILIP (Φίλιππος), apostle and saint; feastday in Constantinople 14 Nov. He was popular with the Gnostics, who attributed to him one of the NAG HAMMADI Gospels addressed to the topic of the mystical marriage of the Perfect (i.e., Jesus) to Sophia. Another Gnostic document connected with Philip is the letter of PETER to him: it contains the invitation to join the apostles and is followed by a description of their questions addressed to the Savior. Byz. legend relates Philip's missionary work (primarily in Scythia and Phrygia) and his martyrdom, together with that of BARTHOLOMEW, in Hierapolis. His cult developed from the early 6th C., when his *apostoleion* was constructed in Constantinople, in the district of Meltiadou, by Anastasios I, according to the *Patria* (Janin, *Églises CP* 493f). The *Acts of Philip* (5th C.?) were translated into Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic; later Greek eulogies (e.g., by Niketas Paphlagon, Symeon Metaphrastes) are short on detail and ignore Philip's colorful miracles related in his *Acts*.

With the exception of a unique icon of the 10th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, no.B.59), where he is shown blessed by Christ, Philip usually appears collegially with other apostles on ivories and in MS illustration. On the Harbaville triptych (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, no.33) and other works, he is indistinguishable, except for his inscription, from Thomas, the other youthful apostle.

SOURCES. J.E. Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Philippe* (Paris 1967). *The Gospel of Philip*, tr. R. McL. Wilson (London 1962). J.E. Ménard, *La lettre de Pierre à Philippe* (Quebec

1977). *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, ed. M. Bonnet, vol. 2.2 (Leipzig 1903).

LIT. *BHG* 1516–1530c. J.M. Sevrin, "Les noces spirituelles dans l'Évangile selon Philippe," *Muséon* 87 (1974) 143–93. – J.I., A.K., A.C.

PHILIP I OF TARANTO, prince of Taranto (1294–1331), prince of Achaia (1307–13), titular Latin emperor of Constantinople (1313–31); died Naples 26 Dec. 1331. Son of Charles II, king of Naples, and grandson of CHARLES I OF ANJOU, Philip inherited the Angevin rights of suzerainty over Frankish Greece (including Achaia, Athens, Naxos, Albania, and Thessaly). By conquest and marriage he sought to expand Frankish territory at the expense of the Byz. and was a continual threat to Andronikos II. His first marriage (to Thamar of Epiros, daughter of NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, in 1294) brought him the promise of suzerainty over the despotate of EPIROS but ended in divorce in 1309. From his base in Italy and Kerkyra, Philip campaigned twice in Epiros in an unsuccessful effort to make good his claim to the despotate; he also made an expedition to the Morea in 1306. In 1313 he married Catherine of Valois (the daughter of CHARLES OF VALOIS), who brought with her the titular claim to the Latin Empire of Constantinople. He made plans to reconquer Constantinople, as part of a crusade to recover the Holy Land, but the expedition never materialized. In 1313 Philip relinquished his title of prince of Achaia but remained suzerain of the principality.

LIT. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 42f, 238f, 253–58, 318f. Longnon, *Empire latin* 272–74, 292–95, 302–04. Bon, *Morée franque* 1:185–90. –A.M.T.

PHILIP MONOTROPOS (Μονότροπος, lit. "solitary"), monk and author; fl. ca.1100. He wrote two ascetic works in verse: the *Mirror* (*Dioptra*), also known as *Tears and Laments* (in 1095), and two years later the compilation entitled *Sylloge* or *Dialexis*, in the genre of a conversation between the soul and the body; in the later MS tradition the two works formed a single unit. Philip presents the posthumous destiny of the soul and a vision of the Last Judgment. Unlike the Life of BASIL THE YOUNGER, the presentation of Monotropos has no narrative element, only the lyrical perception of divine punishment and reward (F. Batjuškov, *ŽMNP* 273 [Feb. 1891] 333–42). Following Niketas STETHATOS, Philip placed the souls of the just not in earthly paradise but in the Kingdom of God in heaven (A. Wenger, *BZ* 44 [1951] 560–69). The *Dioptra* became very popular in the 14th C.; it was reworked by a certain Phialites and translated into Church Slavonic in Bulgaria (H. Miklas, *Starobŭlgarskata literatura* 2 [Sofia 1977] 169–81). Some MSS of the *Dioptra* contain several accompanying texts, including a preamble by Michael PSELLOS which was used by A. Sonny to date Psellos's death after 1095 (*BZ* 3 [1894] 602f); the validity of this attribution has, however, been questioned by J. Darrouzès (*REB* 32 [1974] 199f).

ED. Spyridon Lauriotes in *Ho Athos*, vol. 1, pts. 1–2 (Athens 1919–20) 1–247. E.S. Shuckburgh, *Debate of the Body and the Soul* (Cambridge 1894), with Eng. tr.

LIT. V. Grumel, "Remarques sur la Dioptra de Philippe le Solitaire," *BZ* 44 (1951) 198–211, with add. by W. Hörandner, in *Akrothinia* (Vienna 1964) 23–40. G.M. Prochorov, " 'Dioptra' Filippa Pustynnika—'Dušezritel'noe zercalo,' " *Russkaja i gruzinskaja srednevekovye literatury* (Leningrad 1979) 143–66. W. Hörandner, "Notizen zu Philippos Monotropos," *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985–86) 817–31. –A.K.

PHILIP OF SIDE, churchman and writer; born Side, fl. first half 5th C. In the early 5th C. Philip, perhaps accompanied by his relative Troilos, emigrated to Constantinople, where he became a good friend of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, who ordained him deacon. Troilos became a successful orator and teacher, numbering future clerics and men of letters among his pupils, and with friends in high places. Philip, by contrast, failed in three bids for the patriarchate (426, 428, 431).

His major work was titled *Christian History* (not ecclesiastical, as Sokr. *HE* 7.27, emphasizes), written between 434 and 439, extending from the Creation to ca.426. To judge from the strong criticisms of Sokrates and Photios (*Bibl.*, cod. 35) of the history's Asianist style, pretensions to polymathy, shapeless format, purple passages, and chronological deficiencies, Philip was attempting a fusion of various literary genres, pagan and Christian. Apart from the quotation by Photios of the opening sentence, extracts remain only in a 14th/15th-C. MS in Oxford (Bodl. Barocc. 142, fols. 216r–v). The many other works ascribed to Philip by Sokrates, including a refutation of Julian's *Against the Galilaeans,* have vanished without a trace.

ED. C. de Boor, *Neue Fragmente des Papias, Hegesippus und Pierius, in bisher unbekannten Excerpten aus der Kirchengeschichte des Philippus Sidetes* in *TU* 5 (Leipzig 1889) 165–84.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies* [= ST 173] (Vatican 1953) 82–91. –B.B.

PHILIP OF SWABIA, king of Germany (1198–1208); son of FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA; born 1178, died Bamberg 21 June 1208. In 1197, at the direction of his brother HENRY VI, Philip married Irene, daughter of Isaac II and widow of Roger, son of TANCRED OF LECCE. The future ALEXIOS IV escaped from Constantinople to Germany and spent the winter of 1201/2 at Philip's court in or near Hagenau (Alsace). With the evident support of Philip's ally Philip II of France (M. Zaborov, *VizVrem* 6 [1953] 228–35), BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, leader of the Fourth Crusade, spent Christmas 1201 at Hagenau; the three almost certainly discussed the possibility of turning the Crusade to Alexios's advantage. Late in 1202 envoys of Philip reached the Crusaders at Zara; through them, he guaranteed Alexios's offers, thus bringing about the Crusade's diversion to Constantinople. Philip believed that, through his wife, he had a claim to the Byz. throne. In May 1203 he promised Pope INNOCENT III, "If omnipotent God subdues the Greeks' realm to me or my brother-in-law, in good faith and without fraud I will act to subject the Constantinopolitan church to Rome" (MGH *Leges*, Sectio 4, 2:9).

LIT. E. Winkelmann, *Philipp von Schwaben und Otto IV. von Braunschweig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1873–78; rp. Darmstadt 1963). C. Diehl, *Choses et gens de Byzance* (Paris 1926) 213–29. J. Godfrey, *1204: The Unholy Crusade* (Oxford 1980) 67–69. –C.M.B.

PHILIPPI (Φίλιπποι), city of eastern MACEDONIA, in a rich plain astride the Via EGNATIA, slightly inland from its port at CHRISTOUPOLIS. It was an important economic and cultural center in the 4th C.; HIMERIOS, in a speech delivered in Philippi probably in 362, praised the city and particularly the purity of the Greek spoken by its population.

At Philippi are preserved the remains of many buildings, esp. of the 5th–6th C., and many tombs both Christian and pagan, with coins through Justinian I (Ch.I. Pennas in *Kabala* 1:437–44). Basilica A, which was built on a succession of levels rising from forecourt to nave, and Basilica G were decorated with marble and mosaic floors. Basilica B (6th C.) was an enormous vaulted structure with a dome over the central bay; the dome collapsed before completion. The so-called Octagon was built by the bishop Porphyry (mid-4th C.), rebuilt with a mosaic pavement in the late 4th or early 5th C., and inscribed in a square in the early 6th C. (S. Pelekanides, *Ergon tes Archaiologikes Hetaireias* [1978] 181–91). It was the cathedral of Philippi and part of a vast complex, including a bishop's palace, that became the focus of civic life until a fire of the 7th C. (Ch. Bakirtzes in *Kabala* 2:149–57); according to Pelekanides the cult of the apostle Paul that was centered in the Octagon continued a Hellenistic hero cult (*Kabala* 1:149–58). Among the Christian monuments of Philippi is an inscription of the 5th C. on the city gates containing fragments of correspondence between Christ and Abgar of Edessa (C. Picard, *BCH* 44 [1920] 41–69).

The fate of Philippi after the 7th C. is obscure. Slavs settled in much of the surrounding territory. Bulgarian invasions of ca.812 forced Greeks to flee from the "fortress" (*ochyroma*) of Philippi (Theoph. 496.4–5). Two fragments of a Bulgarian inscription dated to the second quarter of the 9th C. survived in Basilica B; one of them mentions the benefactions made to Christians and their ingratitude (Beševliev, *Inschriften*, no.14, pp. 163–74). Byz. writers are silent about Philippi except for the author of the *Vita Basilii* who "remembered" Philippi as one of the Macedonian *poleis* at the time of Herakleios (*TheophCont* 214.17–18). It was a *kastron* ca.965/6, when Nikephoros II Phokas organized the repair of its rampart, an event recorded in an inscription (P. Lemerle, *BCH* 61 [1937] 103–08). The remains of the walls show that during "the Byz. period" (not specified further by Lemerle) some additions to the ancient fortifications were made: a *proteichisma*, or low external wall; two inner walls strengthening the lines of resistance; and a "donjon," or medieval castle, as an independent fortified structure (H. Ducoux, P. Lemerle, *BCH* 62 [1938] 17f).

Philippi was known to al-IDRĪSĪ in the 12th C. as a trade center. It was an impregnable fortress protected, according to Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 3:328.15–21), by precipitous rocks and swamps. It is rarely mentioned in later sources, although we can assume that Philippi shared the fate of

eastern Macedonia. In 1208 the Latin emperor of Constantinople, Henry of Hainault, defeated the Lombards, who had refused to let him into Christoupolis, "in the valley of Philippi." In 1246 John III Vatatzes held a military council in Philippi (Akrop. 73.8–12). The city survived the attack of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in the early 14th C. but was later taken by STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN. Gregoras (Greg. 3:564.11–12) describes an expedition of Matthew I Kantakouzenos against the *asty* of Philippi in 1355; the caesar Voihna, Serbian ruler of Drama, took him captive (Kantak. 3:330.15–18). The city probably fell to the Ottomans in 1387.

The history of the ecclesiastical metropolis of Philippi is also obscure, and the data about it before the 10th C. are questionable; only in the notitiae of the 10th–12th C. is there evidence about it. It probably declined in rank during the Palaiologan period, and Christoupolis and Drama ceased to be its suffragans.

LIT. P. Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale* (Paris 1945). Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:538–43. S. Pelekanides, "Hoi Philippoi kai ta christianika mnemeia tous," *Makedonia, Thessalonike: Aphieroma Tessarakontaeteridos* (Thessalonike 1980) 101–25. –T.E.G.

PHILIPPIKOS (Φιλιππικός), general in the reign of Maurice; died ca.613/14. He was married to Gordia, Maurice's sister, in 584. Philippikos led expeditions into Persian territory in 584 and 585 (and allowed the massacre of Persian captives); he defeated the Persians at the battle of Solachon in 586 and ravaged their border territories in Mesopotamia in 587, but in no campaign could he deliver a decisive blow against the Persians. Maurice's replacement of Philippikos by PRISKOS as *magister militum* of the East caused the mutiny at Monokarton in spring 588. Philippikos's reappointment to that post in 589 satisfied the soldiers. After Philippikos failed to recover Martyropolis from the Persians, Maurice replaced him with KOMENTIOLOS in 589. Philippikos was *komes* of the *exkoubitoi* at the end of Maurice's reign, but in 603 Phokas replaced him with Priskos. In 594 Philippikos constructed a monastery in Chrysopolis (Bithynia), known as the monastery of Philippikos, which he dedicated to the Virgin. In the reign of Phokas, Philippikos was tonsured and exiled to this monastery. Briefly recalled to active military command after Herakleios dismissed Priskos in winter 612–13, Philippikos died soon after and was buried in his monastery.

LIT. Kaegi, *Unrest* 67–71. Goubert, *Byz. avant l'Islam* 1:91–104, 111–15. Whitby, *Maurice & His Historian* 278–89. –W.E.K.

PHILIPPIKOS, emperor (711–13); baptismal name Bardanes; died Constantinople 20 Jan. 714 (Sumner) or 715 (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 51f). He was the son of a *patrikios* Nikephoros from a Pergamene family. By 702/3 Bardanes was prominent enough to be exiled to Kephalenia by Tiberios II. Recalled by Justinian II, he was sent with a punitive expedition against Cherson, where he was acclaimed emperor as Philippikos. Supported by the Khazar khagan and rebellious Byz. troops, he entered Constantinople in Nov. 711. Philippikos's active support of MONOTHELETISM is often attributed to his presumed Armenian origins (Ostrogorsky). He deposed Patr. Kyros (705–11), appointed John VI (712–15), and convened a council (including the future Patr. GERMANOS I) that anathematized the Third Council of Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Philippikos also rehabilitated those (e.g., Patr. SERGIOS I) whom the council had excommunicated and removed from the palace the council's inscriptions and representations. A painted stele (or mosaic?) of Philippikos—one of the last public images of its kind to be erected—was displayed in the ZEUXIPPOS. Philippikos was suspicious of statues, allegedly ordering the destruction of one that had fallen on a *koubikoularios* and of two others that bore inscribed prophecies (Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 134, 145). His military efforts were inconsequential. In 712 he resettled Armenians from Byz. territory to Melitene and Armenia IV, but MASLAMA took Amaseia, while TERVEL devastated Thrace; in 713 the Arabs sacked Antioch of Pisidia. This ineffectiveness probably caused the revolt by officers of the Opsikion in favor of Anastasios II; Philippikos was deposed and blinded on 3 June. He was buried in the DALMATOU Monastery.

LIT. Hefele-Leclerq, *Conciles* 3.1:593–600. Ostrogorsky, *History* 144, 152–54. Sumner, "Philippicus, Anastasius II & Theodosius III" 287–89. –P.A.H., A.C.

PHILIPPOPOLIS (Φιλιππούπολις, Thracian Pulpudeva [Ž. Velkova in *Pulpudeva* 1 (Sofia 1976) 174f], mod. Plovdiv), city in northern Thrace on the right bank of the Hebros (Marica) River, founded in antiquity. Despite urban contraction after the Gothic invasion of 250, Philippopolis remained a major city, and excavations reveal various buildings dating to the 4th C., such as mosaic-floored *thermae* and Christian basilicas. The inhabitants of Philippopolis stubbornly supported the rebellious Prokopios in 365, and in 475/6 erected a laudatory inscription in honor of the usurper Basiliskos. Justinian I fortified it anew.

It was an ecclesiastical metropolis under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. From the 8th C. onward, Philippopolis, located near the Bulgarian border, was a subject of dispute between the Bulgarians and Byz. Krum's invasion in 813 forced the Christians to abandon the town temporarily. During Basil II's wars against Bulgaria, Philippopolis was one of the major Byz. strongholds, and the *protospatharios* Nikephoros Xiphias was appointed its *strategos*. Pechenegs attacked Philippopolis in the mid-11th C., temporarily occupying the city ca.1090. Nevertheless, Philippopolis flourished: in the 12th C. a water reservoir was built on the hill of Nebettepe in Plovdiv (Ch. Djambov, *Godišnik na Narodnija archeologičeski muzej Plovdiv* 6 [1968] 71–81), and the city walls were restored. Philippopolis was the residence of some prominent literati: MICHAEL ITALIKOS was its metropolitan and worked effectively to reconcile the knights of the Second Crusade with the population of Philippopolis; Niketas CHONIATES served as governor of the city. Geoffrey VILLEHARDOUIN considered Philippopolis one of the three largest cities of the empire. The city sustained damage from Crusader armies passing through it and also from religious conflicts, as it contained substantial Paulician and Armenian populations that were persecuted by the Orthodox. It was destroyed by Kalojan in 1206 but soon restored. In 1219 it formed a Latin "ducatum de Finepople." The Bulgarians captured the city in 1263, lost it to the Byz., and finally regained it in 1323 (when the inhabitants were busy harvesting grain). The Ottomans conquered the city in 1363 or 1364 (B. Cvetkova, *EI*^{2} 2:914).

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 154–62. M. Oppermann, *Plovdiv—antike Dreihügelstadt* (Leipzig-Jena-Berlin 1984) 108–23. G. Cankova-Petkova, "Kŭm istorija na Plovdivska oblast," *Bŭlgarsko srednovekovie* (Sofia 1980) 73–77. E. Kesjakova, "Akvedukite i vodosnabdjavaneto na Filipopol," *Archeologija* 25.1–2 (1983) 63–76. Ch. Džambov, "Srednovekovnijat Plovdiv spored novite archeologičeski otkritija," *Srednovekovijat bŭlgarski grad* (Sofia 1980) 315–22. –A.K.

PHILO, Jewish philosopher and apologist of Alexandria who interpreted Judaism on the basis of Hellenistic (primarily Platonic and Stoic) philosophy; born ca.20 B.C., died A.D. 50. His extant literary corpus, written in Greek and preserved in Greek and Armenian, consists mainly of allegories and philosophical commentaries on biblical themes, in particular Genesis and Exodus. His synthesis of Greek and Hebrew thought was a significant methodological tool for the CHURCH FATHERS, esp. his idea of God's wisdom, *logos*, as creating the cosmos through speech (cf. Jn 1:1). Philo's philosophic mysticism expressed in the *Vita of Moses* influenced Gregory of Nyssa and was well known among church fathers. Photios comments on a number of his works (*Bibl.*, cod.103–04), in particular Philo's description of the Essenes and Therapeutai, whom both Photios and GEORGE HAMARTOLOS identified as monastic groups. Photios also considered Philo a convert to Christianity (*Bibl.*, cod.105), based on his embassy to Caligula in Rome, where he supposedly met Paul. Philo's Greek style was praised by Photios and recommended by Joseph Rhakendytes. His influence was still strong in the 14th C. Theodore Metochites, who wrote an essay on Philo (*Miscellanea*, ch.16), quipped, following Jerome (*De viris illustribus*, 11), "Does Philo platonize or does Plato philonize?" –S.B.B.

PHILOCALUS. See CALENDAR OF 354.

PHILOGELOS (Φιλόγελως, Laughter-lover), a collection of 265 jokes, known in many MSS from the 10th–11th C. onward. It is attributed in MS tradition to Hierokles and Philagrios, whose identity is unknown. The certain *terminus post quem* is 248, since the millennium of Rome is mentioned; the calculation of money in myriads (units of 10,000) points to a date in the 4th–5th C., as does the custom of wearing TROUSERS. The presence of eunuchs and the use of blinding as punishment may also indicate the latter date. Some of the jokes, however, such as those which mention the Serapaeum as still standing, may be ancient.

The whole setting of *Philogelos* is urban, with references to city magistrates, elections, theaters, gladiators, public bathhouses, market places, advocates, merchants, etc. The countryside appears only rarely, in the form of the "landlord and his tenants." Slaves are mentioned in many of the

jokes. The objects of ridicule are *scholastikoi* ("egg-heads"), misers, men with bad breath, false prophets, inhabitants of Abdera and Kyme—but never peasants. The pantheon of pagan gods is present, while allusions to Christianity, if any, are vague. The jokes are structured on the principle of ridiculous misunderstandings or impossible juxtapositions and analogies, sometimes with sexual overtones.

ED. *Philogelos: Der Lachfreund, von Hierokles und Philagrios*, ed. A. Thierfelder (Munich 1968). Eng. tr. B. Baldwin, *The Philogelos or Laughter-lover* (Amsterdam 1983).
LIT. A. Thierfelder, *RE* supp. 11 (1968) 1062–68.
–A.K.

PHILOKALES (Φιλοκάλης, "loving the good," fem. Φιλοκαλίνα), also Philokalios, a family name. The first known Philokales is mentioned in Basil II's novel of 996 as an example of an ordinary peasant who rose to the title of *protovestiarios* and acquired the lands of neighboring peasants; Basil ordered the confiscation of the estate of Philokales. The family reappeared in the second half of the 11th C. when Andronikos Philokales served as *katepano* of Bulgaria ca.1066 (N. Bănescu, *BZ* 25 [1925] 331). Some family members, including Eudokia Philokalina, *proedrissa*, are known by the seals of this period (Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 282f). Gautier ("Blachernes" 241) identified Michael Philokales, eparch and *mystikos* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.1033), with Michael (without patronym), *mystikos* and eparch in 1094. Manuel Philokales was *kanikleios* in 1094.

Eumathios Philokales, one of Alexios I's ablest generals, served as governor of Cyprus ca.1092–1103 and again ca.1112, led an embassy to the Hungarian court, and defeated the Seljuks ca.1109/10. Some seals name the same Eumathios (or his homonym) *megas doux* and *praitor* of Hellas and Peloponnesos; a charter of 1118 dealing with a land dispute on Crete calls him *sebastos*, *megas doux*, and *praitor* (MM 6:96.13–14). Though not a trained soldier, he knew how to entrap his adversary and use war machines, according to Anna Komnene. Probably during his first governorship of CYPRUS he commissioned the *parekklesion* of the Trinity at the monastery of Chrysostomos, near Koutsovendi, in the northern part of the island. The brick walls, ashlar-and-brick dome, and high quality of the paintings at Koutsovendi, superior to any program surviving from 11th-C. Cyprus, suggest the accessibility to aristocrats, even early in their career, of major craftsmen and the readiness of the latter to work in the provinces. Most of the chapel's paintings remain unpublished.

Some 12th-C. Philokalai held military posts: one was Manuel I's general; another, probably, was *doux* of Dalmatia in 1178. Others were in civil service, such as the *grammatikos* Eumathios (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.1192); a certain Philokales, *logothetes ton sekreton*; and Eumathios, eparch under Alexios III, one of the richest men in Byz. and the emperor's envoy. V. Laurent identified a Philokales, *megas doux* in 1214 (*RegPatr.*, fasc. 4, p.26), with the above-mentioned *logothetes*, but the information available is too meager and their posts too different for such identification.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "Hoi authentai ton Kretikon," *Pepragmena tou D' Diethnous Kretologikou Synedriou*, vol. 2 (Athens 1981) 311–13. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 282f, 315f. C. Mango, E.J.W. Hawkins, "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962–63," *DOP* 18 (1964) 333–40. A. Papageorghiou, *Masterpieces of the Byzantine Art of Cyprus* (Nicosia 1965) pls. XIV, XV. –A.K., A.C.

PHILOKALIA (Φιλοκαλία, lit. "love for the good" [in Church Slavonic translated as *dobrotoljubie*]). A term for property improvement (in documents) or for scholarly correction (e.g., Epiphanios of Salamis, [PG 41:220B]), it came to be used as a term for *florilegia*. BASIL THE GREAT and GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS gave this name to their anthology of the works of ORIGEN compiled ca.360. Under this title, two Greek theologians, Nikodemos of Mt. Athos (1749–1809) and Makarios, bishop of Corinth (1731–1805), issued a collection of ascetic works written by Byz. authors of the 4th–15th C.: Antony the Great, Evagrios Pontikos, Maximos the Confessor, John of Damascus, Symeon the Theologian, Niketas Stethatos, Elias Ekdikos, Gregory Palamas, Markos Eugenikos, Symeon of Thessalonike, and others. John Cassian, who wrote in Latin, is also included, since some of his works had already been translated into Greek during the Byz. period. The *Philokalia* was published in Venice in 1782 and later on reproduced with some changes (K. Papoulides, *Makedonika* 10 [1970] 291–93). Paisij Veličkovskij (1722–94) translated the *Philokalia* into Church Slavonic (St. Petersburg 1793); in the West it was discovered later and used by J.P. Migne while preparing the second half of his *Patrologia Graeca*.

ED. *Philokalia ton hieron neptikon*, 5 vols. (rp. Athens 1957–63). Eng. tr. G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, K. Ware, *The Philokalia* (London-Boston 1979–). Fr. tr. J. Gouillard, *Petite Philocalie de la Prière du Coeur*^{2} (Paris 1968).
LIT. M. Spinelli, "Dagli 'Apophtegmata patrum' alla 'Philocalia' greca," *Benedictina* 30 (1983) 195–202. –A.K.

PHILOPATRIS (Φιλόπατρις ἢ Διδασκόμενος, The Patriot), title of a dialogue preserved among the works of LUCIAN in several MSS. The conversation of Triephon and Kritias, full of phrases from genuine Lucianic works, ridicules pagan myths, but at the same time the author scorns (ch.12) the creed of Constantinople ("the son of the father, spirit proceeding from the father") and St. Paul ("a Galilaean with receding hair and a long nose"); the author laughs at astrologers and false prophets also, but in his turn expresses the hope that the emperor will destroy "Babylon," enslave Egypt, and check the Persians and the Scythians (ch.29). Stylistic and chronological grounds preclude the authorship of Lucian, but defining the date and, accordingly, the purpose of the *Philopatris* is very difficult. Following B. Niebuhr, most scholars have attributed the *Philopatris* to the reign of NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS; Ch. Angelide narrowed this date to the period March–Aug. 963 (*Hellenika* 30 [1977–78] 34–50). R. Anastasi (*SicGymn* 17 [1964] 127–44) identified the emperor as Isaac I and even hypothesized the authorship of PSELLOS. B. Baldwin is pessimistic about the possibility of establishing a firm date for the work: rejecting the arguments in favor of Nikephoros II's reign, he admits that the *Philopatris* may have been produced in the time of Julian, or Justinian I, or any time thereafter (*YCS* 27 [1982] 321–44).

ED. *Lucian*, vol. 8, ed. and tr. M.D. Macleod (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1967) 416–65.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:149–51. R. Anastasi, "Sul testo del *Philopatris* e del *Charidemus*," *SicGymn* 20 (1967) 111–17. P.O. Karyškovskij, "K istorii balkanskich vojn Svjatoslava," *VizVrem* 7 (1953) 230–32. –A.K.

PHILOPONOS, JOHN, scholar of philosophy, science, and theology; born ca.490, died after 567, or after 574 (Sorabji). *Philoponos* (Φιλόπονος) is a sobriquet meaning "lover of work" and may also refer to the Alexandrian guilds of *philoponoi*, or church helpers. A Christian who was trained by the Neoplatonist AMMONIOS, John became a professional *grammatikos* at Alexandria. A born controversialist, in 529 he attacked the Neoplatonist notions of PROKLOS concerning the world's eternity in *Against Proklos on the Eternity of the World*. He also developed a Christian theory of matter, attacking Aristotle's *On the World* in a treatise (surviving only in fragments) that provoked an elaborate response from SIMPLIKIOS. John refuted Aristotle's concept of the *ousia* (substance), later to be called quintessence (the fifth substance), that is, of things immobile or moving circularly round the center of the universe, completely separate from matter and therefore divine; the stars, according to Aristotle, know no upward and downward motions and possess a unique substance that is eternal. John, referring to astronomic observations that the stars have specific motions nonhomocentric with the universe, inferred that celestial bodies are not cardinally distinct from terrestrial, have no "quintessence," and are not eternal; he argued for the contingency of the world. John criticized much of Aristotelian science, esp. the ancient philosopher's explanations of dynamics, and proposed his own innovative theories on velocity in a vacuum and on impetus.

In his later years (from ca.553) John, a supporter of MONOPHYSITISM, turned to theology: his essay *On the Making of the World* appears to have been directed against the cosmogony of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES. A tract of 567, entitled *On the Trinity* or *On Theology*, reveals his leanings toward TRITHEISM, the concept of the separate being of each hypostasis. Several of his theological works, including the *Arbiter* and the *Letter to Justinian*, are transmitted in Syriac. John's diverse works included commentaries on ARISTOTLE and treatises on the astrolabe and on grammar. His notice in the SOUDA, along with the several discussions in the *Bibliotheca* of PHOTIOS variously applauding his style and condemning his heretical opinions, imply an enduring Byz. audience; he was also read in the Arab world.

ED. *CAG*, vols. 13–17 (Berlin 1887–1909). *De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1899; rp. 1963). *Against Aristotle on the Eternity of the World*, ed. and tr. C. Wildberg (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987). *De opificio mundi*, ed. W. Reichardt (Leipzig 1897). Syriac texts—*Opuscula monophysitica Ioannis Philoponi*, ed. A. Sanda (Beirut 1930), with Lat. tr. *Traité de l'astrolabe*, ed. with Fr. tr. A.P. Segonds (Paris 1981).
LIT. *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, ed. R. Sorabji (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987). C. Wildberg, *John Philoponus' Criticism of Aristotle's Theory of Aether* (Berlin–New York 1988). –B.B., A.M.T.

PHILOSOPHER (*φιλόσοφος*, lit. "loving wisdom"). This term had a broad range of meanings in Byz.: first of all, it designated pagan philosophers and had two distinct aspects—a false philosopher opposed to Christianity, and a wise man who was versed in the ancient intellectual tradition (also an educated man, a rhetorician, etc.). *Philosophia* or knowledge was laudable, constituting the "discipline of disciplines," the basis of any intellectual activity, but it could also be frightening, connected with dark forces, as are philosophers in the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI and to some extent in the COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA—guardians of strange and deceptive legends. Secondly, a philosopher was a person seeking moral perfection, and thus the word became synonymous with monk or ascetic. As defined by Neilos of Ankyra (PG 79:721B), "philosophy is perfection of morality combined with veneration of the true knowledge of being." Technically, a philosopher was a scholar who studied and taught the disciplines concerned with being, that is, beyond rhetoric and logic, which belonged to the sphere of the *sophistes*. The term *philosophos* could apparently also be used as an official title, e.g., on a seal of John, *chartophylax* [and] *philosophos* (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.780).

A view of *philosophoi* at work under Constantine VII—teaching pupils at a long table and inspecting their exercise books—is provided by the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.329).

Images of Pagan Philosophers. This is the conventional term for a cycle of paintings preserved in some churches. The *Painter's Manual* (*Hermeneia*) of Dionysios of Fourna (see MODELS AND MODEL-BOOKS) recommended that images of philosophers be represented together with the TREE OF JESSE, beneath the Old Testament prophets. They were considered to be pagan harbingers of Christ's incarnation. Several churches and monasteries—Lavra and Iveron on Mt. Athos, St. Nicholas Spanos (Philanthropina) on an island near Ioannina, Bačkovo and Arbanesi in Bulgaria, and others—contain images of ancient "philosophers." They are dated to the 16th–18th C., although K. Spetsieres (*infra*) supposes that the artists followed an earlier tradition.

The list of "philosophers" represented includes well-known names not only of philosophers (Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Philo) but also of politicians (Solon), writers (Homer, Plutarch, Thucydides), scientists (Galen), and prophets (the Sibyl); several names are unknown, for example, Lisitis, Astakor, Xialgis. The images are conventional, with few individual features: the men have luxurious hair and beards and, with some exceptions, wear crowns and rich attire; the Sibyl appears dressed as an empress. The figures are identified by inscriptions not restricted to names but including some Christian statements (e.g., "God is the Reason, Word, Spirit, and incarnate Word [Logos] of the Father"). At Bačkovo, the image of Socrates is accompanied by an inscription referring to Christ: "He took his flesh from a Jewish virgin, and was crucified; blessed are those who listened."

LIT. Dölger, *Byzanz* 197–208. I. Ševčenko, "The Definition of Philosophy in the Life of St. Constantine," in *For R. Jakobson* (The Hague 1956) 449–57. A.M. Malingrey, *"Philosophia": Étude d'un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque* (Paris 1961) 185–288. K. Spetsieres, "Eikones Hellenon philosophon eis ekklesias," *EEPhSPA* 14 (1963–64) 386–458. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 1:478–85, 564f; 3:641–49.

–A.K., A.C.

PHILOSOPHY, defined by JOHN OF DAMASCUS (*Schriften*, ed. Kotter, 1:56) as (1) knowledge of beings (*onta*) *qua* beings; (2) knowledge of divine and human matters; (3) preparation (*melete*) for death; (4) assimilation to God; (5) the art (*techne*) of arts and the science of sciences; and (6) the love of wisdom. These definitions, which had been assembled by the Neoplatonists of the Alexandrian school (AMMONIOS, DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER, and ELIAS OF ALEXANDRIA), derive from Aristotelian (1, 5), Stoic (2), and Platonic (3, 4) conceptions of philosophy as well as indicating the origin of the word (6). Alongside these school definitions, philosophy as a term could in Byz. have meanings already developed in the patristic period; thus in rejecting the claim of pagan philosophers to provide enlightenment, moral reform, and union with the divine, Christians asserted their religion as the true philosophy as compared to false (pagan) philosophy (*he exo philosophia*) that inspired heresy. The identification of the Christian way of life as true philosophy was specified further so that philosophy could refer to paradigms of such a life: martyrdom and the monastic ideal. Broader meanings of philosophy as designating eloquence, education, and encyclopedic knowledge were also to be found in Byz.

John of Damascus then divides philosophy into two branches, theoretic (dealing with knowledge) and practical (concerned with the virtues): theoretic included physics, mathematics (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and harmonics), and "theology" (= metaphysics: the study of immaterial realities, God, angels, soul); practical included ETHICS, "economics" (i.e., domestic ethics), and politics. LOGIC he considers as the instrument, rather than as a branch, of philosophy. This division of philosophy, also derived from later NEOPLATONISM, remained standard (at least as an ideal) in Byz. and determined the order of a philosophical curriculum that would begin with logic and ethics and progress (in some cases) through physics and mathematics to metaphysics. The first stages of the curriculum, along with rhetoric, constituted the cornerstone of a higher EDUCATION in Byz.

The question of the existence of a specific Byz. philosophy risks anachronism if it presupposes a modern criterion of what is to count as philosophy. If philosophy is seen as a historical development, it is to be found in Byz. in the interest taken in ancient philosophy and in the efforts to develop and criticize this heritage. This work provided in turn vital inspiration to Renaissance philosophy. Some of the major periods, figures, and themes of Byz. philosophy will be noted here as well as the problem of its relation to Christian religion.

The beginnings of Byz. philosophy may be found in the Neoplatonism of PROKLOS and his school at Athens and in that of his pupil Ammonios and his school at Alexandria. Not only did these schools establish the philosophical curriculum, but also they made important contributions. Among these might be mentioned Proklos's theory of the structure and derivation of reality and the philosophical critique by John PHILOPONOS of Aristotelian physics, particularly the notion of a special celestial substance and the doctrine of the eternity of the world, on which subject his debate with SIMPLIKIOS anticipated the great debate in the Latin West in the 13th C. In the 7th and 8th C., the teaching of logic and ethics continued at an elementary level and in the form established by the Neoplatonic schools, John of Damascus being the best-known example. This presence of philosophy was strengthened in the 9th and 10th C., first by LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN (or Philosopher) who taught philosophy at Constantinople in the 9th C. and then, a century later, by Constantine, "leader of the philosophers," who was apparently responsible for teaching the theoretical sciences. In the same period PHOTIOS produced versions of Aristotelian logic and attacked Plato's theory of Ideas, which suggested that there were other causes of reality besides God. A greater friend of Plato was ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, who was responsible for important editorial work on MSS of Plato and other ancient philosophers.

The renewed efforts of the 9th and 10th C. to revive and strengthen education, including philosophy, bore fruit in the 11th C. Michael PSELLOS inspired the founding, as part of the new UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE, of a School of Philosophy by Constantine IX. Psellos headed the school, taught philosophy in all its branches, and was given the honorific title HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON. His description of his philosophical progress (Psellos, *Chron.* 1:134–38) matches that prescribed by later Neoplatonism. In teaching the branches of philosophy, Psellos attained considerable mastery of them through use, unparalleled in Byz. in its extensiveness, of the philosophical MSS available to him, of which Proklos was his preferred source. Reflections of this reading are found in his short encyclopedia *De omnifaria doctrina* (*Didaskalia pantodape*), in his commentaries on Aristotle's logic and physics, and in a large number of short pieces discussing particular problems raised in part at least by his pupils. Psellos impresses more by his vast erudition and Neoplatonist leanings than by any originality. This latter quality is more evident in his pupil and successor, JOHN ITALOS, who was more systematic and radical in applying philosophical analysis to theological issues. Italos was succeeded by THEODORE OF SMYRNA, author of an epitome of physics. Italos's pupil, EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA, working with MICHAEL OF EPHESUS and other members of a circle associated with Anna Komnene, produced commentaries on Aristotle's ethics, physics, and logic.

The court at Nicaea ensured that the fall of Constantinople in 1204 did not break the tradition of philosophical learning in Byz. An instance of this continuity is Nikephoros BLEMMYDES, who produced handbooks of logic and physics. In the period of the Palaiologan revival a large group of scholars who were competent in the various

branches of philosophy and willing to criticize philosophical theories emerged. PACHYMERES produced a compendium of Aristotelian philosophy, and paraphrases of Aristotle were prepared by Sophonias (late 13th C.), Leo Magentenos (14th C.), and Theodore METOCHITES. In addition to reading Plato and some rare Neoplatonic texts, Metochites engaged in scientific polemic with his rival Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, stressing against Choumnos the uncertainty of physics and the disappointing nature of Aristotle's metaphysics; Choumnos, on the other hand, attacked the orthodoxy of Neoplatonic psychology. Metochites' pupil Nikephoros GREGORAS shows a knowledge of and sympathy for Neoplatonism (in, e.g., his commentary on Synesios's *On Dreams*) that is reminiscent of Psellos (whom he uses).

Leading figures of the final period of Byz. philosophy were PLETHON, GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, and BESSARION. Plethon proposed replacing Christianity as a theology and political system with Neoplatonism as represented in Proklos and Psellos. These views were attacked as heretical by Scholarios, who was more favorable to the Roman church and to Latin SCHOLASTICISM and found Aristotle more amenable. Bessarion's attempts to mediate the dispute between his teacher Plethon and Scholarios helped bring to the attention of Italian humanists the dispute as well as the philosophical texts that were concerned.

Byz. philosophy is inextricably tied to the question of its relation to Christian doctrine. The question had already arisen in the patristic period and had evoked different responses. At first in competition with philosophical schools, Christians asserted the superiority of their faith in truth and in antiquity: Plato, to the extent he found truth, had read the Bible. This was attacked by the philosophers Celsus and PORPHYRY, to whom replied in turn ORIGEN, METHODIOS OF OLYMPOS, EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, and others. Despite this conflict and the view of some Christians that pagan philosophy, as St. Paul indicated (1 Cor 1:21, 25; Col 2:8), was superfluous and insidious, Origen and later Christian writers influenced by him still found room for philosophy as a preparation for faith, as a means of deepening understanding of the faith, and as a dialectical weapon to be used against heresies. Platonism in particular seemed to them to come nearest to Christian religion. Julian the Apostate's abortive attempt to revive pagan religion hardened church leaders' attitude to philosophy.

The educational value of pagan philosophy, however, continued to be recognized and tolerated to some extent. Justinian's closing of the Neoplatonist ACADEMY OF ATHENS in 529 and the transposition by pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE of Proklos's metaphysical system into Christian terms both express possible reactions. The link between higher education and philosophy made it difficult in later centuries to dispense with philosophy. Scholars and teachers like Photios and Psellos had to face attacks on their theological orthodoxy as a consequence of their interest in learning. Psellos is a clear case of this ambivalence. In his aggressive program to "revive" and advance philosophical learning he found himself presenting the pagan theology that constituted metaphysics in Proklos. He was, however, careful to note the heretical aspects, distance himself from them (for example in his commentary on the CHALDEAN ORACLES), or discreetly remove them (as did the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos in his excerpts from Proklos). In a letter to Xiphilinos, Psellos justified the teaching of such pagan philosophy by claiming that it can play a useful role as subordinate to, preparing for, and clarifying Christian doctrine.

Nevertheless, the tension between pagan philosophy and Christianity was not satisfactorily resolved in Psellos. The trial of Italos in 1082 rested on the association of heresy with interest in Greek philosophy and ended at least further talk of the pagan theology of Neoplatonism that had been popularized in some circles by Psellos and that was attacked by NICHOLAS OF METHONE in his *Refutation of Proklos's Elements of Theology*. The logic and physics of Aristotle, however, could evidently still be defended in the 12th C. as more amenable to Christian purposes. More broadly, the debate between proponents of Plato and of Aristotle in Byz. might be regarded in part as a debate about the theological acceptability of philosophy. Neither Plato nor Aristotle could be accepted entirely. To the heresy of Plato's (and the Neoplatonists') concepts—hierarchical subordination of first causes, emanation from these causes, existence of eternal Ideas, divinity and preexistence of souls, metempsychosis—could be opposed the heresies of Aristotle—a God who merely moves the heavens and exerts little providence, eternity of the world, omission of a future life in ethics. As Aristotle's logic was the beginning stage and Platonic metaphysics the highest level of the philosophical curriculum, the latter was least familiar and most exposed to the charge of heresy, whereas the former could be integrated more easily as a basic intellectual discipline. Even Aristotelian logic, however, was suspect to those monks whose spirituality opposed them to any form of philosophy, to those opposed to the Roman church and a Latin Scholasticism heavily indebted to Aristotle, and to those who knew some Neoplatonic philosophy and could agree that God transcends all syllogism.

LIT. L. Benakis, "He spoude tes byzantines philosophias, kritike episkepse 1949–1971," in *Philosophia* (Athens 1971) 390–433. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:3–62. A.M. Malingrey, *"Philosophia"* (Paris 1961). G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* (Munich 1977). K. Oehler, *Antike Philosophie und byzantinisches Mittelalter* (Munich 1969). B. Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine* (Paris 1949). S. Averincev in *Kul'tura Vizantii*, vol. 1 (Moscow 1984) 42–77; vol. 2 (1989) 36–58. G. Podskalsky in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* 7:623–26. –D.O'M.

PHILOSTORGIOS (Φιλοστόργιος), ecclesiastical historian; born Borissos in Cappadocia Secunda ca.368, died ca.439. At the age of 20 Philostorgios emigrated to Constantinople, where he spent most of his life and became a follower of EUNOMIOS. Himself a layman, he wrote in ostensible continuation of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA a church history in 12 books covering the years 300–425. Perhaps because of its extreme ARIANISM, it has survived only in fragments, primarily in the *Passio* of the martyr Artemios (died ca.362), and in an epitome by PHOTIOS, who also (*Bibl.*, cod.40) provides a highly critical précis; two complimentary epigrams (*AnthGr*, bk.9:193f) also imply its endurance. His history affords a welcome glimpse into the Arian view of things. Notable items include a mild treatment of the emperor JULIAN for his recall of Arians and attacks on such orthodox luminaries as BASIL THE GREAT, albeit GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS was let off lightly. A long section on NATURAL PHENOMENA interprets in apocalyptic vein earthquakes, eclipses, and meteors as scourges of divine anger. One fragment discloses his authorship of a refutation of the philosopher PORPHYRY and an *enkomion* on Eunomios about which nothing more is known. Philostorgios also wrote a vita of LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH.

ED. *Kirchengeschichte*[3], ed. J. Bidez, revised F. Winkelmann (Berlin 1981). Eng. tr. of *Epitome* in E. Walford, *Sozomen; Philostorgius* (London 1855) 429–528.

LIT. Z. Udalcova, "Filostorgij—predstavitel' eretičeskoj cerkovnoj istoriografii," *VizVrem* 44 (1983) 3–17. G. Geutz, *RE* 20 (1941) 119–22. –B.B.

PHILOTHEOS, metropolitan of Selymbria; baptismal name Philemon; born Dakibyze near Nikomedeia, died Selymbria? after 1389. The father of Philotheos was a priest named John who died when Philotheos was 15. The youth was entrusted to the care of his uncle Sabbas, a disciple of Makarios of Constantinople. After completing his education, Philotheos became a monk. He was a supporter of hesychasm and JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS. By 1366 he was metropolitan of SELYMBRIA; he remained in this position until at least 1389. In 1366 he anathematized Nikephoros GREGORAS, who had been dead for some years (MM 1:490; *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2515).

The most important work of Philotheos is a pro-hesychast treatise in the form of a dialogue between supporters and opponents of Palamas (Patm. gr. 366). He also composed hagiographical works, such as *enkomia* of Agathonikos (martyred at Selymbria in the 3rd C.) and Makarios of Constantinople (died ca.1341). Magdalino (*infra* 315, n.47) has suggested that Philotheos was the author of an oration of Patr. ARSENIOS, but its editor, P.G. Nikolopoulos, prefers an early 14th-C. date and proposes an attribution to Maximos PLANOUDES (*EEBS* 45 [1981–82] 406–61). Philotheos was also a scribe, who copied his own works (Kamariotissa 51, now in Istanbul, Gr.Patr.) as well as a *tetraevangelion* dated to 1380 (Princeton Art Museum 57–19).

ED. Vita of Agathonikos—PG 154:1229–40. *Enkomion* of Makarios—ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Maurogordateios Bibliotheke* [= *Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos*, supp. 17 (Constantinople 1886)] 46–59.

LIT. P. Magdalino, "Byzantine Churches of Selymbria," *DOP* 32 (1978) 309–18. Beck, *Kirche* 776f. –A.M.T.

PHILOTHEOS, KLETOROLOGION OF, a conventional name for the longest and most important of the TAKTIKA, i.e., official lists of titles and offices. The complete heading of the treatise reads, "The precise exposé of the order of imperial banquets, of the names and value of each title, compiled on the basis of ancient *kletorologia*." The word *kletorologion* (κλητορολόγιον) itself is linked

with *klesis*, "invitation," and *kletorion*, "banquet." The author is known only from this treatise; he was *protospatharios* and ATRIKLINES. He published the book in 899 and it was immediately confirmed by an imperial *thespisma* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 235.2). The *Kletorologion* consists of four sections: in the first Philotheos presents the philosophy of the work—the definition of various DIGNITIES and the distinctions among them; the second lists the highest dignities, esp. those entitled to join the emperor's table—the patriarch of Constantinople, caesar, *nobelissimos*, *kouropalates*, *basileopator*, and *zoste patrikia* as well as *magistroi*, *anthypatoi*, and *patrikioi* as holders of important offices; the third section, after a short mention of higher ranks, gives a list of *protospatharioi* and lower dignities; the fourth describes how the *atriklines* should arrange the imperial banquet. The court eunuchs, generals, and civil functionaries are included in the general catalog according to their titles; within the framework of a title the order is based on the importance of the office. At the end Philotheos included the *Notitiae episcopatuum* by pseudo-Epiphanios. The two complete extant MSS contain the *Kletorologion* together with the DE CEREMONIIS, which it concluded.

ED. and LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 65–235. J.B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London 1911; rp. New York n.d.), with an index by M. Gregoriou-Ioannidou in *EEPhSPTh* 10 (1968) 165–240. –A.K.

PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS (Κόκκινος), patriarch of Constantinople (1353–1354/5; 8 Oct. 1364–1376); born Thessalonike ca.1300, died ca.1377/8. Born to poor parents, Philotheos worked as a cook for THOMAS MAGISTROS to pay his tuition. He became a monk and then hieromonk on Athos; ca.1340/1 he returned to Thessalonike as superior of the Philokalou monastery. After a spell as superior of the Great Lavra (1344?–47), he became metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia (1347–53). A staunch Palamite and Kantakouzenist, in 1353 he succeeded Patr. KALLISTOS I who had refused to perform the coronation of MATTHEW I KANTAKOUZENOS. With the abdication of John VI the following year, Philotheos was deposed and replaced by Kallistos. He returned to the patriarchal throne ten years later after Kallistos's death. His second patriarchate was marked by the canonization of Gregory PALAMAS (1368), the personal conversion to Catholicism of John V (1369), and the reestablishment of partial jurisdiction of Constantinople over the Serbian church. Philotheos was again deposed after the coup of Andronikos IV.

Philotheos was a prolific writer of homiletic, dogmatic, and hagiographical works: he wrote 14 *kephalaia* against BARLAAM OF CALABRIA and AKINDYNOS and 15 *antirrhetikoi* against Nikephoros GREGORAS. He also codified liturgical rubrics for Eucharist and Vespers in two ceremonial books, *Diataxeis* (PG 154:745–66), which became definitive practice in the Greek and Slavic Orthodox world (R. Taft, *DOP* 42 [1988] 191–94). His most important vitae were those of Sabas the Younger (fl. first half of 14th C.), ISIDORE I BOUCHEIRAS, and Germanos Maroules (died ca.1336) as well as a lengthy and informative *enkomion* of Palamas. The hymns usually ascribed to him may be the work of Philotheos Sinaites. Philotheos was venerated as a saint within a generation of his death (D.G. Tsames, *EEThSPTh* 22 [1977] 35–52). Spatharakis (*Portrait*, figs. 91, 92) and others have argued that Philotheos is portrayed in two illuminated MSS.

ED. MM 1:448–592. *Logoi kai Homilies*, ed. B.S. Pseutonkas (Thessalonike 1981). *Dogmatika Erga*, vol. 1, ed. D. Kaimakes (Thessalonike 1983). *Hagiologika Erga*, vol. 1, ed. D.G. Tsames (Thessalonike 1985). For complete list of works, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 636f.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2347–72, 2461–681; 6, no.2681a. *PLP*, no.11917. P. Chrestou, "He oikoumenike politike tou patriarchou Philotheou Kokkinou," *Xenia Iakobo archiepiskopo Boreiou kai Notiou Amerikes* (Thessalonike 1985) 248–62. H.-V. Beyer, "Der Streit um Wesen und Energie und ein spätbyzantinischer Liedermacher," *JÖB* 36 (1986) 255–82. –A.M.T.

PHILOTHEOS OF ATHOS, saint; born Chrysopolis, Macedonia, died Athos 21 Oct. ca.1450 at age 84. Philotheos was the son of émigrés who fled Turkish oppression in Asia Minor. By the 1380s, however, the Ottoman yoke reached Chrysopolis, and Philotheos and his brother were recruited for the child-levy (*devşirme*). The boys managed to escape their Turkish captors and sought refuge in Neapolis (probably Kavalla) at a double monastery dedicated to the Virgin. Their widowed mother, Eudokia, became a nun at the same monastery.

After his mother's death, Philotheos left Neapolis for Athos, where he spent some years at the DIONYSIOU MONASTERY. He decided eventually that he preferred the solitary life and moved some distance from Dionysiou. His later years were marked by a fervent asceticism, rewarded, according to his hagiographer, with the gift of prophetic vision. His anonymous vita (*BHG* 1534), probably composed in the second half of the 15th C., is preserved in a 16th-C. MS from Dionysiou.

SOURCE. B. Papoulia, "Die Vita des Heiligen Philotheos vom Athos," *SüdostF* 22 (1963) 259–80. –A.M.T.

PHILOTHEOS OF OPSIKION, saint of unknown date; feastday 15 Sept. The only useful source for his biography is the Life of Philotheos by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, since the *Menologion of Basil II* (PG 117:49CD) presents a standardized portrayal of Philotheos as priest and wonderworker devoid of any information. The Life of Philotheos is Eustathios's manifesto: he proclaims that the pious life in the world has advantages over the hermitic life. Philotheos did not leave the world; quite to the contrary, he retained his land, wealth, and secular manner of life and possessed everything that is blessed on the earth, but he used his riches to support the poor. The conventional form of the Life sharply contrasts with its nonconventional content, and Eustathios presents his point in a vigorous polemic against the traditional monastic ideal. In this respect the Life of Philotheos corresponds to Eustathios's pamphlet, *On the Improvement of Monastic Life*.

SOURCE. Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 145–51. PG 136:141–62.
LIT. *BHG* 1535. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 151f.
–A.K.

PHILOTHEOU MONASTERY, located inland near the northeast coast of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS, not far from Iveron. The origins of Philotheou (Φιλοθέου) are unclear. According to an 18th-C. tradition (D. Papachryssanthou, *Prot.* 91, n.312), the founder was a certain Philotheos, a contemporary of Athanasios of Athos. A century later Porphyrij Uspenskij (*Istorija Afona* 3.1 [Kiev 1877] 65f; *Pervoe putešestvie v Afonskie monastyri i skity* 1.1 [Kiev 1877] 399) read a manuscript (now lost?) of a 19th-C. monk of Philotheou who asserted, referring to a codex of the Great Lavra, that his monastery (Phtere or Philotheou) existed in 992, "in the days of St. Athanasios." The first incontrovertible evidence of the existence of Philotheou, however, is an act of 1015 (*Ivir.* 20.60) that bears the signature of its *hegoumenos* George, probably the same person as George of the Theotokos of Ptereos, who signed an act of 1013 (*Ivir.* 1, no.18.38).

In the 11th–12th C. Philotheou was a monastery of modest size and its attempts to enlarge its properties were usually curbed by the Lavra; thus in 1046 Philotheou was forced to cede to Lavra *metochia* of St. Elias and of Atziioannou, and in 1154 the *metochion* of Kalyka. By the 14th C. Philotheou became an imperial monastery (first attested in 1322) and gained the support of influential magnates (the parents of Theodora Palaiologina Philanthropene, the aunt of Andronikos IV; the *protovestiarios* Andronikos Palaiologos, nephew of Andronikos II; etc.). The monastery enlarged its possessions, acquiring lands both in the valley of the Strymon River and on Lemnos, even though some of its estates were lost owing to an unstable situation caused by continual warfare. From 1346 onward, the monastery enjoyed the patronage of Serbian rulers and received from them certain donations in the *katepanikion* of Serres and Zichna. Probably in the 15th C. Philotheou acquired some lands on Thasos.

In the mid-14th C. a number of Serbian monks came to the monastery, and in the 15th C. it adopted the IDIORRHYTHMIC regime. The monks claimed possession of important relics: according to a late tradition Nikephoros III gave to Philotheou a piece of a nail from the Crucifixion, while the false chrysobull allegedly granted by Andronikos II in 1284 mentions the donation of a reliquary (*chrysoplekton kibotion*) containing the right hand of John Chrysostom.

Because of a disastrous 16th-C. fire, scarcely anything remains of the original Byz. buildings. The library, however, contains 142 Byz. MSS (Lampros, *Athos* 1:151–69), most notably the 10th-C. illuminated Gospel book, cod. 33. The scriptorium was particularly active in the 14th C. Sometime in the Palaiologan period a monk of Philotheou named Arsenios compiled a *Synopsis canonum* (Beck, *Kirche* 711).

SOURCE. *Actes de Philothée*, ed. W. Regel et al., *VizVrem* 20 (1913) supp. V. Kravari, "Nouveaux documents du monastère de Philothéou," *TM* 10 (1987) 261–356.
LIT. *Treasures* 3:190–99, 311–15. S. Nicolaescu, "Mânăstirea Philotheu dela Sfântul Munte," *Revista arhivelor* 5 (1943) 433–42. –A.M.T.

PHILOXENIA OF ABRAHAM, the "hospitality" (*φιλοξενία*) of Abraham to the Lord when he appeared by the Oak of MAMRE in the form of three men (Gen. 18:1–18). In the passage, the three are sometimes "they" (v.9) and sometimes "he" (v.10), leading to a Trinitarian interpretation by Byz. commentators (e.g., Prokopios of Gaza, PG 87:364BC). Others were concerned that angels appeared to consume food (e.g., Theodoret, PG 80:177C). Illustrations of the scene are found already in the Via Latina catacomb, and the Trinitarian and eucharistic significance is made clear in the bema mosaics at S. Vitale in RAVENNA (ca.540). The scene is repeated with few variants in later centuries, notably in MSS (e.g., the OCTATEUCHS) and in monumental art (e.g., the Peribleptos at MISTRA). Fourteenth-century Russian travelers record that the stone table of the Philoxenia was exhibited in the southeastern exedra of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 32, 228).

LIT. E. Lucchesi-Palli, *LCI* 1:21–23. –J.H.L., A.C.

PHILOXENOS OF MABBUG, bishop of Hierapolis-Mabbug (485–518/19); Syrian Monophysite theologian and saint; born Tahal in Persia ca.440, died Philippopolis 10 Dec. 523. His Syriac name was Aksenaya. Philoxenos (*Φιλόξενος*) studied in the Nestorian school of Edessa but rejected Nestorianism as well as the Council of Chalcedon. A friend of PETER THE FULLER and SEVEROS of Antioch, he became the leading proponent of Monophysitism in Syria; he was successful in the struggle against Nestorianism in the province of Euphratensia. He opposed Flavian who became patriarch of Antioch in 498, eventually obtaining his deposition in 512. Supported by Emp. Zeno and Anastasios I, Philoxenos later lost his position under Justin I, who exiled him first to Gangra and then to Philippopolis.

At the center of his theology stood the problem of salvation: Philoxenos worried that the dyophysite distinction between the divine and human essence in Christ deprived mankind of the way to deification (THEOSIS), and therefore he stressed the unity or "becoming" in Christ's nature: God's essence, while becoming man, remained immutable; God became man by his will, without changing his nature, on account of his love of mankind. Philoxenos, however, accepted neither Docetism nor Theopaschitism. Personally puritanical and rigorist, Philoxenos was also a strong supporter of Syriac culture: he commissioned a new translation of the Bible into Syriac and wrote exclusively in that language.

ED. *Discourses,* ed. E.A.W. Budge, 2 vols. (London 1893–94), with Eng. tr. *Commentaire du prologue Johannique,* ed. A. de Halleux, 2 vols. (Louvain 1977), with Fr. tr. *Fragments of the Commentary on Matthew and Luke,* ed. J.W. Watt, 2 vols. (Louvain 1978), with Eng. tr. *Dissertationes decem de uno e sancta trinitate incorporato et passo,* ed. M. Brière, F. Graffin in PO 39.4 (Turnhout 1979) 545–764, with Fr. tr. *Tractatus tres de trinitate et incarnatione,* ed. A. Vaschalde, 2 vols. (Paris 1907), with Lat. tr.

LIT. A. de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog, sa vie, ses écrits et sa théologie* (Louvain 1963). C. Tsirpanlis, "Some Reflections on Philoxenos' Christology," *GOrThR* 25 (1980) 152–62. A. Grillmeier, "Die Taufe Christi und die Taufe der Christen," in *Fides sacramenti* (Assen 1981) 137–75. Chesnut, *Three Christologies* 57–112. –T.E.G.

PHLORIATIKON. See KASTROKTISIA.

PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA (*Φλώριος καὶ Πλάτζια-Φλώρα*). Written in about 1,800 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES in the 14th C., perhaps in a milieu connected with the ACCIAJUOLI family, *Phlorios and Platzia-Phlora* is a reasonably close translation of *Il cantare de Fiorio e Biancifiore.* This is the Tuscan version (also used by Boccaccio for his *Filocalo*) of *Flore et Blanceflor,* a romance of ultimately Eastern origin that was widely known throughout Europe from the 12th C. onward. The plot relates how two lovers, one the son of the ruler of Rome and the other the daughter of a Saracen captive, are raised together and, using native wit and a magic ring, overcome all obstacles (parental opposition, separations, trial by fire, etc.) to live happily ever after in marriage. The romantic world of *Phlorios and Platzia-Phlora* is scarcely that of Byz., with Italian loan words to refer to court officials (e.g., *siniskalkos,* "seneschal") and the baptism of the hero's parents into the "orthodox catholic faith of the Romans." Nevertheless, the author is familiar with the Byz. stylistic conventions of the genre (vernacular verse romance) to which the poem belongs; e.g., Phlorios's ride on horseback resembles a similar episode in IMBERIOS AND MARGARONA, and paternal advice on several occasions echoes that of the SPANEAS poem.

ED. *Le roman de Phlorios et Platzia Phlore,* ed. D.C. Hesseling (Amsterdam 1917). Kriaras, *Mythistoremata* 133–96.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 140–43. G. Spadaro, "Per una nuova edizione di Florios ke Platziaflore," *BZ* 67 (1974) 64–73. – E.M.J., M.J.J.

PHOBEROU MONASTERY, located at Monacheion on the Asiatic shore of the Bosporos, probably near the entrance to the Black Sea. Dedicated to the Prodromos, Phoberou (*Φοβερoῦ*) was also called Chasmadion, Chamadion, and Machadion. The assertion of the 12th-C. *ktetor,* the monk John, that the monastery was originally a 5th-C. foundation (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *infra* 51.26–31), is not confirmed by any source. A church of this name is known to have existed by the reign of Theophilos, when it provided refuge for iconodule monks, such as the painter LAZAROS. According to the *typikon,* the monastery housed 170 monks during the 11th C. but was subsequently ruined, when it was granted as a CHARISTIKION.

In Oct. 1112 John began the restoration of the monastic complex, reconstructing the church and cells; he also donated books, icons, ecclesiastical furnishings, and estates. Sometime thereafter he composed for the monks a lengthy *hypotyposis,* based in part on the 11th-C. *typikon* of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY. The monks were limited to 12 in number and were required to be literate. John's rule was strict, forbidding the monks to have servants or to take baths. The possession of female animals and the admission of beardless youths was also prohibited. The monastery does not appear in the sources after the 12th C.

SOURCE. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petr.* 1–88.
LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 7f. –A.M.T.

PHOENIX, mythical bird that is reborn out of its own ashes every 500 years. The bird's fabulous story was mentioned by Byz. lexicographers (*Souda* 4:770f) and historians (Zon. 3:10.22–25). Since Roman times the phoenix has been a symbol of rebirth (Constantine issued coins with an image of the phoenix on one side). The church fathers (First Letter of Clement 1.25; Origen, *Against Celsus* 4.98; Lactantius, *De ave phoenice*) used it as a symbol of Christ's Resurrection, an image found in the PHYSIOLOGOS as well. The common rhetorical usage of the phoenix in Byz. literature was in a simile for rarity (Nik.Chon. 442.32). Brought from the East probably on SILKS, the ornamental motif of the phoenix was in use in the 10th C., as in the Berlin HIPPIATRICA MS and an ivory casket in Troyes (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, no.122).

LIT. A. Rusch, *RE* 20 (1941) 422. B.E. Perry, *RE* 20 (1941) 1080f. –P.A.A., A.C.

PHOKAIA (*Φώκαια,* Ital. Foglia, Turk. Foça), ancient city located at the northern entrance to the bay of Smyrna, near the estuary of the Hermos River. It is mentioned as a city in the *Synekdemos* of HIEROKLES and is listed in many episcopal notitias as suffragan of Ephesus and later (from the 10th C. onward) of Smyrna. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, however, omitted Phokaia from his list of the *poleis* of the theme of Thrakesion. Byz. historians mention Phokaia as a geographical site, without any social or economic characterization: Theodore Karantenos won a naval victory over the fleet of Bardas Skleros in 977 near Phokaia (W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi* [Vienna 1976] 42); ca.1088 TZACHAS conquered Phokaia and made it the base of his maritime operations. It was a commercial port, and Alexios I included Phokaia in the list of coastal towns in which the Venetians were granted privileges.

The importance of Phokaia rapidly increased from the end of the 13th C. after it was ceded by Michael VIII to the Genoese family of ZACCARIA and became the center of ALUM production and trade. Probably sometime between 1286 and 1296 the stronghold of New Phokaia was erected to the north of the old town, which came to be called Ancient (Palaia) Phokaia. The two cities suffered from a naval assault of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in 1307 or 1308 (Lemerle, *infra* 26, n.1); among the precious objects carried away as loot were, according to local tradition, a piece of the Holy Cross, the shirt made by the Virgin for St. John the Apostle, and the manuscript of the Apocalypse written by St. John himself. Although Andronikos III managed to conquer New Phokaia temporarily (probably in 1336) with the help of his Turkish allies, the cities remained in the hands of the Genoese throughout the Palaiologan period. The GATTILUSIO family seized control of Ancient Phokaia ca.1402, and a Greek inscription of Dorino I Paleologo Gattilusio, "*authentes* of Palaia Phokaia," dated in 1423/4, was found there (F.W. Hasluck, *BSA* 15 [1908–09] 258f). In 1455 both towns fell to the Ottomans.

LIT. Miller, *Essays* 283–96. Lemerle, *Aydin* 50–55, 108–15. –A.K.

PHOKAS (*Φωκᾶς*), an aristocratic lineage of Cappadocian origin. Both the theory of Michael ATTALEIATES that the Phokas family descended from the Roman Fabii and the assertion of IBN AL-

Athīr that they were of Arab stock are legendary: neither can the hypothesis of their Armenian origin be proved. The family founder was a *tourmarches* ca.872; his son, Nikephoros Phokas "the Elder" (died ca.900), was a successful general who fought against the Arabs in both Asia Minor and Sicily. Throughout the 10th C. the Phokades were great landowners and military commanders and tried to assume supreme power: Leo, the son of Nikephoros, was defeated by the Bulgars at Achelous 20 Aug. 917, then ousted by his rival Romanos I Lekapenos; he rebelled in 919, but failed and was blinded; nonetheless his brother Bardas and Bardas's sons Nikephoros and Leo remained leading generals in the mid-10th C. In 963 Nikephoros (II) Phokas seized the throne, rewarding Bardas with the title of caesar and Leo with *kouropalates*. Perhaps at that time a chronicle of the deeds of the Phokas family was compiled: fragments survive in Leo the Deacon and military textbooks. Although the Phokades were restrained after the murder of Nikephoros II in 969, they kept struggling for power: Nikephoros's nephew Bardas, *doux* of Antioch, revolted in 987, but after early successes fell at Abydos on 13 Apr. 989; his son Nikephoros perished while rebelling in 1022; and Nikephoros's son Bardas was blinded by Constantine VIII. The family did not recover until the 13th C. when they were promoted by the Laskarid dynasty: Theodotos, the uncle of Theodore I Laskaris, became *megas doux* soon after 1204; Michael was *stratopedarches* in 1234; and a certain Phokas, metropolitan of Philadelphia, was John III's adviser.

LIT. I. Djurić, "Porodica Foka," *ZRVI* 17 (1976) 189–296. J.-C. Cheynet in *Le traité sur la guérilla*, ed. G. Dagron, H. Mihăescu (Paris 1986) 289–315. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 177. N.M. Panagiotakes, "He byzantine oikogeneia ton Pleuston," *Dodone* 1 (1972) 245–64. H. Grégoire, "La carrière du premier Nicéphore Phocas," in *Prosphora eis S. Kyriakiden* (Thessalonike 1953) 232–54. –A.K.

PHOKAS, emperor (from 23 Nov. 602); born ca.547, probably in Thrace (although George Hamartolos, ed. de Boor-Wirth, 662.10, calls him Cappadocian), died Constantinople 5 Oct. 610. Phokas was of modest origin, served in the army, and reached the post of *kentarchos* (commander of a hundred). One of the most vocal rebels against Komentiolos, he was proclaimed exarch by Danubian troops who revolted in early Nov. 602, after Maurice's brother Peter refused to rescind orders to winter north of the Danube. The army headed toward Constantinople intending (or pretending?) to proclaim Theodosios (Maurice's son) or his father-in-law, Germanos, emperor. A mutiny of the Greens made resistance impossible, and Maurice fled with his family. The army crowned Phokas; Maurice was executed.

Upheaval ensued. Chosroes II used Phokas's "revolution" as a pretext to invade Byz. Persian success impelled Phokas to conclude a peace treaty with the Avars, increasing the tribute he had formerly paid them, but the Slavs, disregarding the treaty, continued to penetrate Thrace and Dalmatia. Domestic affairs were menacing. Revolts of the circus factions erupted in many areas, including Constantinople and Antioch (Ju. Kulakovskij, *VizVrem* 21 [1914] 1–14). Generals rebelled: esp. dangerous was Narses' revolt, endorsed by Chosroes II. Phokas's strict Orthodoxy, supported by Pope Gregory I, prompted religious conflicts; the Persians overtly supported the Nestorians, and the Monophysites in Antioch murdered the Chalcedonian patriarch Anastasios, leading to a bloody revenge. The exarch of Carthage revolted ca.608 and sent a fleet to the East under the command of his son Herakleios; he was joined by Niketas in Egypt. Herakleios moved to the Hellespont, attracted the support of Priskos, and, with the help of the factions, seized Constantinople. On his orders Phokas was beheaded.

Byz. historians described Phokas as an abominable tyrant, and modern scholars have adopted the same attitude (e.g., P. Goubert, *OrChrP* 33 [1967] 604–19). V. Kučma (*VizOč* 3 [1977] 182–94), on the contrary, construed "the civil war and Phokas's bloody terror" as a period when the power of aristocratic landowners was destroyed and a substantial number of dependent peasants achieved freedom; these measures allegedly prepared "the reform activity of Herakleios."

LIT. D. Olster, "The Politics of Usurpation in the Seventh Century: The Reign of Phocas," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1976). Stratos, *Byzantium* 1:40–91. R. Spintler, *De Phoca imperatore Romanorum* (Jena 1905). –W.E.K., A.K.

PHOKAS, saint; feastdays 21–22 Sept., 22–23 July. His cult is attested by Asterios of Amaseia, who described Phokas as a gardener from Sinope who was denounced as a Christian, made to dig his own grave, and then decapitated; Asterios did not indicate the era of Phokas's martyrdom. Another legend, in an anonymous *passio* (preserved in a mutilated 10th-C. MS), characterizes Phokas as the son of a "very noble" shipwright from Herakleia Pontike. At the age of ten Phokas performed exorcisms and miracles; he was esp. successful in saving ships. (Asterios also ascribes this function to Phokas the gardener.) Thus, when a ship from Macedonia was in danger of shipwreck near the shore of Pontos, Phokas embarked in a small boat, approached the ship, and threw it his cloak; the storm calmed immediately. Another legend makes Phokas a bishop executed under Trajan. In the 14th C. Andrew Libadenos dedicated a panegyric to Phokas and mentioned a church of Phokas built by "Alexios the Grand Komnenos," probably Alexios III Komnenos, emperor of Trebizond.

Representation in Art. The confused literary tradition is reflected in the images of Phokas. Though the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes incorporates the Asterios text, Phokas is represented as a bishop in one metaphrastic MS (Oxford, Bodl. Barocci 230, fol.3v). The Menologion of Basil II (p.58), in accordance with its text for 22 Sept., shows a bishop being beheaded and, in the background, a fire lit to receive his remains; Phokas the gardener was apparently celebrated on 22 July. In ivories and in monumental painting, it is the image of the bishop that is predominant.

SOURCES. PG 40:299–314. C. van den Vorst, "Saint Phocas," *AB* 30 (1911) 252–95.

LIT. *BHG* 1535y-1540b. L. Radermacher, "St. Phokas," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 7 (1904) 445–52. K. Lubeck, "Der hl. Phokas von Sinope," *HistJb* 30 (1909) 743–61. C. Weigert, *LCI* 8:210. –A.K., N.P.Š.

PHOKAS, JOHN, pilgrim of the 12th C., author of the *Concise Description* of the Holy Land. He accompanied Emp. Manuel I on an expedition to the "sea of Attaleia." It is unclear whether he should be identified with a certain Phokas who served in 1147 as the guide of the Crusaders to Ikonion (MGH *SS* 16:5). According to a marginal note on the MS, he was a priest, the son of a certain Matthew who became a monk on Patmos, and he visited Palestine in 1177 or 1195. Phokas's information is brief but precise and contains sometimes unique evidence, such as the description of the Chasisioi (ch.3), a fanatic Arab sect. Phokas is very sensitive to the beauty of the places described and tolerant toward the Latins. He is well versed in the Bible but also quotes secular writers: Josephus Flavius and Achilles Tatius, the author of an erotic romance.

ED. I. Troickij, "Ioanna Foki Skazanie vkratce o gorodach i stranach ot Antiochii do Ierusalima," *PPSb* 8 (23) (1889), with Russ. tr. PG 133:923–62. *The Pilgrimage of Joannes Phocas in the Holy Land*, tr. A. Stewart (London 1896). –A.K.

PHOKAS, LEO, *kouropalates;* brother of Nikephoros II and son of Bardas Phokas; born ca.915–20, died on island of Prote? after 970. Constantine VII, seeking the support of the Phokas family, appointed Leo *strategos* of Cappadocia ca.945; he later became *strategos* of Anatolikon (ca.955) and of the West. Romanos II promoted him to *domestikos* of the West and granted him the title of *magistros;* in 960/1, during Nikephoros Phokas's expedition against Crete, Leo replaced his brother as *domestikos ton scholon* of the East. He waylaid Sayf al-Dawla, who had invaded and pillaged the Charsianon region, and routed his army at the Kylindros pass in the Taurus Mountains. When Nikephoros ascended the throne, he granted his brother the title of *kouropalates* and entrusted him with the entire internal administration (the functions of the *logothetes tou dromou*); Leo's power and his frugal policy contributed much to the rivalry between him and John (I) Tzimiskes. Skylitzes (Skyl. 278.66–68) charged that Leo's petty greed (*kapeleia*) was a cause of the general unpopularity of Nikephoros II. When Tzimiskes seized the throne, Leo conspired against him in 970 and was exiled to Lesbos; he schemed again in 971, for which he was banished to the island of Prote and blinded (Skyl. 303.61–62). In a curious fashion Leo the Deacon relates Leo's blinding twice (G. Wartenberg, *BZ* 6 [1897] 110). In the index to J. Thurn's edition of Skylitzes (Skyl. p.530), Leo Phokas is divided into three people: Leo Kouropalates; Leo, son of Bardas Phokas; and Leo, brother of Nikephoros II. A miniature in the illustrated Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.433, pl.XXXII) shows figures identified as Leo the *kouropalates* and Nikephoros his son crossing the Hellespont in rebellion against Tzimiskes.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:445f. Schlumberger, *Phocas* 139–46. –A.K., A.C.

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY. The former studies the sounds of a language as produced by the speaker (articulatory phonetics) and as perceived by the hearer (auditory phonetics); the latter deals with the structured relations of the sounds as used to convey meaning, that is, with their significant distinctions and oppositions. Evidence for the phonetics of Greek in antiquity and the Middle Ages is limited and not easy to interpret. Changes in the phonology of the language, however, which began in Hellenistic times and continued into the Byz. period, can sometimes be traced through errors in ORTHOGRAPHY (such as ITACISM), transcription of foreign words in Greek and of Greek words in foreign languages, etc. These gradual changes include loss of the distinction between long and short vowels and restructuring of the complex vocalic system of Attic and Hellenistic KOINE, resulting in a simple five-vowel system (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*); reduction of diphthongs to simple vowels; transformation of the consonantal system whereby the unvoiced aspirated plosives (*φ*, *θ*, *χ*) became unvoiced fricatives (*f*, *th*, *kh*) and the voiced plosives (*β*, *δ*, *γ*) became voiced fricatives (*v*, *dh*, *gh*); lability of the final *-n*; predominance of the element of stress over that of pitch in the accentual system; and consequent loss of distinction among acute, grave, and circumflex accents. The phonology of Medieval Greek was thus already substantially that of Modern Greek. The traditional orthography was in principle retained, and many, but not all, errors of orthography reflect progressive changes in the phonology of Greek over the centuries. The articulatory and acoustic qualities of individual sounds and of suprasegmental features have no doubt changed while the phonological structure remained unchanged, and today vary slightly from region to region of the Greek world.

LIT. N.S. Trubetzkoy, *Grundzüge der Phonologie* (Prague 1939). B. Newton, *The Generative Interpretation of Dialect: A Study of Modern Greek Phonology* (Cambridge 1972). W.S. Allen, *Vox Graeca*^{2} (Cambridge 1974). F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, I: Phonology* (Milan 1976). Browning, *Greek* 56–58, 75–77. –R.B.

PHONIKON (*φονικόν*), a term attested from the second half of the 13th C. (1259: *Esphig.*, app.A, 11.60–62) in chrysobulls and *praktika* for monasteries, cities, or individuals, and often mentioned along with PARTHENOPHTHORIA and TREASURE TROVE as one of the three *kephalaia* (capital items) from which recipients of the privilege are not exempt. The precise nature of the *phonikon* is disputed. According to some scholars it is a fine or tax exacted by the fisc from people in a community in which a murder has been committed (G. Rouillard, A. Soloviev, *Mnemosyna Pappoulia* [Athens 1934] 221–32; P. Charanis, *Speculum* 20 [1945] 331–33). M.A. Tourtoglou (*To phonikon kai he apozemiosis tou pathontos* [Athens 1960]) interprets it as the punishment exacted from a person guilty of an intentional MURDER, which consisted of confiscation of a certain proportion of the offender's property and is known from Byz. law (*Basil.* 60.39.3, 5; Andronikos II, nov.26 [a.1306]; Zepos, *Jus* 1:535).

That the *phonikon* was not, however, a punishment exacted from a murderer seems to be confirmed by one of the few documents that elaborates on the nature of the *phonikon*, Andronikos II's chrysobull for Kanina (1307), which shows that the fisc was demanding the *phonikon* from people who had not committed a murder, that is, neighbors of a murderer or neighbors or relatives of a person who had died accidentally (ed. P. Alexander, *Byzantion* 15 [1941] 181.83–182.106). This chrysobull and others in which an exemption from the *phonikon* is granted state that it is an unjust exaction and that only the person responsible for a willful killing and accomplices to the crime should pay the penalty (*Lavra* 2, no.89.179–88 [a.1298]; 3, no.118.200–09 [a.1329]). Furthermore, a passage in BALSAMON's commentary on the canons shows that the *kephalaia* were fiscal exactions (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:346.32).

It is not clear whether the *phonikon* became a yearly tax applied to a community without regard for actual cases of murder (Dölger, *BZ* 54 [1961] 253f). Certainly the above-cited documents do not confirm this. As a fiscal charge on persons not guilty of a killing it had precedents in Byz., as indeed the chrysobull of 1327 for Zographou claims (*Zogr.* no.26.60–65) and imperial legislation and other 6th-C. sources show. –R.J.M.

PHOS HILARON (*φῶς ἱλαρόν*, lit. "joyous light"), ancient "thanksgiving for the light," a hymn that accompanied the lighting of lamps at VESPERS. Named after its opening words, the *Phos hilaron* is a praise of the Trinity for Christ, true "light of the world" (Jn 1:9) of which the evening lamp was a symbol. Unknown in the ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA, or cathedral rite of Constantinople, the hymn came to Constantinople only with the introduction of the Palestinian monastic HOURS, a gradual process that began with the Stoudite reform of the 9th C. (see STOUDITE TYPIKA). Though cited by Basil the Great (PG 32:205A) for Cappadocia, the earliest actual liturgical witness is the 5th-C. Georgian LECTIONARY of Jerusalem.

ED. A. Tripolitis, " 'Phos hilaron,' Ancient Hymn and Modern Enigma," *VigChr* 24 (1970) 189f. J. Mateos, "Un horologion inédit de Saint-Sabas," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 3 (Vatican 1964) 56, 70–74.
LIT. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours," 286, 363f, 367. –R.F.T.

PHOTIOS (Φώτιος), patriarch of Constantinople (858–67, 877–86), scholar and politician; born ca.810 (H. Ahrweiler, *BZ* 58 [1965] 348f), died after 893 (R. Jenkins, *DOP* 19 [1965] 244). Born to an influential family, and nephew of Patr. TARASIOS, Photios grew up under the shadow of the Iconoclastic persecution (C. Mango in *Iconoclasm*, 139) but at an early age received a high position in the Byz. bureaucracy: he participated in an embassy to the Arabs (in 838, 845, or 855) and was appointed PROTASEKRETIS. When IGNATIOS was forced to resign, Photios was swiftly elected patriarch although he was a layman. Michael III and Caesar BARDAS supported him, and his correspondence suggests that he was on better terms with the military aristocracy than with civil officialdom (A. Kazhdan, *Speculum* 61 [1986] 897). Ignatios's abdication instigated a battle within the church: when the party of Ignatios gained the support of Pope NICHOLAS I, a conflict with the papacy ensued. After ascending to the throne, Emp. BASIL I—who was seeking the support of Italian powers against the Arabs—decided to reconsider the administration's attitude toward Photios; the council of 869–70 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) restored Ignatios and banished and condemned Photios. After Ignatios died, Photios was peacefully returned to the patriarchal throne. At the council of 879–80 (see also under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), he was rehabilitated and reconciled with the pope. In Basil's conflict with Leo VI, Photios sided with the father; so Basil's sudden death and Leo's succession ended Photios's career. He was dismissed and exiled; his demise went unnoticed by contemporaries.

Versed in ancient literature, Photios did much to revive interest in antiquity. His activity as professor in Constantinople has been questioned by Lemerle (*infra*); I. Ševčenko, however, considers him, along with LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, among the most prominent teachers in the capital (*AHR* 79 [1974] 1533f). Besides the BIBLIOTHECA, Photios compiled a *Lexikon*, an unsystematic list of notable words and expressions which he collected by casual reading. Photios's letters, sometimes laudatory, sometimes caustic and dogmatic, are addressed to popes and rulers (the letter to BORIS I attempts to influence Bulgarian policy), to military, civil, and church leaders. The *Amphilochia*, also unsystematic, are answers addressed to Amphilochios, metropolitan of Kyzikos, treating both theological problems and secular questions. In his polemical *Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*, Photios developed arguments against the Latin doctrine of the FILIOQUE. He also wrote a treatise against the PAULICIANS, based on a similar work by PETER OF SICILY. Photios's homilies contain abundant material for political history (e.g., the first attack of the Rus' on Constantinople in 860) as well as Byz. art (description of the Church of the Virgin at Pharos, of the image of the Virgin in Hagia Sophia). His authorship of the EPANAGOGE remains unproven.

Contemporary attitudes toward Photios varied greatly. A pamphlet against him was used by NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON in his vita of Ignatios and by pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS; on the other hand, the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* included Photios's name (*Synax.CP* 448.19–23) under 6 Feb., although no vita of him is known. For a long time modern Western scholars, such as Hergenröther (*infra*), saw in Photios the instigator of the SCHISM between Rome and Constantinople and tried to "unmask" his activity, whereas Russian and Greek historians treated Photios as a saint and a humanist. V. Grumel (*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 32 [1933] 432–57) and Dvornik (*infra*) demonstrated that the so-called Photian schism was of short duration.

ED. PG 101–04. *Homiliai*, ed. B. Laourdas (Thessalonike 1959). Eng. tr. C. Mango (Washington, D.C., 1958). *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, ed. B. Laourdas, L. Westerink, 6 vols.

(Leipzig 1983–88). *Lexicon*, ed. Ch. Theodoridis, vol. 1 (Berlin–New York 1982). Eng. tr. *On the Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit* (Astoria, N.Y., 1983).

LIT. J. Hergenröther, *Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel*, 3 vols. (Regensburg 1867–69). D.S. White, *Patriarch Photios of Constantinople* (Brookline, Mass., 1981). F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism* (Cambridge 1948; rp. 1970). Lemerle, *Humanism* 205–35. Beck, *Kirche* 520–28. –A.K.

PHOULLOI (Φοῦλλοι) or Phoulla(i), a city in the CRIMEA the location of which is disputed; identifications have been suggested with Solkhat (R. Blockley in *History of Menander the Guardsman* [Liverpool 1985] 275f) and Tepsen' (V. Kropotkin, *SovArch* 28 [1958] 198–218), both in eastern Crimea, or Čufut-Kale (A. Jakobson, *SovArch* 29–30 [1959] 108–13) and Kyz-Kermen (E. Vejmarn in *Archeologičeskie issledovanija srednevekovogo Kryma* [Kiev 1968] 45–77), near Bakhchisarai. It was probably located on the trans-Crimean route, approximately halfway between Cherson and Cimmerian Bosporos.

First mentioned in MENANDER PROTECTOR (fr. 19.21), Phoulloi then appears in the vita of St. John of Gothia, who in 787 was imprisoned in this city; there he baptized and cured the child "of the lord of Phoulloi" (*AASS* June 7:171B). Miraculously John managed to escape to Amastris. The hagiographer of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER observed that "the nation of Phoulloi" venerated an enormous oak and was ruled by an elder. According to the ecclesiastical notitia of 787–869, the see of the bishop of the Khazars-Chotziroi was situated near Phoulloi or Charasion (Turk. Kara Su, "Black Water") or Mabron Neron (*Notitiae CP*, no.3.778), the Greek equivalent of Kara Su. In later notitiae Phoulloi appears as an archbishopric along with Gothia and Sougdaia (ibid., no.7.97–99), but by the 14th C. Phoulloi and Sougdaia were combined into one metropolis (ibid., no.20.12). A metropolitan of Sougdaia and Phoulloi is named in several patriarchal documents of the 14th and 15th C. (e.g., MM 2:42.29), but we know nothing about the fate of the city. –O.P.

PHOUNDAGIAGITES (Φουνδαγιαγήται), name applied in several Byz. documents to the BOGOMILS. The name is derived by most scholars from the Greek form of the Latin *funda* ("a bag"). The heretics supposedly acquired it from their life of poverty, which compelled them to beg for their living. The Phoundagiagites are known mostly from a letter written ca.1050 by EUTHYMIOS OF AKMONIA from Constantinople to his compatriots in the diocese of Akmonia in Phrygia. On a visit home, probably in the early 11th C., Euthymios encountered the heretics who, he assures us, had even managed to penetrate into his monastery (PERIBLEPTOS) in Constantinople. He describes their zealous proselytism in Asia Minor (in the themes of Opsikion and the Kibyrrhaiotai as well as the region of Smyrna) and in the Balkans. His report on their teaching confirms and in places supplements the evidence of KOSMAS THE PRIEST. What is new is his description of the prayer meetings of the heretics, his account of their DUALISTIC cosmology, and the statement that they were explicitly forbidden to shed blood. Euthymios's letter is the earliest document unequivocally linking Bogomilism with the monastic life.

LIT. G. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten* (Leipzig 1908). –D.O.

PHOUNDAX (*φοῦνδαξ*, from *pandocheion*, "inn"), a warehouse. An 11th-C. historian (Attal. 202f) describes a *phoundax* established in Rhaidestos under Michael VII: it was headed by a *phoundakarios* under whose authority were appraisers (*taxeotai*) and dealers in wheat (*sitokapeloi*), who had their shops (*sitonai*) "in the prison of the *phoundax*." The *phoundax* held a monopoly on trade in grain and other foodstuffs. Direct private purchase from peasants' carts was prohibited and the *sitokapeloi* had the right to set prices. According to Attaleiates, the price of grain skyrocketed from 1/18 of a nomisma to 1 nomisma per *modios*. The state received 60 *litrai* for leasing the *phoundax*.

It remains unclear whether the case of Rhaidestos was unique or whether *phoundakes* of this kind existed throughout the empire, as for instance in the fortress of Plateia Petra in Opsikion in the 10th C., where foodstuffs were stored (*TheophCont* 421.16–17). It is also uncertain whether the *phoundax* of Rhaidestos was the successor of the late Roman *apothekai* and *sitobolones* (state granaries): the *sitobolon* is mentioned in Palladios, Philostorgios, and John Moschos. In the 12th C. Michael GLYKAS (570.14–16), describing the famine during the reign of Nikephoros II Phokas, states that the emperor opened "the state *sitothekai*" and commanded that the grain be sold at one half nomisma per *medimnos*. The *oreiarios* Constantine on the island of Kos (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, no.11) may have been an official in charge of a *horreum* or *sitotheke/sitobolon*.

LIT. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 185f. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 294–96. –A.K.

PHOURNES, JOHN, theologian, *protos* of Ganos, a collaborator of ZIGABENOS; fl. ca.1100. V. Laurent identified his seal (*EO* 32 [1933] 45f). In 1112 Phournes (Φουρνῆς) participated in the dispute with Peter GROSSOLANO. Rejecting the FILIOQUE, Phournes emphasized the monarchical principle of the deity (Demetrakopoulos, 40.7–9) against the alleged *ditheia* of his opponent. On the other hand, he stressed the equality of the Son and the Holy Spirit, "the two hands of the same substance and of the same power" (p.46.1–2). Phournes finished his speech by inviting Grossolano to emigrate to Byz. Patr. JOHN XI used Phournes's work. Phournes also wrote a homily on the Dormition of the Virgin Mary (*BHG* 1136) and a letter to the monk Gregory Antigonites on liturgical questions (*EkAl* 4.10 [1882–83] 170f).

ED. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Ekklesiastike bibliotheke* (Leipzig 1866, rp. Hildesheim 1965) 1:36–47.

LIT. V. Grumel, "Autour du voyage de Pierre Grossolanus," *EO* 32 (1933) 27f. –A.K.

PHRANGOPOULOS (Φραγγόπουλος, lit. "the son of a Frank"), patronymic of a family (*genos*, as it is called on a seal) of the 11th–15th C. The Norman HERVÉ FRANKOPOULOS was the first known member of the family. We cannot be sure that the Phrangopouloi of the late 12th C. (among them Constantine, a naval commander, and John, a court orator) were his descendants. Phrangopouloi are often mentioned on seals and in documents from this time onward, as modest landowners (*Esphig.*, no.28.5), monks (*Lavra* 3, no. 161.46), or officials (*Docheiar.*, no.9.22). A Phrangopoulos was involved in a plot against Michael VIII; another family member, George, was *doux* of Thessalonike at the beginning of the 13th C. Some Phrangopouloi were active in scholarship: Andronikos was a teacher of rhetoric in the mid-13th C., and Manuel studied at the University of Bologna in 1374/5. In 1360–61 John Phrangopoulos, a merchant from Adrianople, was an active trader in CHILIA; A. Laiou (*AkadAthPr* 57.1 [1982] 107, 114) has suggested that he (or a relative) should be identified with the Phrangopoulos who led a rebellion against John VI Kantakouzenos in Adrianople from 1341–46. A later John Phrangopoulos, *protostrator* and *mesazon* in MISTRA, founded the Pantanassa monastery there in 1428. A splendid ruined mansion in Mistra has been linked with his name on the basis of the letter *phi* embedded in a slab on the northeast corner of the building. He is probably to be identified with John Phrangopoulos, who was *generales* of the *despotes* Constantine Palaiologos in 1444 (MM 3:259.16–17).

LIT. V. Laurent, "Légendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines," *EO* 30 (1931) 467–73. M. Chatzidakis, *Mystras. Historia, mnemeia, techne*[2] (Athens 1956) 85f. –A.K., A.C.

PHROURION. See KASTRON.

PHRYGIA (Φρυγία), mountainous region of Asia Minor between the Aegean plains and the central plateau, a rough country of great strategic importance because of the highways that passed through it. Phrygia was made a province, joined with CARIA, in 297; it became separate in the early 4th C., then was divided into Phrygia Pacatiana in the west (capital LAODIKEIA) and Phrygia Salutaris in the south (capital SYNADA). In 536 Justinian I gave the governor of the former province the rank of *comes* with civil and military powers and appointed a *biokolytes* of Phrygia to suppress local outbreaks of violence. Both offices were abolished by 553. The territory of Phrygia was divided between two themes (ANATOLIKON and THRAKESION); it continued to exist, however, as an ecclesiastical province and as a geographical term that frequently appears in the 11th and 12th C., when the region was on the frontier and subject to the incessant attacks of the Turks, to whom its last Byz. outpost fell after 1204. Phrygia contains many Byz. remains, notably fortresses (C. Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia. I: Kütahya* [Oxford 1985]) and rock-cut churches (E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia* [Princeton 1971] 205–57). Phrygia was an early center of Christianity. It was notorious as the home of a variety of heresies, including MONTANISM, NOVATIANISM, and the judaizing sect of ATHINGANOI; some of them survived into the 9th C.

LIT. W.M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford 1895–97). H. Leclercq, *DACL* 14:758–806. –C.F.

PHRYGIAN DYNASTY. See AMORIAN OR PHRYGIAN DYNASTY.

PHTHORA (*φθορά*), a Byz. musical sign used within a composition to indicate a change of MODE. Each of the eight modes has its own *phthora*, each being a different form of the letter *φ*. The earliest known example occurs in a table of NEUMATA on fol.159r of Athos, Lavra Γ.67 (late 10th C.); in musical documents the use of *phthorai* is extremely limited through the 13th C. From the 14th C. onward, they appear more frequently. Manuel CHRYSAPHES devotes a large section of his mid-15th-C. treatise to explaining the function and correct use of these signs.

LIT. D.E. Conomos, *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios* (Vienna 1985) 49–67, 84–93. –D.E.C.

PHYGELA (*Φύγελ⟨λ⟩α*, now Kuşadası), Aegean seaport of Asia Minor. Phygela first appears in Byz. history when St. Willibald (see HUGEBURC) visited it in 721; he described it as *villa magna*. Phygela was a fortified base by 823, when a lieutenant of THOMAS THE SLAV was imprisoned there. It subsequently rose to prominence as a major port, replacing EPHESUS, whose harbor was rendered unusable by silting. Phygela, which had facilities for repairing ships and storing material, was the port of embarkation for two expeditions against Crete, of HIMERIOS in 911 and of NIKEPHOROS (II) PHOKAS in 961. It was still a port in the 13th C., when it was called an EMPORION. It fell to the Turks of AYDIN ca.1305. Phygela was never a bishopric; its remains are insignificant.

LIT. C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (Cambridge 1979) 123f. –C.F.

PHYLARCH (*φύλαρχος*), title applied from the 4th through 7th C. to a commander of Arab auxiliaries formally allied to the empire (FOEDERATI), although it is necessary to distinguish between this official rank and the term's older, more general meaning of any kind of Arab tribal chief (Ar. *shaykh*). Each phylarch commanded the Arab *auxilia* in a different province of Oriens; ca.530 Justinian I subordinated them to the ruling family of the GHASSĀNIDS, naming ARETHAS ibn Jabala "*basileus* of the Arabs" and supreme phylarch. Sixth-century phylarchs received titles of CLARISSIMUS or higher, and both Arethas and his son became PATRIKIOI. Around 585, Emp. Maurice disbanded the centralized GHASSĀNID monarchy and phylarchate, although Ghassān and its phylarch Jabala ibn al-Ayham continued to act as Byz. auxiliaries as late as 636.

These phylarchs disappeared in the wake of the Islamic conquest, but the word *phylarchos* is attested later, generally denoting tribal chieftains of various nomadic groups such as Turks (Kinn. 208.7). It appears among the diplomatic titles used to address barbarian rulers (*De cer.* 679.10), and in the 11th C. the Arab chieftain Apelzarach (al-Hassan ibn al-Mufarrij) is called *phylarchos* (Kek. 302.13). Since the practice of recruiting Arab auxiliaries had been revived during the 10th C., it is significant that al-Hassan, like the Ghassānids, officially entered Byz. military service, held the title *patrikios*, and professed Christianity.

LIT. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten*. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (4th c.)* 514–21. –A.J.C.

PHYSICIAN (*ἰατρός, νοσοκόμος*). In the later Roman Empire the principal physicians were municipal doctors (*archiatri*), but private practice also existed and some physicians were itinerant. There were also military physicians: ALEXANDER OF TRALLES reportedly served 25 years in the army and navy. The palace doctors (*archiatri sacri palatii*) were members of the state hierarchy, with diplomatic functions (R.C. Blockley, *Florilegium* 2 [1980] 89–100). Church fathers such as John Chrysostom severely criticized physicians as an element of ancient urban culture. Hagiography also often attacked physicians as greedy and incompetent. An influential rival of the physician was the SAINT who practiced HEALING through MIRACLES, EXORCISM, and INCUBATION. After urban life declined in the 7th C., physicians played a less significant role, being superseded by the "*iatroi* of the soul" who tended to monopolize MEDICINE. Social acceptance of doctors increased around the 10th C.; from the 12th C. onward they were important in intellectual circles. By then the distinction between a professional doctor and a civil functionary-scholar interested in medicine (Michael Pantechnes, Nicholas KALLIKLES, etc.) was imprecise.

Physicians who worked at state and church HOSPITALS received a precisely determined salary in cash and kind. Despite prohibitions they also engaged in private practice. The position of "municipal doctor" does not appear in later Byz. Doctors-to-be studied medicine at larger hospitals (cf. V. Grumel, *REB* 7 [1949] 42–46) or at general schools such as the one at the HOLY APOSTLES in Constantinople. "Philosophers" such as MICHAEL ITALIKOS and JOSEPH THE RHAKENDYTES often taught medicine. Both monks and priests were active as physicians. Most doctors were of the native population, but some Arabs and Jews were hired as imperial physicians (AKTOUARIOS).

Representations of physicians are relatively rare in Byz. art, and when they do appear (e.g., in the Vienna DIOSKORIDES and the medical compendium in Florence, Laur. Plut. 74.7), they usually offer little evidence of the appearance, equipment, or practice of contemporary medicine. Rare exceptions include a 14th-C. portrait of a physician, allegedly Nicholas MYREPSOS, in his fully equipped office, and a 15th-C. portrait of THEOPHILOS PROTOSPATHARIOS conducting uroscopy. Additional evidence may be gained from portraits of popular doctor saints (ANARGYROI), such as KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS, KYROS AND JOHN, and PANTELEEMON (cf. K. Weitzmann in *Books and Bookmen*, fig.23), who are often shown with a PHYSICIAN'S BOX and/or instruments of SURGERY (see also IATROSOPHISTES).

LIT. H.J. Frings, *Medizin und Arzt bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern* (Bonn 1959). H. Evert-Kappesowa, "The Social Rank of a Physician in the Early Byzantine Empire," in *Mél.Dujčev*, 139–64. A. Kazhdan, "The Image of the Medical Doctor in Byzantine Literature," *DOP* 38 (1984) 43–51. A. Leroy-Molinghen, "Médecins, maladies et remèdes dans les *Lettres* de Théophylacte de Bulgarie," *Byzantion* 55 (1985–86) 483–92. E. Trapp, "Die Stellung der Ärtze in der Gesellschaft der Palaiologenzeit," *BS* 33 (1972) 230–34. Vikan, "Art, Medicine & Magic" 65f. L. MacKinney, *Medical Illustrations in Medieval Manuscripts* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1965), figs. 1, 5. –J.S., A.K., G.V.

PHYSICIAN'S BOX, a container specifically for medicines and/or surgical instruments (see SURGERY), in use at least to the early 8th C., identifiable by its design and decoration. Like a WEIGHT BOX, it is typically low and rectangular, with a sliding lid (often with a lock) and various internal compartments; examples survive in bronze, wood, and ivory. Earlier specimens might bear images of ASKLEPIOS or Hygieia on the lid, while later Christian examples show a cross or the Healing of the BLIND MAN. Representations of doctor saints in the 5th–8th C. occasionally show them carrying leather pouches of a size and shape appropriate for such boxes (P.-J. Nordhagen, *ActaNorv* 3 [1968] 58). Generally related is a possibly 7th-C. doctor's instrument case in leather, with attached PYXIS, in the Yale University Art Museum; it depicts a doctor saint and tables for mixing medicines, and bears the inscription "Use in Good Health." Although no such boxes or cases specifically for physicians are identifiable from later centuries, representations from the 9th–14th C. of the ANARGYROI (esp. Panteleemon) with their paraphernalia suggest that a variety of rectangular and cylindrical containers were then so used (S. Pelekanides, *Kastoria*, vol. 1 [Thessalonike 1953] pl.26).

LIT. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, & Magic" 65, n.1. W.R. Dawson, "Egyptian Medicine Under the Copts in the Early Centuries of the Christian Era," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 17 (1923–24) 56f. –G.V.

PHYSICS. The nonbiological phenomena of the universe were explained by the Byz. in two different types of text. The first consists of commentaries on or expositions of the *Timaeus* of Plato (for which the only example is that by Proklos) and of Aristotle's *Physics*, *On Generation*, *On Heaven*, and *Meteorology*, while the second consists of solutions to questions (*aporiai*) about nature. On the *Physics* one may cite the paraphrase by Themistios and the commentaries by John PHILOPONOS, SIMPLIKIOS, Michael PSELLOS, MICHAEL OF EPHESUS (lost), and Theodore METOCHITES; on the *On Generation* those by Philoponos and Metochites; and on the *Meteorology* by Philoponos, OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, and Metochites. Special works on physics include *Elements of Physics* by PROKLOS and his *On the Eternity of the World*, which later was attacked by Philoponos in his *On the Eternity of the World against Proklos* (Philoponos wrote another treatise on the same subject *Against Aristotle*), *On Physics* by Nikephoros BLEMMYDES, and part of Theodore II Laskaris's *Explanation of the World*.

Most original of all these authors was Philoponos, whose belief in Monophysite Christianity led him to argue forcefully against Aristotle's theories of the ether and of motion (see MOTION, THEORY OF), both of which he needed to refute in order to establish his own concept of the unity

of the universe. He also proposed original solutions to problems in Aristotelian physics such as the nature of light (S. Sambursky, *The Physical World of Late Antiquity* [London 1962] 74–76, 113–17, 170–75).

Byz. representatives of the *aporiai* tradition include Stobaios's *Excerpts on Physics*, Priscianus Lydus's *Answers to Chosroes*, *Synopsis of Physics* by Symeon SETH, Psellos's *De omnifaria doctrina*, *Aporiai* by JOHN ITALOS, *Epitome* by THEODORE OF SMYRNA, and the so-called *Meteorology* by EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA. Discussions of various aspects of physics from different Christian standpoints can be found in such works as the *Hexaemeron* of Basil of Caesarea and of George of Pisidia and the *Therapeutics* of Theodoret of Cyrrhus. –D.P.

PHYSIOLOGOS (Φυσιολόγος), Greek bestiary preserved in three major recensions. The earliest was produced in the 2nd C. (U. Treu, *ZNTW* 57 [1966] 101–04) or 4th C. (E. Peterson, *BZ* 47 [1954] 60–72), in a Christian milieu, but on the basis of ancient texts. It describes various ANIMALS, BIRDS, reptiles, and so on as well as certain plants and precious stones; most of the animals are real but provided with fantastic features, and some (unicorn, phoenix) are mythical. The presentation is poetic and symbolic; the behavior of each animal symbolizes Christ, the devil, or a virtue or vice. Some older legends are transformed to harmonize with Christian doctrine.

The second recension was dated by Sbordone in the 5th–6th C., but B.E. Perry (*AJPh* 58 [1937] 494) sets it in the 11th C. or later; it omits, among others, the chapters on plants and minerals. The third recension is called pseudo-Basilian because it refers to BASIL THE GREAT, the author of the HEXAEMERON. The *Physiologos* affected neighboring literatures enormously: medieval translations into Latin, Armenian, Georgian, Slavic, Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic are known.

ED. *Physiologus*, ed. F. Sbordone (Milan 1936; rp. Hildesheim 1976). Eng. tr. M.J. Curley, *Physiologus* (Austin, Tex., 1979).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 33–35. B.E. Perry, *RE* 20.1 (1941) 1074–1129. P. Cox, "The *Physiologus*: A *Poiesis* of Nature," *ChHist* 52 (1983) 433–43. M.J. Curley, "*Physiologus*, Physiologia and the Rise of Christian Nature Symbolism," *Viator* 11 (1980) 1–10. J.H. Declerck, "Remarques sur la tradition du *Physiologus* Grec," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 148–58. –J.S., A.K.

PHYSIS. See NATURE.

PIACENZA PILGRIM, an anonymous Latin traveler who, ca.570, composed the most vivid surviving account of a pilgrim's visit in Palestine. Seemingly an amalgam of personal experience and secondhand information from guide books (for those sites not visited), it provides invaluable documentation for the LOCA SANCTA large and small, from northern Palestine into Egypt, including a detailed description of the Holy Sepulchre and its relics. It includes references to remarkable vegetation (e.g., one-pound dates in Jericho), to exotic local populations (e.g., Ethiopians in the Negev, with split nostrils and rings on their toes), and to the survival of ancient beliefs and practices (e.g., the use of geodes from Mt. Carmel as AMULETS against miscarriage). But, most of all, it is an illuminating account of pilgrim piety: of various modes of veneration at the holy sites, of the systematic collection of pilgrim EULOGIAI, of the importance of the calendar as well as the site for the receipt of spiritual power (e.g., the celebration of the EPIPHANY at the Jordan River), and of the increasing importance of relics and icons in the pilgrim's experience.

ED. "Antonini Placentini Itinerarium," ed. P. Geyer in *Itineraria et alia geographica* [= CChr ser. lat. 175] (Turnhout 1965) 127–74. Eng. tr. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 79–89. –G.V.

PIAZZA ARMERINA, a town in central Sicily made famous by the discovery, about 5 km to the southwest, of a large and elaborately decorated VILLA, one of the best preserved of its kind to have survived from the late Roman world. The villa consists of a central peristyle in the shape of an irregular rectangle, around which are arrayed a monumental triple-gated entrance, a bath complex, a basilica, a triconch adjoining an oval court, and several suites of smaller rooms. The rising walls of the villa, of stone-faced rubble, do not generally survive to a great height (often no more than 1–2 m); nonetheless, the villa shelters much of its original decoration, notably wall paintings and polychrome FLOOR MOSAICS in almost every room. These show a great variety of subjects ranging from the whimsical (sporting *erotes*) to the weighty (the so-called "Triumph of Hercules"), giving rise to much speculation as to the original function and patron of the complex. The villa has even been attributed to the emperors Maximian and Maxentius (among others), although the matter has never been definitively resolved. The main body of the structure and its decoration are of the early 4th C.

LIT. A. Carandini, A. Ricci, and M. de Vos, *Filosofiana, La villa di Piazza Armerina: Immagine di un aristocratico romano al tempo di Costantino*, 2 vols. (Palermo 1982). R.J.A. Wilson, *Piazza Armerina* (Austin, Tex., 1983). –W.T.

PIER (πεσσός, lit. a pebble used in a board game, by extension any object of cylindrical form; λόφος), the fundamental structural support of arcuate architecture, usually built of ashlar blocks, set dry or with thin mortar beds. Piers are designed to carry the concentrated weight of arches, vaults, and domes (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.1.37, 69, 71) and are often used where walls and columns are inadequate to sustain contemplated loads. The imposition of domes in basilicas such as St. John at EPHESUS required the insertion of piers at regular intervals, creating a system of bays (Krautheimer, *ECBArch*, figs. 196–98). Low, oblong piers carry heavy arches over the columnar arcade of Basilica A at SERGIOPOLIS and support the massive arcade at QALB LAWZAH (Mango, *Byz.Arch.*, figs. 97, 150). In plan, piers may be formed of simple geometric shapes and proportioned like columns; others, sometimes called compound piers, are defined by more complex profiles that often serve to define adjacent spaces (Mango, *Byz.Arch.*, figs. 109, 115, 143). Byz. builders generally subordinated the structural function of piers to spatial design and masked their surfaces with marble placage, disguising their strength and size; in the stone structures of Syria and Armenia, on the other hand, their size and functions are clearly exposed.

LIT. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia* 46f, 53–56, 74–76. –W.L., N.E.L.

PIETROASELE, a site near Buzău, Rumania, on a tributary of the southern Danube. Excavations have discovered the remains of a 4th-C. Roman military camp (coins of Constantius II were found) that was eventually occupied by the Visigoths. In the nearby village of Dara, a rune-inscribed ceramic plate was found (G. Diaconu, *Dacia* 20 [1976] 269–71). In 1837 Pietroasele yielded a hoard of 22 late Roman objects of which 12 survive, mostly gold, sometimes ornamented with precious stones—fibulae; necklaces; vessels; a *patera* (flat dish), probably of Antiochene origin, with depictions of a ritual procession, etc. These valuables are dated to the 4th C. and seem to have belonged to the imperial treasury. Rusu (*infra*) hypothesizes that they were brought to Pietroasele by GAINAS when he left Constantinople. The objects are now in the Historical Museum in Bucharest.

LIT. G. Diaconu et al., "L'ensemble archéologique de Pietroasele," *Dacia* 21 (1977) 199–220. M. Rusu, "Der Schatz von Pietroasele und der zeitgenössische historische Kontext," *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 20 (1986) 181–200. –A.K.

PIGNUS (ἐνέχυρον), pledge or pawn. A *pignus* serves as the security for a credit or for claims that will be payable in the future. The *pignus* can be negotiated by contract or be determined by law. All salable property can serve as a *pignus*. In the place of single objects the entire current and future property of the debtor can also be pledged (general pledge). A *pignus* can, but does not have to be, handed over to the creditor. The so-called propertyless *pignus* that the debtor can continue to use is commonly called *hypotheke* (HYPOTHEC) (cf. Harm. 3.5.26): it cannot be alienated by the debtor without the consent of the creditor.

The primary examples of a general pledge determined by law without the need for any special agreement are as follows: in favor of the wife in her claim for the restitution of her dowry against the husband's property (*Cod.Just.* V 12.30 = *Basil.* 29.1.117); in favor of the state for tax demands against the property of the debtor (*Cod.Just.* VIII 14.1 = *Basil.* 56.4.17); in favor of the church in its claims over the property of *emphyteutai* arising from EMPHYTEUSIS (*Nov.Just.* 7.3.2 = *Basil.* 20.2.5); in favor of children against the property of the guardian (*Nov.Just.* 118.5 = *Basil.* 37.4.13), or against the property of the mother and her second husband, if a new guardian was not appointed at the time of the remarriage (*Nov.Just.* 22.40 = *Basil.* 28.14.13). The large number of these and other legally determined pledges must have greatly limited the availability of land and movable property for credit and sale transactions. Moreover, the existence of (privileged) general

pledges gave rise to problems involving the relative priority of various claims, as is documented in the TRACTATUS DE CREDITIS. –M.Th.F.

PIGS. See SWINE.

PILASTER, an engaged PIER articulated into base, shaft, and capital, or an imitation of such a pier created by imposing decorative features of base, shaft, and capital upon a properly proportioned projection of a wall. Pilasters often mark the ends of open colonnades set between piers (Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia,* pls. 46, 48, 55) as well as the flanks of portals. As at the palace of TEKFUR SARAYI in Constantinople they articulated façades and were more substantial members than the pilaster strips used, for example, on the Church of the Virgin at STUDENICA.

LIT. S. Ćurčić, "Articulation of Church Façades during the First Half of the 14th Century," in *L'art byzantin au début du XIVe siècle* (Belgrade 1978) 17–28. –W.L.

PILGRIMAGE (*προσκύνησις*, lit. "veneration," in Church Slavonic *choženie*, as equivalent of Greek *ὁδοιπορία*, "journey"). Although mandated neither by the Bible nor by the church fathers, pilgrimage developed into an important Byz. religious phenomenon, esp. between the early 4th and the mid-7th C. when, following in the footsteps of Constantine's mother, HELENA, vast numbers of Christians journeyed to Palestine to venerate the holy places, or LOCA SANCTA. Although Old Testament sites, such as Mt. SINAI, greatly outnumbered those of the New Testament, the latter sites, and especially *loca sancta* associated with the life and Passion of Christ, were far more popular. JERUSALEM alone claimed a half-dozen of Christianity's most famous pilgrimage destinations, and by the 4th–5th C. had developed into an acknowledged circuit of sites (beginning with the Tomb of Christ at the Holy Sepulchre), with scores of churches, monasteries, and hospices. There were citywide processions on the most important holidays of the year (for example, down from the Mount of Olives on Palm Sunday) and a rich variety of commercial fairs and festivals to entertain and exploit the thousands of visitors.

Popular destinations outside the Holy Land (esp. in Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece) included Constantinople; shrines of holy men, such as that of St. Symeon the Stylite the Elder at QAL'AT SEMAN; churches of famous martyrs and heavenly powers, such as that of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike or the archangel Michael at CHONAI; and sites featuring miracle-working relics and/or waters, such as the cisterns and tomb of St. Menas at ABŪ MĪNĀ, near Alexandria. Beyond these there were many popular pre-Christian tourist attractions—like the therapeutic hot springs near Gadara and the pyramids of Egypt—which were given biblical associations (the latter claimed as the patriarch Joseph's grain storage bins).

Inspired by the belief that sanctity was transferable through physical contact, Christians undertook pilgrimage for various purposes: to intensify their faith through prayer and revelation, to bring offerings and VOTIVES, to obtain HEALING of physical and/or spiritual diseases, to seek advice, and for PENANCE. Their activities are recorded in travel diaries, such as those of EGERIA and the PIACENZA PILGRIM; in guidebooks, such as the BREVIARIUS; in hagiographical texts, such as the *Religious History* of THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, or the vitae of the elder and the younger Symeon the Stylite. Complementing these are the surviving *loca sancta* structures themselves, and their associated shrines, such as the Church of Constantine and Holy SEPULCHRE in Jerusalem, as well as various smaller artifacts like the pilgrimage AMPULLAE.

After the mid-7th C. pilgrims to the holy sites included Greeks (e.g., EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES, John PHOKAS); Westerners (e.g., Arculf [see ADOMNAN] and Willibald [see HUGEBURC] in the 7th–8th C., and Seewulf ca.1102/3), some coming from such faraway countries as Iceland (e.g., Nikulás of Munkathverá in the 12th C.—J. Hill, *HThR* 76 [1983] 175–203); and Slavs (e.g., DANIIL IGUMEN, ZOSIMA). Their diaries and PROSKYNETARIA are important sources for topography, the history of churches and cults, and sometimes even for economic and political history, esp. in Palestine and Constantinople.

Pilgrims—men and women, young and old, rich and poor—came to the Holy Land from every corner of the empire and well beyond; for safety they usually journeyed in groups. TRAVEL by sea was speedier and more comfortable, but overland transit by donkey or on foot (at no more than 30 km per day) seems to have been the rule. Travel was inevitably slow (Egeria was away four years) and dangerous (because of wild animals and bandits); but it could be undertaken at little expense, since pilgrims were cared for as the obligation of the local Christian community, and church- and state-endowed hostels for strangers (XENODOCHEIA) abounded—as did commercial hotels and campgrounds (e.g., at Qal'at Seman). The indigent and sick were well represented among the travelers, but so also were merchants (who traded as they traveled) and aristocrats (e.g., the noblewoman Egeria), as well as soldiers, bureaucrats, monks, nuns, and theologians (e.g., St. Jerome), and even members of the imperial family (e.g., Theodosios II and ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA).

Pilgrims took along Bibles, maps, and guidebooks as well as letters of introduction and transit, to facilitate the crossing of the frontiers and to gain access to the much faster official highway system (the *cursus publicus*); a local guide might also be needed, to point out obscure sites and/or to deal with hostile natives. The actual encounter with the holy site could take several forms, from direct physical contact (e.g., kissing) to private reenactment of the original sanctifying event (e.g., throwing stones at the grave of Goliath), to ritualized public reenactment (e.g., the stational liturgy in Jerusalem, and the Sunday liturgy in the Holy Sepulchre). The pilgrim might come once, or repeat the encounter many times; at the great healing shrines the sick would rest on mats near the relic, sometimes for years, until a cure was received.

Living holy men were venerated directly, through prayer, the lighting of lamps, and the burning of incense; such encounters may have involved hundreds of conversions at a time as well as subsequent baptisms. Some pilgrims went to die and be buried near an appropriate site, such as the Grotto of the SEVEN SLEEPERS, near Ephesus.

Such mobilization of people and wealth, and the concomitant movement of sacred objects, exercised a significant social and economic impact on Byz. This was felt not only in the Holy Land—which between the 4th and 6th C. emerged from relative obscurity to become a spiritual focus of the empire—but also on a number of other centers, including Constantinople, which as a recently founded city had begun its Christian existence "saint-poor," but as the new capital attracted many early translations of relics. At the level of POPULAR RELIGION pilgrimage exercised a significant impact first on the developing cult of RELICS, and from the 5th C. onward on the emerging cult of images. Many of these, such as the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA, were at once icons and relics, with reputed links to the Holy Land. Yet pilgrimage was also a powerful force within the official church, since the Jerusalem stational liturgy and festival calendar soon came to dominate the pattern of worship in the Eastern church (see BYZANTINE RITE).

Pilgrimage also engendered its own distinctive forms of art. Most prominent were the great pilgrimage churches, such as that above Qal'at Seman. Because of its size and opulence, its imperial associations, and its location along a well-traveled pilgrimage route, this monument—like others of its type—exercised a general impact on Byz. architecture. Moreover, within these great churches were often found elaborate shrines housing the foremost local relic. Like the most famous such shrine, the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, most were essentially large-scale reliquaries.

On the level of the minor arts, pilgrimage inspired a wide variety of portable EULOGIAI, which pious travelers carried home for their amuletic/medicinal powers. Pilgrims also left votives behind; these could either be valuable personal possessions or works of art bearing invocations of thanks or representations of parts of the body to acknowledge specific healings.

LIT. B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa* (Regensberg 1950). J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*[2] (Jerusalem-Warminster 1981). Wilkinson, *Pilgrims.* E.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, AD 312–460* (Oxford 1982). G. Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (Washington, D.C., 1982). –G.V.

PILGRIM MEDALLIONS, conventional term applicable to two categories of pilgrimage artifacts worn on the body. The first consists primarily of pressed-gold medallions—either pendants or fibulae—of the 6th–7th C. Most bear a scene from the PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE; the preponderance of the Adoration of the Magi as well as invocational inscriptions (e.g., "Lord, help the wearer") suggest an amuletic function related specifically to the pilgrim's journey. The second category consists almost exclusively of cast-lead pendants from the shrine of St. SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER (some from the shrine of St. MAMAS are also known). Produced after the Byz. reoc-

cupation of the region of Antioch in the later 10th C., Symeon medallions were consciously modeled upon Symeon tokens (see PILGRIM TOKENS) but lack the EULOGIA of blessed earth that was the latter's *raison d'être*.

LIT. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic" 73f, 82. Idem, "Pilgrims in Magi's Clothing: The Impact of *Mimesis* on Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Champaign-Urbana, Ill., 1990) 106ff. –G.V.

PILGRIM TOKENS (*σφραγίδια*), conventional term applied to a common variety of pilgrims' EULOGIA artifacts, designating small pieces (diam. 1–10 cm) of sanctified earth, identifiable by the stamped impression that they bear. Pieces of portable, palpable sanctity, pilgrim tokens were valued for their apotropaic and medicinal powers. THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (*Histoire des moines*, ed. Canivet—Leroy-Molinghen 21.4.10–13) describes the hill, upon which a certain ascetic named James stood, that was generally believed to have received so powerful a blessing (*eulogia*) that people came from all sides to carry away prophylactic clumps of dirt.

By far the most common variety of pilgrim tokens are those associated with the shrine of SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER, conventionally called "Symeon tokens." They survive in at least several dozen examples assigned on historical and iconographic grounds to the 6th–7th C. Approximately 1–3 cm in diameter, they are made of clay from the WONDROUS MOUNTAIN, Symeon's pilgrimage shrine near Antioch. According to the saint's vita, the token was "the *eulogia* made from dust blessed by him." Its function was primarily medicinal; it was usually crumbled into dust and applied externally, either dry or in a paste. Symeon tokens are identifiable by the *sphragis* (seal impression) that they bear. The saint is shown on his column, flanked by angels with crowns or palm fronds; usually a monk with a censer climbs a ladder toward him. One type bears the inscription "Blessing (*eulogia*) of St. Symeon of the Wondrous Mountain," and "Receive, O Saint, the incense, and heal all." Another, simpler type occasionally shows the TRISAGION or the word *hygieia* ("health"). Lead Symeon medallions, modeled on the earlier clay tokens, were popular during the 10th–13th C. (see PILGRIM MEDALLIONS).

Like the Symeon tokens, rarer tokens from other shrines, for example that of the poorhouse of St. PHOKAS at Cherson (Vikan, *infra* 14, fig.6), usually show the saint or event that sanctified the site, and the ubiquitous *eulogia* inscription ("Blessing of . . ."). Moreover, tokens with various holy figures (e.g., the Virgin and Child) or sacred events (e.g., the Entry into Jerusalem) could be issued from a LOCUS SANCTUS with which they were not directly related. Like the functionally related pilgrim AMPULLAE, the stamped pilgrim token was predominantly a phenomenon of the 5th–7th C.

LIT. Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art* 12–40. Idem, "Art, Medicine, and Magic" 67–83. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Itinéraires archéologiques dans la région d'Antioche* (Brussels 1967) 140–68. –G.V.

PINAKION (*πινάκιον*, lit. "small board"), also called *tetartion* or *karta* (from It. *quarta*), measure of volume equaling 1/4 *thalassios* MODIOS (= 4.3 liters). Since 1 *pinakion* consisted of 10 *logarikai* LITRAI of wheat, the term *dekalitron* was sometimes applied to it. Accordingly, as a measure of land, the *pinakion* corresponded to 1/4 *modios*. In the wheat trade, 1 *pinakion* = 1/4 of the Byz. *modios* of trade = 77 liters, and was called *mega* (large) *pinakion*. The nickname "Parapinakes" applied to Michael VII refers to this measure and alludes to the emperor's rapacity.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 71, 102, 108. –E. Sch.

PINDAR, Greek lyric poet; born Cynoscephalae, Boeotia, ca.520 B.C., died ca.445. Pindar was sometimes called the "Theban lyre" or "a lyric poet" by Byz. writers. The *Souda* gives an account of his life and work along with several entries from his text. The earliest extant MS (Vat. gr. 1312 of the late 12th C.) of his surviving poems (*The Victory Odes*) is contemporary with an essay on the Pindaric meter by Isaac Tzetzes and a Pindaric commentary by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, THOMAS MAGISTROS, and Demetrios TRIKLINIOS edited and annotated Pindar in the 14th C. The question of a Planoudean recension of Pindar is still debated.

The most widely read of the Pindaric poems were the *Olympian Odes*. Highly regarded for his language, which was considered a model of the poetic "koine" (Gregory PARDOS, ed. Schäfer 12), as well as for the didactic value of his poems, Pindar was used as a school author in Byz. from the 4th to 6th C. (Irigoin, *infra* [1952] 97), but from the 7th to the mid-9th C. Pindar was not read (ibid. 121). Some 200 surviving MSS and the numerous citations in Byz. authors such as Ignatios the Deacon (Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.V [1977], 41, n.110) and Psellos attest to his increasing popularity thereafter.

Up to the 4th C. Christian authors made use of Pindaric quotations in a religious context, that is, in support of Christian tenets. The learned Cappadocian fathers and their circle, on the other hand, broke with this tradition by quoting Pindar for purely literary purposes (mostly in their correspondence), whereas the 4th- and 5th-C. hymnographers (Synesios and pseudo-Apollinaris of Laodikeia) reverted to the earlier practice.

ED. *Isaac Tzetzae De metris pindaricis commentarius*, ed. A.B. Drachmann (Copenhagen 1925). Idem, ed. "Eustathii prooemium," *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina* (Leipzig 1903–27; rp. Amsterdam 1964) 3:279–311. *Les scholies métriques de Pindare*, ed. J. Irigoin (Paris 1958).

LIT. J. Irigoin, *Histoire du texte de Pindare* (Paris 1952). J. Irmscher, "Pindar in Byzanz," *Aischylos und Pindar: Werk und Nachwirkung*, ed. E.G. Schmidt (Berlin 1981) 296–302. I. Opelt, "Die christliche Spätantike und Pindar," *ByzF* 2 (1967) 284–98. –A.C.H.

PINDOS (Πίνδος, also Pydnos, Aitolika Ore, Pyrrenaia Ore), mountain chain running north to south dividing Macedonia and Thessaly on the east from Epiros on the west. Two main routes crossed the Pindos from TRIKKALA: northwest across the Metsovo Pass to IOANNINA and southwest either through Porta or across the Korakou Bridge to ARTA. There were important Byz. settlements and monasteries along the eastern foothills of the Pindos, on the edge of the Thessalian plain (e.g., Phanarion, Porta), but the interior of the Pindos was underpopulated. A chrysobull of Andronikos III of March 1336 (*Reg* 4, no.2825), referring to the *praktikon* of the *anagrapheus* Manouses, presents a list of possessions of the bishop of STAGOI that provides valuable information on the topography of the medieval Pindos (Abramea, *Thessalia* 60).

LIT. *TIB* 1:243; 3:239. –T.E.G.

PINKERNES (⟨ἐ⟩*πιγκέρνης*), cup-bearer, at first a palace eunuch. The word, used already in pseudo-Kallisthenes' ALEXANDER ROMANCE (L. Bergson, *Der griechische Alexanderroman. Rezension B* [Stockholm 1965] 184.5 and 9), derives from the verb *epikerannymi*, "to mix [wine]." Periphrastic expressions, such as the emperor's *oinochoos*, *archioinochoos*, and *kylikiphoros*, were also employed to denote the cup-bearer. The late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS listed the emperor's *pinkernes* and that of the augusta as courtiers following the PAPIAS and his *deuteros*. The vita of Patr. Euthymios (*Vita Euthym.* 63.2) mentions an anonymous *pinkernes* sent by Leo VI on a delicate assignment; in the 11th C. the *pinkernes* could combine his duties with those of the DROUNGARIOS TOU PLOIMOU (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.965). Under the Komnenoi some bearded men and even the emperor's relatives were *pinkernai*. The importance of the post grew significantly from the 13th C. onward, when the *pinkernes*—like several other functions connected with the imperial table (e.g., the EPI TES TRAPEZES)—became a high honorific title. Personages such as Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS and SYRGIANNES held the post in the 14th C.

In addition to the imperial *pinkernes*, John, a patriarchal *pinkernes*, is attested in the 10th C. (R. Browning, B. Laourdas, *EEBS* 27 [1957] 187.30), and in the mid-12th C. Constantine, *pinkernes* of a great landowner Isaac Komnenos (V. Arutjunova, *VizVrem* 29 [1968] 66), is known.

LIT. R. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:242–50. –A.K.

PIRACY. Individual acts of piracy were endemic in the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea in antiquity and the Roman period, the inhabitants of the coasts of Cilicia, Dalmatia, and the Black Sea being particularly active. One may distinguish small-scale piracy, carried out on small boats and from the pirate's base, from large-scale piracy, carried out on the high seas or against ports. In the Byz. period, piracy was most active when the state's control over the seas was reduced. Isaurian and Cilician pirates are particularly mentioned until the 7th C. From the 7th to the early 10th C., the Arabs engaged in acts of piracy and corsair raids against the islands and coasts of the Aegean, disrupting commerce and taking captives. CRETE and TARSOS were pirate bases, as was North Africa; the capture of THESSALONIKE by LEO OF TRIPOLI is noteworthy. With the reestablishment of Byz. control in the 10th C., piracy was greatly reduced. It became endemic again in the middle of the 12th C. (Niketas CHONIATES speaks

of the thalassocracy of pirates) and flourished in the 13th–15th C. In this late period, pirates in the Aegean and the Black Sea were mostly Genoese or other Italians, but also Greeks from MONEMVASIA, RHODES, and the other islands of the Aegean, and, from the early 14th C., Turks. They preyed on both large-scale and small-scale trade and engaged in the slave trade. Bilateral treaties between Byz. emperors, beginning with Michael VIII, and the Italian maritime city-states did not reduce piracy. In economic terms, piracy, esp. in the later period, functioned as an illegitimate part of the trade system, since pirates sold their booty in the marketplace. It added to the cost of trade and forced Italian merchants to travel in convoys and to develop marine insurance.

LIT. H. Ahrweiler, "Course et piraterie dans la Méditerranée orientale aux IVème–XVème siècles (empire byzantin)," *Commission internationale d'histoire maritime—Course et piraterie*, vol. 1 (Paris 1975) 7–29. P. Charanis, "Piracy in the Aegean during the Reign of Michael VIII Palaeologus," *AIPHOS* 10 (1950) 127–36. G. Morgan, "The Venetian Claims Commission of 1278," *BZ* 69 (1976) 411–38.
–A.L.

PISA, Italian maritime republic. Contacts with Byz. are first mentioned in 1098. To obtain a defensive alliance, Alexios I gave Pisa privileges in 1111: annual tribute, a quarter in Constantinople, and a 4 percent KOMMERKION for products imported into Byz. The quarter in Constantinople was lost in 1163, when Pisa supported FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, but restored in 1170. The anti-Latin riot in Constantinople (1182) decimated the Pisan community and provoked retaliation by Pisa. Isaac II subsequently renewed privileges and enlarged the Pisan quarter (1192). In 1204, Pisa suffered great losses in Constantinople and the formerly flourishing community began to decay. Although surpassed by Venice and Genoa, Pisa continued to enjoy its privileges until these were transferred to Florence in 1439.

The Pisan quarter in Constantinople lay along the Golden Horn, between the Neorion and Ikanatissa Gates, and had two churches, a public bath, a hospital, SKALAI, an EMBOLOS, and more than 19 houses. Political and commercial interests were defended by a viscount (*vicecomes*), who was elected in Pisa and had charge of justice and finance. A prior took care of religious matters and the temporal interests of the cathedral of Pisa in Constantinople. The translation of Greek theological and juridical texts by two Pisan scholars, BURGUNDIO and Hugo ETERIANO, helped transmit Greek knowledge to the West. Pisan merchants brought wine, clothes, iron, and money; traded oil and slaves in the eastern Mediterranean; and returned with spices, grain, cotton, and sugar.

SOURCE. J. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno MDXXXI* (Florence 1879; rp. Rome 1966).

LIT. Lilie, *Handel und Politik* 69–83, 325–612. C. Otten-Froux, "Documents inédits sur les Pisans en Romanie aux XIIIe–XIVe siècles," in M. Balard, A.E. Laiou, C. Otten-Froux, *Les Italiens à Byzance* (Paris 1987) 153–95.
–C.O.-F.

PISIDIA (Πισιδία), region of western Anatolia marked by mountains and lakes, bounded by Phrygia, Lycia, and Pamphylia. Pisidia became a separate province in the early 4th C. with ANTIOCH as its metropolis. A turbulent region, Pisidia was constantly afflicted by brigandage and revolt. Remoteness made it difficult to control and encouraged a long survival of paganism. By the time of Justinian I, the oppression of troops and officials combined with banditry provoked him to appoint a praetor with full civil and military powers in 535. When this failed, a *dux* or *biokolytes* was given similar powers, but in 552 this also was suppressed and Pisidia was entrusted to its governor and bishops (Justinian, novs. 24, 145). Pisidia was divided between the ANATOLIKON and KIBYRRHAIOTAI themes by the 8th C. but was for a period considered as a unit. A *kommerkiarios* of Pisidia is attested as late as 720 (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.225); the ecclesiastical province long survived. After the battle of Mantzikert in 1071, Byz. control was limited to the western parts around SOZOPOLIS and ceased altogether by 1204.

LIT. X. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens* (Paris 1958). N. Mersich, "Einige Festungen im pisidisch-pamphylischen Grenzgebiet," *JÖB* 36 (1986) 191–200. C. Diehl, "Rescrit des empereurs Justin et Justinien en date du 1er juin 5–7," *BCH* 17 (1893) 501–30. –C.F.

PISTIKOS (πιστικός), according to the hagiographers of the 6th–7th C. (e.g., Moschos, PG 87:2936D) and the *Basilika*, an agent to whom a ship was commissioned. The usage remained current to the end of the 11th C., when the will of CHRISTODOULOS OF PATMOS mentioned monastic boats commissioned (*pistekeuomena*) by certain persons (MM 6:82.6–10). The *Martyrion* of Bp. Sadoth (martyred under Shāpūr II in the 4th C.) speaks of imperial "*archontes* and *pistikoi*" in a vague sense of confidential servants (H. Delehaye, PO 2.4 [1907] 449.6–7).

The term *basilikos pistikos*, however, appears on seals beginning in the 8th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 2376, 2617); the functions of this official are not clear. Pančenko viewed him as an imperial maritime agent; his attempt (*IRAIK* 13 [1908] 116) to read *pistikos* in a corrupted line of the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 113.32) is not convincing (R. Guilland, *REB* 29 [1971] 15). Some imperial *pistikoi* served in the department of the DROMOS (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 489–90). The office of *basilikos pistikos* is not known after the 10th C.

LIT. B. Pančenko, "Basilikos pistikos," *IRAIK* 7 (1902) 40–55. –A.K.

PITTAKION (πιττάκιον), a term that in antiquity designated primarily a writing tablet. By the 4th C. it acquired the meaning of a short document (e.g., *P.Gen.* 62), probably with a pejorative connotation; thus, Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 26:800C) speaks of a *pittakion* allegedly produced at the council in Serdica. Later, it designated a kind of imperial PROSTAGMA, and was esp. popular during the reign of the Komnenoi (Dölger, *Diplomatik* 5, n.14). The term was also employed for patriarchal documents issued in the form of a letter. N. Svoronos (in *PGEB* 425) asserts that it was reserved for imperial and patriarchal acts, but there are some exceptions. In 1414, for example, the *kephale* of Thessalonike, Manuel Eskammatismenos, expressed regret that the priest and monk David had not received any of his *pittakia* (*Docheiar*, no.54.33).

LIT. J. Darrouzès, *Le registre synodal du patriarcat byzantin au XIVe siècle* (Paris 1971) 172–81. Idem, "Sur la nomenclature des actes patriarcaux au XIVe siècle," *RESEE* 11 (1973) 244f. –A.K.

PLAGUE (λοιμός), pandemic disease that struck Byz. several times. The earliest clearly documented and detailed description of a plague is of that which occurred in 541–44; Prokopios (*Wars* 2.22f), John of Ephesus, and Evagrios Scholastikos described it. Even though Prokopios's account is modeled on Thucydides, clearly the "Justinianic" plague was bubonic, contrasted with the uncertain diagnosis of earlier pestilences. The disease recurred several times during the 6th to 7th C. A decline of population resulted, although J.C. Russell's estimate of 50–60 percent (*Demography* 5.1 [1968] 180) cannot be proved.

The Black Death of 1348–49 was the second major plague. The epidemic in Constantinople was described by JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, who also imitated Thucydides (T.S. Miller, *GRBS* 17 [1976] 385–95) and Prokopios. A contemporary Arab author, ibn-Khātimah (died 1369), states that the plague started in China and spread through Iraq to the Crimea, Pera, and Constantinople (cf. Dols, *infra* 42). Rich evidence concerning the 1348 plague in the Balkans is preserved in the Dubrovnik archives; here the Black Death, which caused a shortage of manpower, led to "labor legislation" that established a ceiling for workers' salaries (A. Kazhdan, *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta slavjanovedenija* 17 [1955] 43–45).

LIT. M.W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton 1977) 13–67. J.-N. Biraben, J. LeGoff, "The Plague in the Early Middle Ages," in *Biology of Man in History*, ed. R. Forster, O. Ranum (Baltimore, Md., 1975) 48–80. P. Allen, "The 'Justinianic' Plague," *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 5–20. T.L. Bratton, "The Identity of the Plague of Justinian," *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* n.s. 3 (1981) 113–24, 174–80. –J.S., A.K.

PLANOUDES, MAXIMOS, scholar and translator; baptismal name Manuel; born Nikomedeia ca.1255, died ca.1305. Planoudes (Πλανούδης) began his career as a MS copyist and scribe in the imperial palace (1283). Sometime thereafter, he became a monk. Although *hegoumenos* of the monastery at Mt. AUXENTIOS, Planoudes lived in Constantinople, where he taught at the CHORA monastery, relocating to the Akataleptos monastery sometime before 1301. Prominent men like John PHAKRASES and Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS sent boys to study with Planoudes, whose pupils included Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS and George LAKAPENOS. In 1296 Planoudes went to Venice on an imperial embassy.

Planoudes is remarkable for his translations of Latin authors, both theological (AUGUSTINE, pseudo-Cyprian) and secular (OVID, Cicero, pseudo-Cato, MACROBIUS, BOETHIUS). His translations are primarily literary in style and content, unlike those of Demetrios KYDONES. Among Planoudes' scholarly contributions are important edi-

tions and scholia (e.g., NONNOS, PLUTARCH, Diophantos, ARETHAS OF CAESAREA), a collection of folk proverbs, and a handbook on arithmetic (*The So-Called Great Calculation According to the Indians*). His collection of epigrams (the *Anthologia Planudea*) includes 388 missing from the *Anthologia Palatina* (see GREEK ANTHOLOGY). He composed the panegyric *Basilikos* at the accession of MICHAEL IX and left letters detailing the activities of the ecclesiastical and civil officials, and official intellectual élite.

ED. *Epistulae*, ed. M. Treu (Breslau 1890; rp. Amsterdam 1960). L.G. Westerink, "Le Basilikos de Maxime Planude," *BS* 27 (1966) 98–103; 28 (1967) 54–67; 29 (1968) 34–48.
LIT. C. Wendel, *RE* 20.2 (1950) 2202–53. W.O. Schmitt, "Lateinische Literatur in Byzanz: die Übersetzungen des Maximos Planudes und die moderne Forschung," *JÖB* 17 (1968) 127–47. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:129f, 2:67–71, 246f.
–E.A.F.

PLANTS. See BOTANY.

PLASTICITY, the quality in an image of appearing to be modeled, and esp. of being monumental and thus "real." In classical relief sculpture plasticity was achieved by carefully graduated planes of recession and the use of undercutting: these techniques mark the best IVORY carving of the 10th C. Similarly, the illusion of solidity in a figure painted on a two-dimensional surface depends upon the suggestion of a reciprocal relationship between LIGHT and shade and the presence of tonal gradations, particularly on flesh and drapery, to represent the gamut between these two extremes. Striking examples of plasticity are to be found in early icons preserved at Mt. Sinai, in the frescoes of CASTELSEPRIO, in some miniatures of the PARIS PSALTER, and occasionally in MONUMENTAL PAINTING of the late 13th and early 14th C. Elsewhere the illusion of plasticity is imperfectly conveyed by a "shorthand" system of conventional highlights and shadows and often negated by the use of LINE to define the contours of a figure or object at the expense of its volumetric properties.
–A.C.

PLATAMON (Πλαταμῶν), site of a fortress near the mouth of the Peneios River, overlooking the wide plain of Pieria to the north and commanding north-south communication at the entrance to the valley of Tempe. It was an *episkepsis* at the end of the 12th C. and in the 14th C. was termed a *polichne* (Kantak. 2:571.19–20). Platamon is mentioned for the first time in a chrysobull of Alexios III in 1198. The fortress was probably rebuilt by Roland Piscia, who received the site from BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT after 1204. In 1218 it was taken by Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros and fell to Michael VIII after the battle of Pelagonia in 1259. In 1343, during the civil war, Platamon first supported John VI Kantakouzenos but later revolted and recognized John V Palaiologos. Some of the ZEALOTS from Thessalonike were imprisoned at Platamon in 1346. Circa 1385 the castle fell to the Turks, who apparently kept it in good repair. The fortress has a simple plan, with exterior circuit wall, interior fort, and central tower or donjon. As preserved, it is completely Frankish in design. The bishopric of Platamon and Lykostomion, suffragan of Thessalonike, is known only from the 14th C. (J. Darrouzés, *REB* 43 [1985] 296).

LIT. A. Bakalopoulos, *Ta kastra tou Platamona kai tes Horias Tempon kai ho tekes tou Chasan Mpampa* (Thessalonike 1972) 9–61. –T.E.G.

PLATE, DOMESTIC GOLD AND SILVER, made in quantity in the latter metal (300–650), took the form of display objects, table services, household articles, furniture fittings, and horse trappings, most of which continued late Roman forms and decoration. According to SEVEROS of Antioch (I. Guidi, PO 22 [1930] 247), households in that city were well provided in the 6th C. with such SILVER objects; many examples have survived singly and in various silver treasures (e.g., CANOSCIO TREASURE, LAMPSAKOS TREASURE, MYTILENE TREASURE). Silver display objects included statuettes and display PLATES that were decorated, often in relief, with both pagan and Christian subjects. Table services (*ministeria*) contained sets of articles for serving (e.g., a ewer, amphora, platter [*missorium*], ladles, strainers), drinking (e.g., goblets, which survive in small numbers), eating (plates, bowls, SPOONS), and hand-washing (CHERNIBOXESTON). The numerous plain plates from the 4th C. to the mid-7th C. were probably dinner plates. References are made to large Byz. silver dinner services ca.600: that of a magnate of Edessa is described in MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN (2:380, 3:13f); another service was sought by a bishop in Egypt, according to Leontios of Neapolis (Life of JOHN

ELEEMON, ed. Festugière, ch.27.12–13); and a third belonged to a bishop of Auxerre (ed. Adhémar, *infra*). Among household objects in silver were LIGHTING fixtures and toilet articles of various types for the bath (e.g., mirror, SITULA, *cherniboxeston*, metal CASKETS AND BOXES). In some households, furniture had plated silver REVETMENTS; horses and mules were decked with silver trappings (see CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS).

The evidence for domestic gold and silver plate after the 7th C. is less plentiful: few single objects (e.g., the 9th-C. inkpot in Padua—A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* [Paris 1974], pl. opposite p.336; 12th-C. bowls with secular figures) and no treasures survive. Written references to the latter are scattered but include allusions to tables of gold (Oikonomides, *Listes* 203.5) and silver, separate gold and silver dinner services (LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA, *Antapodosis* 6.8), large gold *minsouria* (*missoria*) (Oikonomides, *Listes* 275, n.43), and gold *cherniboxesta* (*De cer.* 9.18), all in use in the Great Palace, Constantinople. General reference to such plate (*asemion*) is made in the will of Eustathios BOILAS. Recorded single objects include a gold *krater* of Constantine DALASSENOS, *doux* of Antioch in the 11th C. (Mercati, *CollByz* 2:458–61), and a gold vessel decorated with scenes of military victory of MANUEL I KOMNENOS (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 172, no.315.1).

LIT. J. Adhémar, "Le trésor d'argenterie donné par Saint Didier aux églises d'Auxerre (VIIe siècle)," *RA*^{6} 4 (1934) 44–54. Mango, *Silver*, nos. 48, 98, 103–06. V.P. Darkevič, *Svetskoe iskusstvo Vizantii* (Moscow 1975). –M.M.M.

PLATE, LITURGICAL. See PATEN AND ASTERISKOS.

PLATES, DISPLAY (πινάκια), popular between 300 and 650, were decorated with an image and, unlike similarly ornamented items of domestic silver PLATE, were apparently intended for viewing rather than for the serving of food. More survive in SILVER than in other metals; imitations in ceramic and glass are known. On round plates, the image, usually in relief, was presented in one of two ways: restricted to a central medallion (the Hellenistic manner), sometimes accompanied by a historiated rim, or covering the entire surface (the Roman manner). The less common rectangular plate (*lanx*) had an inner rectangular "picture" and outer decorated rim. Subjects illustrated were imperial (see LARGITIO DISHES); mythological, for example, Achilles, Herakles, Bellerophon (see MILDENHALL TREASURE); PERSONIFICATIONS, for example, Africa (see LAMPSAKOS TREASURE); pastoral (shepherd, fisherman); hunting; and both narrative (DAVID PLATES) and symbolic (see CANOSCIO TREASURE). Some display plates were made in sets (e.g., David Plates), perhaps for symmetrical arrangement on a wall or sideboard. CORIPPUS (*Laudatio Iustini* 3.111) refers to gold dishes decorated with triumphal scenes that Justinian I had made to celebrate his army's victory at Carthage. Manuel I Komnenos similarly commemorated his exploits on silver plate. Plates with mythological and Dionysiac subjects (bearing 7th-C. SILVER STAMPS) document the late survival of pagan themes.

LIT. D.E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (Ithaca, N.Y.–London 1966) 111, 150–52. J.M.C. Toynbee, K.S. Painter, "Silver Picture Plates of Late Antiquity: A.D. 300 to 700," *Archaeologia* 108 (1986) 15–65. –M.M.M.

PLATO, ancient Greek philosopher; born ca.429 B.C., died 347. He was, along with ARISTOTLE, one of the pillars of Greek PHILOSOPHY whose works the Byz. carefully transmitted, despite occasional lapses in interest and some hostility to his thought. Numerous papyri of Plato survive from late antique Egypt. Approximately 260 MSS of Plato, about a quarter of the number for Aristotle, are preserved from the 9th to the 16th C. The difference is partly owing to the more controversial nature of Plato's philosophy and to the fact that Aristotelian LOGIC, a neutral and useful subject, became a cornerstone of Byz. higher education. Highly esteemed as a stylist, Plato is one of the most frequently quoted classical authors in Byz. belles lettres.

Through the 6th C., interest in Plato was mainly centered in the Platonic schools of Athens and Alexandria, where the standard curriculum, inherited from IAMBLICHOS, consisted of 12 dialogues. An edict of Justinian I in 529 had a serious effect on the ACADEMY OF ATHENS, but in Alexandria the pagan OLYMPIODOROS was still lecturing on Plato 40 years later, thanks to a compromise philosophical approach that avoided a clash with Christian monotheism, and the Alexandrian

Monophysite John Philoponos commented on the *Phaedrus*. Thereafter the fate of Plato's texts and of interest in them lay principally in the hands of learned individuals, most of whom were careful to keep a certain distance from the pagan philosopher. In the 9th–10th C., such men were Leo the Mathematician, Photios, and Arethas of Caesarea. Photios (probably) and Arethas (certainly) commissioned copies of Plato that must have played a pivotal role in the transmission. In the 11th C., Psellos and John Italos caused a renewed interest in Plato; later he received the attention of Theodore Metochites. In the 15th C. Plethon reintroduced Plato to Italy where Platonism began a whole new life.

Plato and the Church Fathers. Neoplatonism flourished at the same time that the church fathers were elaborating Christian doctrine. Modern scholarship is strongly divided on the question of their interrelationship: on the one hand, H. Dörrie (*Platonica minora* [Munich 1976] 508–23; *Theologie und Philosophie* 56 [1981] 1–46) considers Platonism a "different religion," completely distinct from Christianity and therefore unable to influence it; on the other hand, von Ivánka (*infra*) admits that some Christian theologians had accepted substantial elements of Platonic teaching, whereas others transformed Platonic tenets in accordance with Christian views. This discrepancy is built in part on the ambiguity of the patristic approach to Plato: Epiphanios of Salamis proclaimed Platonism a heresy originating from pagan philosophy and Eastern mystery religions, whereas Eusebios of Caesarea saw in Plato a follower of Moses, and in the 11th C. John Mauropous prayed for the salvation of Plato as a forerunner of Christianity.

Byz. theologians through Gregory Palamas used Platonic vocabulary, and not only the vocabulary. They shared with Platonism some basic views, such as the idea that the things of the visible world do not exist by and through themselves, but depend on a primary, perfect, and absolute reality; this supreme being is of an infinitely higher value than visible things. There is, however, a cardinal difference between Platonism and Christian doctrine: the Platonic supreme being reveals himself through logical (dialectical) operations, descending through a series of intermediary stages to the preexisting material world, whereas the equal and consubstantial *hypostaseis* of the Trinity are divided from the world of things by a gap that can be bridged only by a mystery—Christ who mysteriously combined in himself the perfect divine and the perfect human natures is a phenomenon forming the core of Christianity, but is absolutely alien to Platonism. Also unacceptable to the church fathers was Plato's thesis of the existence of eternal Ideas that presupposed the preexistence of souls and metempsychosis.

LIT. Westerink, *Prolegomena* x–xxxviii. M. Sicherl, "Platonismus und Textüberlieferung," in Harlfinger, *Kodikologie* 535–76. R. Arnou, *DTC* 12 (1935) 2294–2392. E. von Ivánka, *Plato Christianus: Übernahme und Umgestaltung des Platonismus durch die Väter* (Einsiedeln 1964). C.J. de Vogel, "Platonism and Christianity: a Mere Antagonism or a Profound Common Ground?" *VigChr* 39 (1985) 1–62. C. Andresen, "The Integration of Platonism into Early Christian Theology," *StP* 15 (1984) 399–413. –J.D., A.K.

PLATO OF SAKKOUDION, Iconodule monk, saint; born Constantinople? ca.735, died Constantinople in Stoudios monastery 4 Apr. 814; feast-day 18 Apr. Born to a family of functionaries, Plato was orphaned at age 12. He was raised by his uncle, a high-ranking financial official, who taught him the profession of notary and helped him to become a *zygostates*. In 759 Plato took the monastic habit at the monastery of Symboloi (or Symbola) on Mt. Olympos in Bithynia. He returned to the capital at least briefly in the 770s, but turned down the opportunity to become metropolitan of Nikomedeia. In 783, together with his nephew Theodore of Stoudios, Plato founded the monastery of Sakkoudion (Janin, *Églises centres* 177–83) on family property near Mt. Olympos and became its *hegoumenos*.

Plato was an Iconodule who attended the Second Council of Nicaea (787). In 795 he was imprisoned in Constantinople for his opposition to the second marriage of Constantine VI. After his release in 797, he spent the rest of his life at Stoudios except for a period in 809 when he was exiled by Emp. Nikephoros I for his unwavering rigidity in the Moechian Controversy over Constantine's marriage. Theodore of Stoudios wrote a funeral oration for his uncle (PG 99:803–50), which is essentially a vita.

LIT. *BHG* 1553–1553c. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP" 230–40. J. Pargoire, "A quelle date l'higoumène saint Platon est-il mort?" *EO* 4 (1900–01) 164–70. –A.M.T., A.K.

PLEDGE. See Pignus.

PLETHON, GEORGE GEMISTOS, Neoplatonic philosopher; one of the most original Byz. thinkers; born Constantinople ca.1360, died Mistra 26 June 1452. The first 50 years of his life are shadowy. According to his enemy Gennadios II Scholarios, George Gemistos studied with a Jew, Elisha (Elissaios), at the "court of the barbarians," perhaps Bursa, and was exposed to Zoroastrianism. He evidently taught in Constantinople (Mark Eugenikos was his student) until ca.1410, when he was exiled to Mistra by Emp. Manuel II on suspicion of heresy and paganism. He spent the rest of his life at Mistra, where he was rewarded with land grants for various public services and headed the circle of intellectuals that adorned the court of the *despotes* of Morea.

Although Gemistos played only a nominal role at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438/9, his visit to Italy (almost at the age of 80) was a turning point in his life. His conversations with Florentine scholars led him to write *On the Differences of Aristotle from Plato*; his defense of Plato probably inspired Cosimo de' Medici's subsequent foundation of the Platonic Academy. At this time Gemistos adopted the pseudonym Plethon (Πλήθων "abundant," a synonym of *gemistos*), with its connotation of a "second Plato" (Gr. Πλάτων). He also composed *On Virtues* and an essay on Strabo (A. Diller, *Isis* 27 [1937] 441–51). Plethon's final years were spent at Mistra teaching, writing, and engaging in polemics with Scholarios, a defender of Aristotle.

Among the most innovative of Plethon's rhetorical works is his *Address to the Despotes Theodore [II Palaiologos]*, proposing reforms to improve the condition of the Morea: his suggestions included a highly structured three-class society (manual workers, service workers, and a ruling class encompassing the military), reliance on a citizen army rather than mercenaries, sumptuary laws, and a ban on the import of foreign clothing; these proposals may, however, be mere rhetorical exercises, rather than a revolutionary program. His *Address to Manuel [II]* urged the exemption of soldiers from taxation and communal land tenure and attacked monks as drones who made no contribution to society. He strongly emphasized the theme of Hellenic patriotism. Plethon's final and most controversial work, the *Book of Laws*, is a synthesis of Neoplatonism and a belief in the Olympian gods, expressly stating that Zeus is the supreme god, and including prayers, hymns, and a liturgy to the pagan gods. It survives only in fragments, some autograph, as most of the treatise was burned posthumously by Scholarios.

ED. PG 160:821–1020. *Differences*—ed. B. Lagarde, *Byzantion* 43 (1973) 312–43. *Traité des Lois*, ed. C. Alexandre (Paris 1858; rp. Amsterdam 1966), with Fr. tr.; Russ. tr. I. Medvedev, *Vizantijskij gumanizm XIV–XV vv.* (Leningrad 1976) 171–241. *Georges Gémiste Pléthon: Traité des vertus*, ed. B. Tambrun-Krasker (Athens-Leiden 1987). For complete list, see Woodhouse, *infra* xvi–xix.

LIT. C.M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon* (Oxford 1986). F. Masai, *Pléthon et le platonisme de Mistra* (Paris 1956). –A.M.T.

PLETHRON (πλέθρον), an ancient measure of length mentioned in some Byz. metrological tables but not in documentary texts. From the 11th C. onward the *plethron*, called also *plinthos*, was used as a special measure for vineyards (= 600 sq. orgyiai or 600 sq. kalamoi). Depending on the customs of viticulture the *plethron* varies between 1,184 sq. m and 2,818 sq. m.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 30–32, 81–83. –E. Sch.

PLISKA (Πλίσκοβα), first capital of Bulgaria, near the village of Aboba in northeastern Bulgaria. The name is Slavic, but no trace has been found of the presumed Slav settlement. The earliest Bulgarian settlement, traditionally (but without archaeological substantiation) assigned to Asparuch, was doubtless a tented camp. The foundations of two tent-shaped wooden buildings represent a more permanent settlement but cannot be dated. By the beginning of the 9th C. substantial stone buildings surrounded by a defensive wall stood in the center of the area, while an outer line of earthworks revetted with stone 21 km long enclosed an area of 2,300 hectares, which held many Slav-type small square semi subterranean buildings used as workshops, dwellings, market buildings, stables, and places of worship. This was the Pliska of Krum, which Nikephoros I sacked and burned in 811. Omurtag constructed some presumed religious buildings and a new and larger palace, which was a small fortress of beautifully cut stone from nearby Roman sites; the overall design of rectilinear rooms around the perimeter and basilican rooms within shows reliance on late Roman prototypes such as the palace of Diocletian at Split.

After the conversion of Bulgaria in 864 the religious buildings were adapted for Christian use and a large basilica with an attached monastery built (but cf. Mango, *Byz.Arch.* 301), where the disciples of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS continued their work. Pliska's pagan associations were strong, however, and may have contributed to the anti-Christian revolt after BORIS I abdicated in 893. SYMEON OF BULGARIA established a new capital at PRESLAV, and Pliska was gradually abandoned. It remained to the end a vast enclosed camp with scattered buildings rather than a typical medieval city. In 999/1000 the generals Theodorokanos the *patrikios* and Nikephoros Xiphias the *protospatharios* captured Pliska for Basil II.

LIT. F. Uspenskij, et al., "Aboba-Pliska," *IRAIK* 10 (1905) 1–596. *Pliska-Preslav*, vol. 1, ed. Ž. Vŭžarova (Sofia 1979) 44–176; vol. 4, ed. D. Angelov (1985) 7–131. R. Rashev, "Pliska: The First Capital of Bulgaria," in *Ancient Bulgaria*, ed. A.G. Poulter, vol. 2 (Nottingham 1983) 255–69. Idem, *Pliska: Pŭtevoditel* (Sofia 1985). T. Totev, "Les monastères de Pliska et Preslav aux IX^{e}–X^{e} siècles: Aperçu archéologique," *BS* 48 (1987) 185–200. –R.B., E.C.S.

PLOIMOS. See NAVY.

PLOTINOS, Neoplatonist philosopher; born 205, died near Rome 270. Plotinos studied philosophy in Alexandria with Ammonios Sakkas. After joining Gordian III's Persian expedition (243), he set up a philosophical school in Rome, where he had close ties with the Roman senatorial class and with Gallienus. His project of an ideal city (Platonopolis), however, was not realized. His pupils Amelius and esp. PORPHYRY assured the influence of Plotinos's interpretation of Plato (NEOPLATONISM) on the philosophical schools of late antiquity. Porphyry published a *Life of Plotinos* and edition (the *Enneads*) of Plotinos's works, commentaries, and a digest of Plotinian philosophy (the *Sentences*). Plotinos is quoted by Eusebios of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Aineias of Gaza, the *On the Holy Spirit* attributed to Basil the Great, Augustine, Ambrose, Macrobius, and other writers in late antiquity.

Besides this impact on the philosophy, theology, and literature of the late Roman empire, Plotinos may have influenced through his AESTHETICS the art of the period (Grabar, *Fin Ant.* 1:15–29). In the 6th C. JOHN OF SKYTHOPOLIS used the *Enneads* in commenting on pseudo-Dionysios. Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES dedicated a mimetic letter to Plotinos. Michael PSELLOS made many excerpts from the *Enneads* as well as from the otherwise lost *Commentary on Plotinos* of PROKLOS. The earliest MSS of the *Enneads* date from the 12th and 13th C., when a Plotinian *florilegium* was composed.

Plotinos was also read by Theodore Metochites, Nikephoros Choumnos, Nikephoros Gregoras, Plethon, Gennadios II Scholarios, and Bessarion. Plotinos appealed to this select group of Christian intellectuals because of his emphasis on the existence, beyond this world, of an immaterial world (the "fatherland" of the soul), an emphasis that, while avoiding a dualistic opposition of the two worlds, called the soul to a virtuous life that would lead it to transcend its materialistic preoccupations. If Plotinos's philosophy was not as closely tied to pagan religion as that of his successors (Proklos, for example), it contained certain ideas, esp. concerning psychology, whose incompatibility with Christian doctrine did not escape the notice of some of his Byz. readers.

ED. *Plotini Enneades*, ed. P. Henry, H.-R. Schwyzer, 3 vols. (Paris-Brussels-Leiden 1951–73), editio maior, revised in the editio minor, 3 vols. (Oxford 1964–82). *Plotinus*, ed. A.H. Armstrong, 7 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1966–88), with Eng. tr.

LIT. J.M. Rist, *Plotinus: The Road to Reality* (Cambridge 1967). D. O'Meara, "Plotinus," *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*, vol. 7 (Washington, D.C., 1989). H.-R. Schwyzer, *RE* 21 (1951) 471–592, 1276; supp. 15 (1978) 310–28. –D.O'M.

PLOVDIV. See PHILIPPOPOLIS.

PLOW (*ἄροτρον*). The use of the sole-ard or "scratch" type plow continued from Roman times. Its parts, as identified in illustrations of Hesiod's *Works and Days* (for comparison with Roman plows, see K.D. White, *Agricultural Implements of the Roman World* [Cambridge 1967] 129, fig.104), may be distinguished as follows: *gyes* (plow beam), *istoboeus* (yoke beam), *echetle* (stilt), *elyma* (share beam), and the *hynis* (plowshare). The plow beam (well delineated in Venice, Marc. gr. 464, fol.34r) is the curved portion of the plow that unites the share beam with the yoke beam. The share beam, the essential part of the plow, narrowed to a point and was frequently protected by an iron tang to reduce friction and prevent splintering. Attached horizontally by doweling to the plow beam and through it to the yoke beam, the sole was dragged by a pair of work animals, usually oxen, through the top layer of soil, loosening and depositing it on both sides of the resultant furrow. The exact depth of the furrow was determined by the stilt, while the oxen were controlled by a goad (*boukentron*). By cutting through only the upper layers of soil, moisture was retained below, an important consideration in semiarid regions such as Greece and Anatolia, where winters may be wet but the summers are hot and dry. The sole-ard plow was used in medieval Bulgaria and Wallachia, but perhaps by the 10th C. asymmetrical plows, which cut to much greater depths and turned the slices, were in use north of the Danube. Plows made from tree stumps, with one branch hitched to a team of oxen and another serving as the share, are frequently depicted in the OCTATEUCHS and Job MSS.

LIT. Z. Mihail, "South-East European Ethnolinguistic 'Convergences' (in the Field of Agricultural Implements)," *RESEE* 24 (1986) 179–89. A.P. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskoe sel'skoe poselenie," *VizVrem* 2 (1949) 219f. –J.W.N., A.C.

PLUMBING AND HEATING. Country houses and those of ordinary townspeople had practically no plumbing; these people got their water from cisterns, wells, or springs, the mouths of which could be lined by stone walls (E. Darko, *EEBS* 10 [1933] 471f); LATRINES were located outside the main building; and the house was heated by braziers and a kitchen oven. According to TZETZES (ep.18, p.33.3–16), even a three-story house in Constantinople could be built without drains, and Michael Choniates (Mich.Akom. 2:235f) describes a country bathhouse in which smoke and soot from the hearth filled the air. More complicated appliances (including HYPOCAUST, the system of ducts under the floor) were in use in urban public BATHS, monasteries, mansions, and palaces. In Corinth numerous short stretches of drains, water channels, and tile water pipes have been discovered (Scranton, *Architecture* 133). In bathhouses the water was heated in a boiler (*kaminion*); it also supplied the room with heat through the hypocaust. Monasteries had a system of water-closets (Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.* 40–42) as well as laundry rooms placed outside main buildings and provided with marble basins for washing, caldrons to heat the water, and stone drains (ibid. 138–43). A special plumbing system was used in wine shops, such as the "Grape Emporium" in Corinth where the floor was reconstructed of Roman marble slabs sealed with waterproofed cement and supplied with a tile pipe leading to a *pithos* (Scranton, *Architecture* 74). In Mistra similar devices served to collect wine as well as precious rain water from the roof (A. Orlandos, *ABME* 3 [1937] 56f).

LIT. T. Ivanov, "Proučvanija vŭrchu chipokausta ot rimskata i rannovizantijskata epocha v Bŭlgarija," *Archeologija* 13 (1971) 23–44. H. Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 268. A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* (Munich 1982) 102–08. –A.K.

PLUTARCH (Πλούταρχος), Greek essayist and biographer; born Chaeronea, Boeotia ca.46, died ca.120. The so-called *Catalog of Lamprias* (3rd or 4th C.) lists 227 works of Plutarch that can be divided into two major groups, *Lives* and miscellaneous writings, or *Moralia*; 83 of them have survived. In addition are 18 other works as well as fragments of 15 essays not listed in the *Catalog*. The *Souda* erroneously attributed the *Catalog* to Plutarch's son. In certain MSS a short letter (which is a 13th- or 14th-C. forgery) prefaces Plutarch's works and repeats this misinformation.

Plutarch was popular with the Neoplatonists (Proklos, Damaskios), rhetoricians (Themistios), and biographers (Eunapios) of the 4th–5th C. Even Latin authors such as Macrobius knew him. Church fathers also used Plutarch: Isidore of Pelousion studied him diligently, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus respected Plutarch and believed that he had read the Gospels. In the 6th C. Plutarch was translated into Syriac. After Agathias's praise of Plutarch (late 6th C.), his name disappeared from Greek texts until the 9th C., when Photios used one volume of a collection of the *Lives* and approved of Plutarch's moral principles (*Bibl.*, cod.161, ed. Henry, 2:126.36–38). The oldest extant MSS of the *Lives* are from the 10th C.; there were probably two editions in two and in three volumes respectively. The *Moralia*, however, survived only in dispersed groups; it was PLANOUDES who first assembled the previously ignored essays (the so-called *Corpus Planudeanum* in Paris [B.N. gr. 1671], which also contained the *Lives*). Some MSS of Plutarch's *Lives* have scholia based probably on the notes of ARETHAS OF CAESAREA (M. Manfredini, *JÖB* 28 [1979] 83–119).

Plutarch was highly appreciated and imitated

in Byz. R. Jenkins (*Studies*, pt.I [1948] 73) hypothesized that Constantine VII's portrait of Michael III in the *Vita Basilii* "is a conflation of the worst features of Plutarch's Antony with a now unidentifiable part of Plutarch's Nero." John MAUROPOUS (epigram 43) prayed that God would spare the souls of Plato and Plutarch, whose lives "in word and character adhere closely to Thy laws." Tzetzes, forced by poverty to sell his books, retained only a volume of mathematical texts and his copy of Plutarch's *Lives*. Theodore Metochites relied heavily on the "most learned Plutarch" as a historical source (I. Ševčenko in *Kariye Djami* 4:38, 41f).

LIT. K. Ziegler, "Plutarchos," *RE* 21 (1951) 696–702, 947–54. D.A. Russell, *Plutarch* (London 1973) 18f, 143–47. Wilson, *Scholars* 151, 190f, 235f. A. Garzya, G. Giangrande, M. Manfredini, *Sulla tradizione manoscritta dei "Moralia di Plutarco"* (Salerno 1988). – A.K., K.S.

PNEUMATIKOS PATER. See PATER PNEUMATIKOS.

PNEUMATOMACHOI (Πνευματομάχοι, "those who fought [the divinity of] the Spirit"), referring to those who taught that the HOLY SPIRIT was a created being, the gift of God, rather than God himself. From 362 onward, strict Nicaeans, led by ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, sought to exclude from the church those who held the Spirit to be a created being. In 367 some HOMOOUSIANS, under the leadership of Eustathios of Sebasteia and Silvanos of Tarsos, stated their desire to maintain the traditional ambiguity of church doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit and to emphasize the charismatic experiences of their ascetic life as the manifestations of the Spirit. By their adversaries they were called Pneumatomachoi, or Macedonians after they had drawn near to the radical homoousian faction, that is, to Eleusios of Kyzikos and Marathonios of Nikomedeia, both students of Makedonios of Constantinople (died before 364). The Pneumatomachoi were condemned at the First Council of Constantinople in 381, but survived until Nestorios closed their churches in the 5th C.

LIT. H. Dörries, *De Spiritu Sancto* (Göttingen 1956). W.-D. Hauschild, *Gottes Geist und der Mensch* (Munich 1972). –K.-H.U.

PODANDOS. See CILICIAN GATES.

POETRY. Byz. poetry may be categorized as either secular or ecclesiastical and within these broad groups by level of language (learned or popular). The rules of Byz. RHETORIC frequently blur the distinctions now felt to exist between PROSE and poetry, both as to form and to the subjects appropriate to each medium. Accurate composition in the meters with classical antecedents (chiefly the HEXAMETER, the DODECASYLLABLE, and the ANACREONTIC) was a demanding task. Accomplished writing in archaizing forms and language was achieved only by a comparatively small group of literati; their work was comprehended outside that group with difficulty. It is a problem that up to the 11th C. there seems to be no surviving verse likely to appeal to a popular and uneducated audience. In the later period, poetry that was intended to reach a wider audience—those attending a court ceremonial, a half-educated patroness, or a class of children—was frequently composed in the POLITICAL VERSE. Poetry in the popular language was composed almost exclusively in this METER; since much of the surviving popular poetry shows features frequently associated with oral poetry it is likely that much more poetry of this sort was in circulation than is now preserved in written form. RHYME, originally a rhetorical device used sparingly, appears regularly only in couplets in late popular texts. No metrical form was used exclusively for any one purpose; thus in the 12th C. greetings for an imperial victor could be expressed in hexameters, dodecasyllables, or political verse (as well as in prose).

Poetry at both the learned and the popular level of the language served many purposes in Byz. It functioned as a means of expressing personal emotions (nowadays probably perceived as poetry's major role, but, in a rhetorically conditioned society such as Byz., perhaps the least highly regarded). Under this heading would come the EPIGRAMS or short poems (e.g., by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, PALLADAS, AGATHIAS, THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, or John MAUROPOUS) on topics ranging from the lighthearted to the serious; one could also include the pleas of PTOCHOPRODROMOS or the love songs of the EROTOPAIGNIA or a lament (THRENOS) for a captured city.

Poetry was used for the formal expression of appropriate sentiments on official occasions. It received both state and private patronage—for

MONODIES, EPITHALAMIA, and speeches of welcome on the return of a victorious emperor as well as for a wide variety of other "occasional verse," such as dedicatory epigrams on church vessels, icons, vestments, etc.

Poetry, esp. in the easily memorable political verse, was also a medium for instruction. Examples include the textbooks written by Psellos for his pupil Michael VII, the anonymous schedographical *lexika*, the genealogical handbook on the Olympian deities by TZETZES, his verse commentary on the allusions in his letters, the chronicle of Constantine MANASSES. Probably closer to the circulating oral material were the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA and the advice of the SPANEAS poem.

By the 12th C. and later, narrative poetry had become a medium for a literature of entertainment. Texts could be long, as in romances such as *Drosilla and Charikles* of Niketas EUGENEIANOS or BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA, the epic-romance DIGENES AKRITAS, or the satirical POULOLOGOS; or short, as in the TRAGOUDIA.

At the learned level of the language, all poets (except those working in political verse) were constrained by the literary and formal conventions of the classical past, which dictated grammatical forms, lexical items, and a repertoire of historical and mythological references. They were under pressure to demonstrate their mastery of the linguistic and metrical medium, frequently by the presentation of showpieces before an audience. Thus John Tzetzes feared his rivals' reactions should he misuse the dichronous vowels or use a non-classical word, and he regretted that a patron compelled him to use the undemanding political verse rather than display his prowess with hexameters (which were barely comprehensible even to the educated).

The regard in which the classical authors of pagan antiquity were held and the need felt to adapt their poetry to a Christian society are demonstrated, for example, by the CENTOS of the empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA or the anonymous CHRISTOS PASCHON, where strings of verses from Homer or the tragedians were strung together to form a new theologically based narrative. Nevertheless, despite this high regard and the conservative linguistic pressures of the schools, the major poetical genres of classical literature—EPIC, DRAMA, LYRIC—did not persist into Byz. unaltered. Though NONNOS still constructs epic recognizably on the ancient patterns, the *Bellum Avaricum* of GEORGE OF PISIDIA and *Digenes Akritas* are epics very different from those of Homer. Though the *Katomyomachia* of Theodore PRODROMOS demonstrates that the classical tragedians were read attentively, the dramatic literature of Byz. was found in the KONTAKION and other HYMNS and the liturgy, rather than on the stage. The epigrams of John Mauropous or JOHN GEOMETRES do not use the range of lyric meters available in late antiquity.

Poetry in Byz. was written almost entirely by men (Athenais-Eudokia and KASSIA are among the rare exceptions), and by men of considerable education. Though poetry in the popular language must have existed for centuries, it appears first in the 12th C., apparently as a linguistic experiment by educated writers; only from the 14th C. do popular texts of any length survive, but almost all are anonymous and not even the place of composition is certain.

LIT. B. Baldwin, *An Anthology of Byzantine Poetry* (Amsterdam 1985). L. Politis, *Poietike anthologia* (Athens 1975–77). Hunger, *Lit.* 2:87–180. Beck, *Volksliteratur*. –E.M.J.

POETRY, ECCLESIASTICAL, verse used during the LITURGY or in religious contexts. Much of the liturgy in the Orthodox church consists of HYMNS; some are brief, such as STICHERA and TROPARIA, meditations inserted between the verses of a psalm; others are longer, such as KONTAKIA and KANONES, reflections on the nine biblical odes. In all these the lines and OIKOI (stanzas) are structured on complex patterns of corresponding stressed syllables, following the rhythms of the spoken language, rather than the artificial long and short syllables of classical Greek prosody; the *oikoi* are often linked by ACROSTICS. Some religious poetry was written in the classical meters (e.g., by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and SYNESIOS of Cyrene) for private, rather than liturgical, use. Most nonliturgical devotional poetry (like the hymns of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN or the penitential alphabets of various authors) used the stress meters, chiefly the POLITICAL VERSE. Though not untouched by the conventions of RHETORIC, ecclesiastical poetry remained generally closer to the spoken than the formal language. EPIGRAMS (dedicatory inscriptions in a variety of meters) were sometimes, esp. in late Byz., attached to icons,

church ornaments, or vestments by their donors; in form they are indistinguishable from secular poetry.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 262–66. –E.M.J.

POETRY, ORAL. Although oral poetry may be studied through references to oral singers and singing, often, paradoxically, the main evidence is from written texts, those showing performance details and stylistic features associated in other cultures with oral poetry. In Byz. independent references are few—a scrappy but continuous series from the 9th C. onward mentioning singers and "heroic songs," perhaps TRAGOUDIA, one or more of which may be reflected in works such as DIGENES AKRITAS. However, most surviving Byz. poetry before the 12th C. is at a learned linguistic and metrical level, composed in writing for an educated audience. Lack of evidence for oral songs for and by the uneducated, however, is not an indication that no such songs existed: the question is whether scholarly analysis can be subtle enough to find them in the centralized and archaizing society of Byz.

More particular arguments for the existence of oral poetry derive from vernacular texts from the 14th C. onward: the POLITICAL VERSE in which almost all these texts appear, which had had a long tradition at a level despised by the learned; the poems' diachronic language mixture, resembling the oral language of Homer, which allows metrical flexibility and rapid composition; the high proportion of repeated half-lines or "formulas"; the widely differing versions of texts preserved in more than one MS. Such arguments are accepted in other linguistic environments as signs that surviving texts were deeply influenced by oral poetry. It is unlikely, however, that any Byz. text is a direct record of oral performance.

Oral poetry can take many forms. In Byz. the evidence is clearest for narrative oral poetry, resembling the vernacular ROMANCES (e.g., the WAR OF TROY, the ACHILLEIS, IMBERIOS AND MARGARONA, BELISARIOS, LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE) or chronicles, such as the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA and the CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO. Shorter, lyric oral poetry also existed, however, as demonstrated by the EROTOPAIGNIA or the songs embedded in the *Achilleis* and *Libistros and Rhodamne*. (See also ACCLAMATIONS.)

LIT. E.M. & M.J. Jeffreys, "The Oral Background of Byzantine Popular Poetry," *Oral Tradition* 1.3 (1986) 504–47. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

POETS, WANDERING, a conventional term introduced by Cameron (*infra*) for the "school" of poets of the 4th and 5th C. Primarily of Egyptian origin, they came mainly from Panopolis and the neighboring area (Thebes, Koptos), from Alexandria and even Cyrenaica (D. Runia, *Historia* 28 [1979] 254–56). To this "school" belonged CLAUDIAN, PALLADAS, CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS, OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES, NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, PAMPREPIOS, KYROS, TRIPHIODOROS, and others. They were professional poets, paid sometimes at the rate of one solidus per line or rewarded with rich spouses; they traveled throughout the empire, taught grammar, and recited their verses in public. Some of them became politically influential and acquired high positions and titles. The majority were pagan, and they wrote primarily in Greek. They worked in such genres as *enkomion*, invective, *epithalamion*, epigram, and epic.

LIT. Al. Cameron, "Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt," *Historia* 14 (1965) 470–509. –A.K.

POIMANENON (Ποιμανηνόν), a small fortified town (*polichnion*) where a Church of the Archangel Michael was erected (Akrop. 35.1). Ansbert (see HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI), however, distinguishes between "Ypomenon" and "Archangelos," the town and the castle (MGH *SRG* n.s. 5 [1928] 72). Poimanenon was located south of the Sea of Marmara (probably at modern Eski Manyas) overlooking a rich plain and controlling a major route into the interior. This plain witnessed two battles between the LATIN EMPIRE of Constantinople and the Laskarids (see LASKARIS). Païen of Orleans and PETER OF BRACIEUX, leading 140 knights (and mounted sergeants), encountered THEODORE I LASKARIS with a larger force at Poimanenon on 6 Dec. 1204. Since the Byz. were unable to withstand the Latins' onslaught, the Crusaders won a victory that gave them possession of the coastal lands of the Marmara up to PROUSA (Villehardouin, 2:112–14, 126–29; Nik.Chon. 601f). After the accession of JOHN III VATATZES, Theodore I's brothers Alexios and Isaac deserted to the Latins; in 1224 they led a large Crusader army against the Byz. At Poimanenon, the Latin knights at first triumphed, but Vatatzes rallied his men to victory. Consequently, Vatatzes regained most of the Latin Empire's territory in Anatolia and seized footholds in Europe (Akrop. 1:34–36).

LIT. Ramsay, *Asia Minor* 157f. Longnon, *Empire latin* 161f. Janin, *Églises centres* 206f. –C.M.B., C.F., A.K.

POLAND (Λαχία, Πόλτζα, Πολανία). Traces of Byz. contact with Poland date from the 10th C. in finds of Byz. coins and perhaps in references by Constantine VII to the Lenzanenoi and to the unbaptized Litzike on the Visla (*De adm. imp.* 9.10, 33.19). Mieszko received Christianity from CZECHIA in 966 (see also POLISH LITERATURE). His son Boleslav I (ca.995–1025) was made *patrikios* and possibly caesar by OTTO III, and in 1018 he briefly occupied KIEV. Boleslav IV (1146–73), "king of the Lechoi, a tribe of Scythians" (Kinn. 84.12–13) participated in the Second Crusade. An anonymous poet of the 12th C. praised Manuel I for his victories over six kings, including those of the Czechs and Poles-Lechoi (Lampros, "Mark. kod.," nos. 318.13, 320.6–7).

Casimir III (1333–70) annexed most of GALITZA and Volynia and wrote in 1370 to Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS informing him that the Polish king, together with his "princes [*rhegades*] and *archontes*" of those parts of RHOSIA, elected a certain Antony as Orthodox metropolitan, and asking for patriarchal confirmation (MM 1:578.6–12, cf. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2622). After Poland's union with LITHUANIA in 1386 it was on several occasions asked to join an alliance against the TURKS: for instance, by Patr. Antony IV in 1397, by Emp. Manuel II in 1412, by the ambassador Manuel Philanthropenos in 1420. The proposal was not adopted until VLADISLAV III JAGELLO undertook the Crusade of VARNA. A 15th-C. historian (Chalk. 1:124.23–125.2) states that the Poles (Polanoi) spoke a language similar to that of the Russians.

LIT. Vlasto, *Entry* 113–42. O. Halecki, "La Pologne et l'empire byzantin," *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 41–67. N. Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland,* vol. 1 (Oxford 1981) 61–155. –S.C.F.

POLEMIC, RELIGIOUS, a branch of theological literature whose purpose was to attack a disputed theological position and justify the attacker's own

stance. Unlike INVECTIVE, polemical works were directed primarily against ideologies rather than individuals; the objects of polemic were pagans, Jews, Muslims (see ISLAM, POLEMIC AGAINST), Latins, and heretics. Polemical works took various forms: a collection of essays (*panoplia*), treatise (ANTIRRHETIKOS, APOLOGY, etc.), DIALOGUE, letter, *kephalaia* (CHAPTERS), *elenchos* (examination). Among the greatest polemicists were JOHN OF DAMASCUS, PHOTIOS, NICHOLAS OF METHONE, JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, and MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS. The main features of polemic were exaggeration *ad absurdum* of the adversary's error and the demonstration of the adversary's deviation from traditional (biblical or patristic) views or repetition of old mistakes. Thus the polemicists tried to equate new ideological movements with early heresies condemned by the authority of ecumenical councils and great teachers of the church. –A.K., E.M.J.

POLEMIUS SILVIUS, Latin writer; fl. Gaul 5th C. In the biography of his friend Hilary of Arles Polemius is described as a famous author. A chronicle entry for 438 less flatteringly says he suffered mental trouble after palace service and turned to writing about religion. His *List [Laterculus] of Roman Princes,* dedicated to Eucherius, bishop of Lyons (ca.434–50), was written in 448–49 under Valentinian III. This calendar-cum-register, which comports a list of emperors from Julius Caesar to Valentinian III, is useful for its lists of provinces in East and West, sometimes a valuable adjunct to the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM. It is much more reliable and (for its day) up-to-date for the West, esp. Gaul, than the East, owing probably to a combination of Polemius's own geographical location and the relative merits of his sources (impossible to ascertain precisely). The work is otherwise something of a ragbag, with pagan material ostentatiously downplayed and miscellaneous remarks on (e.g.) grammar and meteorology inserted.

ED. T. Mommsen, MGH *AuctAnt* 9.1:511–51.

LIT. T. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften,* vol. 7 (Berlin 1909) 633–67. J.B. Bury, "The Provincial List of Verona," *JRS* 13 (1923) 149–51. A. Chastagnol, "Notes chronologiques sur l'Histoire Auguste et le Laterculus de Polemius Silvius," *Historia* 4 (1955) 173–88. –B.B.

POLEMOS TES TROADOS. See WAR OF TROY.

POLIS (πόλις), the principal term, inherited from antiquity, to designate a CITY. Other terms applied to the city were *asty*, *polisma*, and *polichne*, which had essentially the same meaning as *polis*. A larger city, such as Alexandria, Antioch, or Thessalonike, was sometimes referred to as a *megalopolis* ("great city"), whereas the term *komopolis* (lit. "country city") was used in narrative sources for a sizable village. Constantinople had a special designation—the "imperial city" or the "Queen of Cities." A. Carile (*StVen* 7 [1965] 227) suggested, however, that the term *polis* was employed primarily for Constantinople, whereas other cities were called KASTRA (he gives the single example of Smyrna [MM 4:9.1]). At any rate, the term *kastron* seems to have prevailed in Byz. Italy (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 145f), while in Byz. proper both terms were used interchangeably. Even Thessalonike—usually defined as a *polis*—could be described as a *kastron* (e.g., P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 121.1537). In the 15th C. in addition to *polis* many terms were used for town, esp. *chora* and *kastro* (the vernacular form), and the distinction between them was vague: thus the *Chronicle of the Tocco* calls Ioannina a *polis*, *chora*, and *kastro* (A. Kazhdan in *Bisanzio e l'Italia* [Milan 1982] 172).
–A.K.

POLISH LITERATURE. Almost all extant Polish writing from the Middle Ages is in Latin. References to Byz. occur occasionally in annals and chronicles, esp. the monumental compilative history of Jan Długosz (died 1480), who includes an account of the fall of Constantinople in 1453 (I. Dujčev, *BS* 17 [1956] 329–33; see KONSTANTIN MIHAILOVIĆ OF OSTROVICA). Indirect evidence suggests that the Slavonic Rite may have been used in Poland until the late 11th C., though both its status and the extent of its proliferation are uncertain. The earliest surviving works in Polish are the fragmentary *Sermons of the Holy Cross* from the 14th C.; the only work with a clearly Byz. literary connection (probably via CZECH LITERATURE) is the hymn *Bogurodzica*, which cannot be securely dated to before the 14th C. (S. Urbańczyk, *Pamiętki literacki* 69.1 [1978] 35–70); the relative importance of its native, Byz., and Czech inspiration is a matter of controversy.

ED. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* n.s. 2–8 (1952–70). Długosz, *Opera omnia* 10–14, ed. A. Przezdziecki (Krakow 1873–78). *Bogurodzica*, ed. J. Woronczak (Warsaw-Krakow 1962).

LIT. K. Lanckorońska, *Studies on the Roman-Slavonic Rite in Poland* (Rome 1961). A. Stender-Petersen, "Die Kirillo-Methodianische Tradition bei den Polen," in *Cyrillo-Methodiana*, ed. M. Hellmann (Cologne-Graz 1964) 440–69. J. Krzyzanowski, *A History of Polish Literature* (Warsaw 1978) 1–25.
–S.C.F.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE. Byz. never possessed a written constitution and the forces that did produce political decisions in Byz. present a difficult, shifting picture. Individual elements within the broader political structure grew and changed organically, but the Byz. mentality's obsession with TAXIS and with maintaining ancient forms and terms and applying them to new realities conceals development in the articulation of political structure.

The primordial component of political structure was the monarchy, totalitarian in ambition and ideology, absolute in its power to intervene directly in every aspect of Byz. life and government. Typically, other elements of the political structure defined themselves in terms of the precedence, that is, the proximity and nature of their relation to the EMPEROR. Emperors were usually able to dominate other constituents of the political structure: for example, patriarchs were deposed or humiliated and aristocrats' estates were confiscated. The monarchy was hemmed in by custom and expectations, however, and failure or behavior not consonant with them led to the upheavals that often toppled emperors (A. Kazhdan, *Narody Azii i Afriki*, no.6 [1966] 52–64, 195). Emperors were particularly limited when several elements of the political structure opposed them, such as when church, bureaucracy, and Constantinople's population coalesced against Michael V. The emperor's personal servants (e.g., *kouboukleion*) within his palace were influential; when, like Empress IRENE or the last Macedonians, emperors wished to govern without interference from the bureaucracy or army, the outsider status of palace eunuchs such as STAURAKIOS or JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS brought them unusual political power.

The Byz. state machinery was extraordinarily developed, efficient, and expensive by medieval standards. It accomplished—or stymied—the emperor's will by regimenting the population, by administering justice, and by extracting taxes that paid for troops and officials. The BUREAUCRACY created and employed much of the aristocracy and might compete with the emperor for control of the political structure. By a combination of design and historical accident, however, the extreme fragmentation of functions and power (9th–10th-C. finances alone—an asset indispensable for revolution—were divided among nine separate officials and subordinate services, each of which reported directly to the emperor [Oikonomides, *Listes* 312–19]) as well as overlapping jurisdictions, the combination of disparate competences (e.g., *logothetes tou dromou*), and the fact that offices were held at imperial pleasure made it difficult for the bureaucracy to unite in opposing the emperor. The SENATE constituted more a social order of active and retired functionaries than a political body capable of acting on an institutional basis.

The church was a *de facto* political force within the political structure, but its political power lacked constitutional status. The depositions of Byz. patriarchs suggest that their power was weakened by loose authority over bishops, the emperor's privileges within the church, and the patriarch's physical proximity to him. Nonetheless, the secular church's prestige and role in publicly recognizing the emperor's Orthodox LEGITIMACY gave the PATRIARCHATE an influence that could sometimes stalemate imperial power. The monastic church's decentralization diffused the political and economic impact of individual monastic communities, although it could provide a political irritant, as it did during Iconoclasm.

The military enjoyed a privileged place in the political structure and was always a factor to be reckoned with. Yet it, too, divided into separate vertical lines of organization answering directly to the emperor, such as the distinctions among *themata* with their dispersed geographic basis, TAGMATA, and palace units like the VIGLA or the HETAIREIAI, whose foreign mercenaries stood outside the social and cultural networks that might have fostered political cooperation with other units. The bureaucracy's role in financing and equipping the troops limited their freedom of action and provoked constant frictions in the provinces, thanks to the army's extensive and ill-defined role in local administration.

Local power was controlled as tightly as possible from Constantinople, whence came the governors, tax registrars, and inspectors; the emperor saw to it that judicial appeals were made from the provinces and the general effect was administration from above. At the same time, however, ethnic colonies within the empire might enjoy autonomy (e.g., SKLAVINIAI). Provincial cities possessed a relatively extensive self-administration, although an imperial governor from Constantinople was often present. The significance of cities in the political structure was greatest from the 4th to the 6th C. and esp. in late Byz., when some were able to extract privileges from the emperor.

The capital as a whole enjoyed unique status within the political structure as a source of legitimacy and as the impregnable reservoir of power. This was where the principal organs of the Byz. political structure were headquartered, esp. when Constantinople acquired an exceptional position thanks to the loss of Alexandria and Antioch. The influence of Constantinople increased as its population and commerce revived.

Although late Roman emperors had feared urban riots and ultimately mastered the FACTIONS, demographic collapse neutralized the people, who played little role in the theory and practice of the political structure after the 7th C., as the Byz. notion of *demokratia* (see DEMOCRACY) suggests. Imperial law insisted that popular sovereignty had been transferred definitively to the emperor (e.g., scholion to *Basil.* 60.46.1) and the people were considered to have fulfilled their political duties when they obeyed imperial commands, paid their taxes, or participated in ceremonies. Just how insignificant they were considered is revealed by the way *laos* is used unconsciously to refer to the elite and the army (e.g., McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 71, n.130, 194, n.27).

From Constantine I to the Komnenoi, institutions supplied the key criterion in each social element's relations to the emperor. Even the lowest-born individuals could play a decisive role if they occupied an essential institutional position within the political structure. From the time of the Komnenoi, however, kinship supplanted institutions, as power flowed from family proximity to the emperor.

The late Roman political structure recognized a role for the senate, army, people, and to a lesser degree the church, as is reflected, for example, in imperial ACCLAMATION and coronation. Within certain bounds, such as allegiance to the reigning emperor, some diversity of opinion might be tolerated, but it was risky. Diffuse power persisted

in the great cities' masses and, once the government had settled in Constantinople, emperors paid nervous attention to the FACTIONS and the crowds' acclamations. Nonetheless, even the serious NIKA REVOLT threatened the throne only when senatorial malcontents attempted to graft a USURPATION onto the disturbances. At this time power was securely anchored in the army, which produced a majority of new emperors. The central bureaucracy's status grew considerably in the 5th C., culminating in the election of Anastasios I and recruitment of subsequent emperors from the palace milieu.

The military crises of the 7th–8th C. brought soldier emperors to the fore, as the state's dimensions and resources shrank. The central bureaucracy successfully opposed Constans II's plan to move the capital back to Italy, but theme commanders subsequently dominated the political structure, supplying numerous emperors and usurpers as Constantinople's population dwindled. The church became mired in doctrinal disputes with political overtones, like MONOTHELETISM and ICONOCLASM, and proved unable to thwart the imperial will.

The last great revolt of the themes failed with THOMAS THE SLAV (820–23). The next two centuries were a period of centralization and organization in which the bureaucratic oligarchy and central military command competed for political center stage in Constantinople, reflected in controversy and codification of precedence and CEREMONY. The church had increased its prestige and ambition after Iconoclasm, but patriarchs who overestimated their political weight were deposed. By the 11th C., Constantinople's nonsenatorial population was flourishing again and began to claim a political role (S. Vryonis, *DOP* 17 [1963] 289–314; Lemerle, *Cinq études* 287–93), esp. through the guilds, some of whose members gained senatorial status on the eve of the Komnenoi.

The Komnenoi and their successors in Nicaea attempted to transform the political structure fundamentally, along the lines of a patrimonial state in which political power was essentially reserved to members of the imperial clan and their family allies. Gradations of the political structure's hierarchy now reflected the degree of kinship between the dignitary and the emperor. The expansion of the senate was blocked or undone and the church's growing power was curtailed along with that of the city, which provided so many of its officers.

The Latin Empire's feudal, centrifugal character spawned autonomous territorial entities on the model of Western principalities, which sometimes united Greek and Frankish lineages and survived the Latin Empire's collapse. Direct intervention by foreign powers in Byz. internal politics became a permanent component of the political structure.

Paradoxically, the tiny Palaiologan state, with its APPANAGE system, was the most politically decentralized in the empire's history. Its ambitions far outstripped its capacities. The political structure combined the imperial clan system with a feudalized state. The effort to secure political support degenerated into civil war, and the political structure was further fragmented by attempts to win loyalty through the concession of heritable PRONOIAI, IMMUNITIES, and municipal franchises. The political structure failed to integrate the emerging territorial or urban forces, such as Thessalonike's ZEALOTS. As the emperors' power base and prestige contracted, that of the church expanded since patriarchal spiritual authority ran much further than the emperor's writ, allowing patriarchs and dissident factions to paralyze and even alter imperial policy, such as Union of the Churches.

LIT. H.G. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XII (1966), 22–47. Idem, "*Nomos, Kanon* und Staatsraison in Byzanz," *Sitzungsberichte der österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 384 (1981) 1–60. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 249–312. Hendy, *Economy*. –M.McC.

POLITICAL VERSE (πολιτικὸς στίχος, "city verse" or more likely "verse of ill repute"), a 15-syllable meter, based on word-accents, without reference to ancient patterns of long and short syllables. There is an invariable break after syllable 8 and compulsory accents on 14 and either 6 or 8 or both. Each half-line has an iambic tendency to stress even-numbered syllables, increasing in strength toward its end, as shown in the figure.

Byz. commentators derived political verse from ancient iambic and trochaic catalectic tetrameters, but this is uncertain. Political verse first appears around the 6th C. as fragments within other varied verse forms, esp. the KONTAKION, which may be coincidental (J. Koder, *JÖB* 33 [1983] 45–56). In surviving texts it was first used consistently, in learned language and at the imperial court, by

Stress Pattern of Political Verse

Syllable:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	‖	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Stress:						(/	˘	˘)	‖							
	x	x	(˘)	(/)	(˘)	(˘	˘	/)	‖	x	x	(˘)	(/)	˘	/	˘
						(/	˘	/)	‖							

Key: / invariable stress; (/) frequent stress; x free in accentuation; (˘) rare stress; ˘ unstressed

SYMEON METAPHRASTES (I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 23/4 [1969/70] 185–228). It is unwise to assume, however, that the verse was the result of innovation at this cultural level. Whatever its origin, its preservation was only likely within the milieu of Byz. literati, who dominated the dissemination of the written word. Political verse may perhaps have won entry to the court by its similarity to the traditional verse of the Roman TRIUMPH. Much circumstantial evidence points to a popular origin in oral poetry (see POETRY, ORAL), particularly its use by those Byz. scholars who exploited its lack of ancient models and consequent freedom from linguistic conservatism: it was easier to use than prose in addressing half-literate patrons. It was closely connected with the breakthrough of VERNACULAR into writing; in fact it is the verse of almost all Byz. popular poetry surviving in written form. By the 14th C., the connection with poetry at an oral level, which has been stated as a hypothesis for the earlier period, seems all but certain. This fact is confirmed by the dominance of political verse in modern Greek folk song, at least since the first preserved examples from the 16th C.

LIT. M.J. Jeffreys, "The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse," *DOP* 28 (1974) 141–95. B. Lavagnini, *Alle origini del verso politico* (Palermo 1983). L. Politis, "Neoteres apopseis gia te gennese kai te dome tou dekapentasyllabou," *AkadAthPr* 56.2 (1981) 211–28. –M.J.J.

POLL TAX (from "poll," head [in men and animals]), a term of English fiscal law conventionally used in discussion of the late Roman and Byz. FISCAL SYSTEM. It means the tax levied on an individual or his animals, rather than on his land or merchandise. According to traditional views, developed in the late 19th C. by V. Vasil'evskij and retained by many modern scholars, the late Roman CAPITATIO (the levy on CAPUT) was a poll tax. After the fall of the Roman Empire it survived in the form of the HEARTH TAX (KAPNIKON) and appears in late Byz. texts under names connected with the Greek word for head, *kephale*, such as KEPHALAION and *kephalatikion*. The existence of the poll tax in the Roman Empire and Byz. has since been questioned: A. Déléage (*La capitation du Bas-Empire* [Macon 1945] 255) and Goffart (*Caput* 36, n.19) consider the *capitatio* not as a tax but as "a method of evaluation"; the equation of the hearth tax with the poll tax is doubted; and many terms interpreted by Vasil'evskij as poll tax turn out to have no such meaning.

LIT. V.G. Vasil'evskij, "Materialy dlja vnutrennej istorii Vizantijskogo gosudarstva," *ŽMNP* 210 (1880) 366–69. –A.K.

POLO. See SPORTS.

POLOS. See SPHAIRA.

POLOVTSY. See CUMANS.

POLYCYCLIC. See MONOCYCLIC AND POLYCYCLIC.

POLYELEOS (πολυέλεος), a CHANT, comprising selected verses from Psalms 134 and 135, sung during the *orthros* on Feasts of the Lord and several other times during the church year. Preserved in 14th- and 15th C. musical anthologies (*Akolouthiai*), the earliest musical settings consist of three separate melodic categories: (1) anonymous and traditional repertories that presumably contain the oldest layers of chant; (2) newer chants—personal and individual extensions of the older layers—attributed to various composers active in the 14th and 15th C.; and (3) a collection of kalophonic settings (see TERETISMATA) for certain lines from Psalm 134, which are also new compositions attributed to specific composers.

LIT. E. Williams, "The Kalophonic Tradition and Chants for the Polyeleos Psalm 134," *SEC* 4 (1979) 228–41.
–D.E.C.

POLYEUKTOS (Πολύευκτος), patriarch of Constantinople (3 Apr. 956–5 Feb. 970); born Constantinople ca.900, died Constantinople. Castrated in childhood, Polyeuktos was a monk when, after the death of Patr. THEOPHYLAKTOS, he was promoted to the see of the capital. His election is mysterious: not only had a segment of the ecclesiastical hierarchy led by Nikephoros of Herakleia opposed him, but the Lekapenoi were in conflict with Polyeuktos; moreover, Constantine VII, who allegedly had chosen Polyeuktos for his wisdom, modest behavior, and praise of poverty, kept trying to depose the patriarch. One of the first measures of Polyeuktos was the restoration of Patr. EUTHYMIOS to the diptychs. In 963, when Byz. was on the verge of civil war, Polyeuktos, acting with the support of the senate, urged NIKEPHOROS (II) PHOKAS to vow solemnly to preserve the rights of the minor sons of Romanos II. After the victory of Nikephoros, Polyeuktos consistently opposed the new emperor: he protested against the imperial edict concerning the automatic sanctification of warriors fallen in battle as well as his restrictions on monastic property. When Nikephoros was murdered, Polyeuktos demanded from JOHN I TZIMISKES the abolition of all novels promulgated by Nikephoros and the banishment of THEOPHANO, Nikephoros's widow. After John had accepted these conditions, the patriarch crowned him, stating that the coronation absolved John from the sin of murdering his predecessor. Polyeuktos placed the newly reconquered Antioch under his control: he designated the monk Theodore as patriarch of Antioch and allowed the Antiochene patriarchs to reside in their METOCHIA in Constantinople. When the Germans under Otto I increased their pressure on Rome, Polyeuktos elevated Otranto to the rank of metropolis in 968, viewing it as a point of Byz. ecclesiastical influence on Italy.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 790–97. H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich* (Göttingen 1980) 124–26. Idem, *Nomos, Kanon und Staatsraison in Byzanz* (Vienna 1981) 25–34. R. Janin, *Bibl.sanct.* 10:995f.
–A.K.

POLYEUKTOS, CHURCH OF SAINT, built between 524 and 527 by ANICIA JULIANA in the Constantianae quarter of Constantinople (mod. Saraçhane), where she owned a mansion. Inscribed in it was a long epigram (*AnthGr* 1:10) alluding to this and other unnamed foundations of hers. Despite its magnificence and prominent situation on the street leading to the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES, St. Polyeuktos has no history. A chance discovery of inscribed blocks corresponding to the text of the epigram (1960) led to excavations that revealed the vast substructures of the church with an atrium to the west and an adjoining baptistery and a wealth of elaborate architectural sculpture. The plan of the church at ground level remains uncertain, but certainly it was domed and had several exedrae and a gallery. Before the construction of HAGIA SOPHIA, St. Polyeuktos may have been the most ambitious church of the city. It was abandoned in the 12th C. and robbed of its sculpture both before and after 1204. The so-called Pilastri Acritani, which stand near the southwest corner of S. Marco, Venice, as well as capitals in Venice and elsewhere, come from St. Polyeuktos.

LIT. C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, "Remains of the Church of St. Polyeuktos at Constantinople," *DOP* 15 (1961) 243–47. R.M. Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, vol. 1 (Princeton 1986). C. Strube, *Polyeuktuskirche und Hagia Sophia* (Munich 1984).
–C.M.

POLYKANDELON. See LIGHTING, ECCLESIASTICAL.

POLYSTAURION (*πολυσταύριον*), a PHELONION or liturgical cape decorated with a design of crosses, first encountered in late 11th- and early 12th-C. images of church fathers (e.g., Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 250v, and at ASINOU, M. Sacopoulo, *Asinou en 1106* [Brussels 1966] pl.XXIIb); the term first appears in a text in a 12th-C. commentary (Zonaras in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:260.25). The wearing of the *polystaurion* may have been originally the prerogative of patriarchs (Theodore Balsamon in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:478.26–28), but by the 14th C. its use had been extended to metropolitans as well. Although the *phelonion* could be of any color, the *polystaurion* was always white, with black crosses.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 237. Bernadakis, "Ornements liturgiques" 132f. Walter, *Art & Ritual* 14–16.
–N.P.Š.

PONTIFEX, pontiff, the title of a pagan Roman priest, *pontifex maximus,* assumed by Roman emperors and retained by Constantine I after his conversion to Christianity. Emp. GRATIAN abolished the title between 375 and 383, but it continued to be used in Constantinople until the 6th C. The title influenced Christian terminology: the phrases *summus sacerdos* and *summus pontifex* were used to render the Greek title *archiereus* and were applied to bishops. In the 2nd C., for example, in Tertullian, the term had pagan connotations and its application had a derisive tone; in the 4th C., however, *pontifex* was a term for a bishop; in the 5th C. PAULINUS of Nola characterized the bishop of Hippo as *summus pontifex.* By approximately 378 the title of *pontifex religionis* was applied to the pope of Rome. Pope LEO I used the expression *summus pontifex* for Christ and for himself; he bears the title *pontifex* on an inscription in the Basilica of St. Paul fuori le Mura. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE also accepted *pontifex* as *princeps sacerdotum* and an official designation of episcopal rank (PL 82:291C). The title *pontifex maximus* for popes did not pass into common usage until the Renaissance.

LIT. P. Stockmeier, "Die Übernahme des Pontifex-Titels im spätantiken Christentum," *Konzil und Papst* (Munich-Paderborn-Vienna 1975) 75–84. G.J. Szemler, *RE* supp. 15 (1978) 347. R. Le Déaut, "Le titre de *Summus Sacerdos* donné à Melchisédech est-il d'origine juive?" *RechScRel* 50 (1962) 222–29.
–A.K.

PONTOHERAKLEIA. See HERAKLEIA.

PONTOS (Πόντος, Lat. *Pontus*), a toponym with four Byz. meanings.

1. *The south shore of the Black Sea*, from the Halys River to the Phasis, together with the adjacent mountains and the valleys of the Isis and Lykos. The coastal region is exceptionally fertile and well forested, with rich mineral deposits. It had always been densely populated, while the drier interior contains fewer cities. The whole region is filled with Byz. monuments, most of them from the empire of TREBIZOND.

2–3. *Two Diocletianic provinces.* The first, Helenopontos (called Diospontos until the time of Constantine I), stretched from SINOPE to the Lykos, with AMASEIA as its metropolis; the second, Pontos Polemoniakos, was administered from NEOKAISAREIA and reached as far as Trebizond. The ecclesiastical dioceses followed this division. In 535, Justinian I combined these two civil provinces under the *moderator Justinianus Helenoponti,* who had both civil and military powers. This reform was ephemeral, and the two provinces were restored and existed through the 7th C. *Kommerkiarioi* of Pontos, however, are attested as late as the 9th C.

4. *Pontica diocese of the Diocletianic system.* The diocese comprised central and northern Asia Minor, with the provinces of BITHYNIA, Honorias, GALATIA, PAPHLAGONIA, Helenopontos, Pontos Polemoniakos, CAPPADOCIA, and Armenia; it was administered by a vicar with headquarters at Amaseia. Its army was commanded by the *dux Ponti et Armeniae* until the mid-5th C., when *duces* of the two provinces of Pontos were instituted instead. Justinian abolished these commands, entrusting the whole region to the *magister militum* for Armenia, the forerunner of the *strategos* of ARMENIAKON. The emperor suppressed the diocese in 535, making the vicar the governor of Galatia I with special powers. When this failed, the vicar was restored in 548 with broader authority than before. The diocese ceased to exist in the 7th C. Its territory was divided between the OPSIKION and Armeniakon themes.

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos.* W.M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London 1890; rp. Amsterdam 1962) 317–30.
–C.F.

POOR (*πτωχοί*, also *πένητες*, APOROI, etc.). Byz. law defined the poor as those who possessed less than 50 nomismata (PROCHIRON, 27.13) and distinguished their legal status, so that in some cases a wealthy person was fined while a poor person underwent corporal punishment (flogging) for the same offense. There is only scanty information concerning the number of poor in Byz. society; John Chrysostom estimated their number in Constantinople at no more than 50,000 (PG 60:97.26–27) and (less reliably) as a tenth of Antioch's population (PG 58:630.10); the 7th-C. patriarch JOHN ELEEMON supported more than 7,500 indigents in Alexandria (vita, 348.39). The poor included not only the destitute (*aporoi*) and BEGGARS but underemployed urban laborers (*Pratum Spirituale* [PG 87.3:2888AB]) and small farmers unable to work their lands profitably (Leo VI,

nov.114). Their diet, primarily cereals and dry vegetables (often in inadequate quantities), was nutritionally deficient, and they appear to have suffered consequently high rates of illness and early mortality. They were often identifiable by their appearance, esp. by threadbare clothing replaced only yearly. For many, shelter comprised rented accommodations near worksites, while homeless beggars congregated—despite imperial prohibition (Justinian I, nov.80, ch.5.1)—in obscure sections of Constantinople, sleeping under arcades during inclement weather (*TheophCont* 909.5–6); St. Loukas the Stylite distributed alms to wandering vagabonds in Paphlagonia (ed. Delehaye, *Saints stylites* 205.8–11). Relations between rich and poor were at times marked by overt hostility; some 11th-C. peasants raided neighboring estates (Psellos, *Scripta min.* 2:82f), while a 14th-C. coalition of poor cultivators and monks opposed John VI Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:196.21–23). A similar antagonism is expressed by Alexios MAKREMBOLITES in his *Dialogue Between the Rich and the Poor.*

Imperial solicitude for the poor formed a salient feature of the (idealized) emperor's image in Byz. political theory, while poverty provided a model for monastic life and figured prominently in many hagiographical legends. Thus the Byz. always possessed an ambivalent attitude toward poverty, considering it a manifestation of social inferiority but, at the same time, superiority in terms of spiritual values and access to salvation.

LIT. E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4e–7e siècles* (Paris–The Hague 1977), with rev. M. de Waha, *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 465–90, M. Mazzo, *Studi storici* 23 (1982) 283–315. L.C. Ruggini, "Povertà e ricchezza nel cristianesimo antico," *Athenaeum* 65 (1987) 547–52. M. Ja. Sjuzjumov, "O ponjatii 'trudjaščijsja' v Vizantii," *VizVrem* 33 (1972) 3–6. K. Chvostova, "Ešče raz o termine 'ptochos' v Vizantii," *VizOč* (1982) 208–15. –A.J.C.

POORHOUSE. See PTOCHOTROPHEION.

POPULAR ART, conventional term applied to art and artifacts of low inherent value (by material and/or technique) made, assumedly, for the lower echelons of society. Bronze, glass, lead, bone, and terra cotta were its characteristic media, while molds and stamps were often employed for mass production; inscriptions were usually impersonal (e.g., "Lord, help the wearer"). In some instances clear strata in terms of media (and cost) can be charted across an object type (e.g., BELT FITTINGS or pectoral crosses in gold, silver, bronze, and lead). Roman sumptuary laws, which restricted some luxury materials (gold rings, amethysts) to certain classes, were not effectively applied in Byz., suggesting that the mechanism of stratification was the marketplace. Some categories of object (e.g., oil LAMPS and CENSERS) were, because of their utilitarian nature, manufactured primarily in base media (bronze and terra cotta); similarly, pilgrim EULOGIAI were made in terra cotta not for reasons of economy but because the material itself was valued for its reliclike power, having come from a LOCUS SANCTUS. Over the centuries kitchen and dining UTENSILS in glass and esp. terra cotta were in great demand, and created industries of their own, including northern Syrian MORTARIA in the 4th C., North African stamped redware in the 5th C., and SGRAFITTO WARE from various centers in Greece and Asia Minor in and after the 9th C. Especially in the last instance, whole categories of decorative motifs (stylized "Sasanian" plants and animals) were developed which otherwise had little impact on more sumptuous arts.

LIT. A. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantii IX–XII vv.* (Moscow 1978). A. Cutler, "Art in Byzantine Society," *JÖB* 31.2 (1981) 772–76. –G.V.

POPULAR RELIGION, a term used to designate both the body of religious practices existing outside the official liturgical ritual of the Nicaean-Chalcedonian church, and a body of beliefs other than those sanctioned by the definitions (*horoi*) of the ecumenical councils, the canons of the ecumenical councils and local synods, and the writings of church fathers. Popular religion is not a "vulgar" or popular phenomenon that emerges from the lower orders of society, but a style of religiosity extant in all social strata. Many of its elements, for example, icon veneration and the manufacture and use of Christian AMULETS, gradually became part of orthodox practices since they contravened no rules.

Byz. Christianity developed on the substrata of civic, rural, and popular Hellenic polytheism and MAGIC, all of which profoundly influenced the new religion. Although Constantine I the Great and his successors transferred confiscated temple lands to local churches and required conversion

to Christianity for economic and political advancement, a Hellenic substratum of PAGANISM often persisted despite conversions: Pegasios, the bishop of Alexandria Troas, for example, continued to maintain temples and idols and to perform sacrifices (JULIAN, ed. Wright, ep.19). The cities were mostly Christian by the late 4th C., though sites like GAZA and Carrhae-Ḥarrān had large pagan populations much longer. The religious transformation of the countryside was slow. Writers such as SHENOUTE of Atripe, ZACHARIAS OF MYTILENE, and JOHN OF EPHESUS mention pagan villages in the late 5th and early 6th C. Monks penetrated the countryside to convert villages, a policy that was sporadic until the time of Justinian I, who began bringing urban pagans to trial under the law of 529. The law also threatened confiscation of lands for all who refused baptism, a clear advance over provisions in the CODEX THEODOSIANUS, which established harsh penalties for sacrifice, but none for the unbaptized. The result of Justinian's compulsory conversions was the mixing of old cult practices and beliefs with the Christian: christianization of pagan rite and the emergence of a large, barely catechized population. Here the origins of Byz. popular religion are to be sought.

Evidence for popular religion abounds throughout Byz. Animal sacrifice continued in Anatolia into the period of Ottoman rule. Monks like NICHOLAS OF SION conducted christianized animal sacrifices to counter this practice, but with mixed results. The defenders of Pergamon sacrificed an unborn fetus during Maslama's siege of the city in 716/17 (Theoph. 390f). The Appendix (4.20, 21, 23) to the *Ecloga* of Leo III and Constantine V (ca.750) repeated earlier prescriptions banning sacrifice, but Photios (ep.79) mentions people who sacrificed a dog at a tomb to induce the earth Gē to yield secret wealth. When the attempt failed, they confessed to their bishop. Penalties for sacrifice fell under civil law; renewed prohibitions appear in the BASILIKA. Neither the canons of the Council in Trullo or later councils, nor the 12th-C. glosses of Balsamon and Zonaras treat the matter.

The Council in TRULLO proscribed many other types of popular religion, however, including Armenian customs, and established penalties (Trombley, "Trullo"). Among the "destructive pagan practices" dealt with by the Council were calendar customs and festivals such as the BRUMALIA, CALENDS, BOTA, First of March, and New Moon. The canons mention practitioners of DIVINATION, including "centurions," animal leaders, MAGICIANS, ENGASTRIMYTHOI, astrologers, and cloud-drivers (*nephodioktai*). The latter not only predicted the future from the shapes of clouds, but also used INCANTATIONS to deliver rain clouds to parched fields. The sixty-second canon condemned the invocation of DIONYSOS during the vintage cycle. Many of these practices lasted until the time of Balsamon and Zonaras. Balsamon describes the mumming processions at the time of the Brumalia at the beginning of winter, when the fermented wine was poured into jars. The revelers entered churches wearing masks and animal costumes and mocked the clergy and monks. Works of PARODY, such as the SYNAXARION OF THE HONORABLE DONKEY, which ridicule both clergymen and the church service itself, reflect a similar attitude toward the official church.

Popular FEASTS not acknowledged by the church calendar preserved pagan practices. Sorcery was used against persons to provoke sickness and could evoke popular hysteria. Monks like St. HYPATIOS OF ROUPHINIANAI and NIKON HO "METANOEITE" used prayers, sacred oil, relics, and amulets to calm the ailing; THEODORE OF SYKEON aided his possessed patients by scouring the countryside for the sorcerers responsible and by himself exorcising the *daimon* thought to cause the malady. Saints appropriated other functions and powers claimed by mantics and magicians as well, including DREAM interpretation, knowledge of the past and future, speed of movement, the summoning of rain clouds, the taming of wild beasts, and marked the perimeters of tilled fields with the cross to protect them from hailstorms, floods, and locusts. Churches were erected at the sites of pagan sanctuaries, and ancient statues were thought to possess demonic power, a belief which pervades the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI. (See also DEMONOLOGY.)

LIT. Trombley, "Paganism." I. Rochow, "Zu 'heidnischen' Bräuchen bei der Bevölkerung des byzantinischen Reiches im 7. Jahrhundert," *Klio* 60 (1978) 483–97. J. Geffcken, *Last Days of Greco-Roman Paganism,* tr. S. MacCormack (Amsterdam 1978). Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1 (1948) 7–63. J. Quasten, *Music and Worship in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (Washington, D.C., 1983). R. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire* (New Haven 1984). A. Frantz, "From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens," *DOP* 19 (1965) 185–205. W.H.G. Frend, *Religion Popular and Unpopular in the Early Christian Centuries* (London 1976),

pt.XVII (1971), 19–29. H.J. Carpenter, "Popular Christianity and the Theologians in the Early Centuries," *JThSt* 14 (1963) 294–310. –F.R.T.

POREČ (Parenzo), a village in Croatia approximately 50 km south of Trieste. The mid-6th C. cathedral was built by Bp. Eufrasius (hence, Basilica Eufrasiana) in the style of RAVENNA. It is a basilica with conch mosaics in three apses and exceptionally well preserved OPUS SECTILE on the main apse wall. Columns and capitals of Greek marble, the latter identical to some in S. Vitale, must have been imported from Byz., as were some parts of the *opus sectile*; according to A. Terry (*DOP* 40 [1986] 147–64), the assemblage of mosaic and *opus sectile* was done by local Adriatic craftsmen.

LIT. B. Molajoli, *La Basilica Eufrasiana di Parenzo* (Padua 1943). M. Prelog, *Euphrasius-Basilika von Poreč* (Zagreb 1986). A. Terry, "The Sculpture at the Cathedral of Eufrasius in Poreč," *DOP* 42 (1988) 13–64. –D.K.

PORIKOLOGOS (Πωρικολόγος, lit. "Fruit Book"), a short anonymous prose text of uncertain date, satirizing late Byz. legal procedures and court ceremonial. All the parts are played by fruit: Grape is denounced before Emp. Quince, who is attended by Protostrator Peach, the Caesar Pistachio, etc. Grape is condemned to be suspended from a tree, beaten, and his blood consumed until men have drunk themselves into a stupor. As the context is now unknown, it is not clear whether *Porikologos* is a tract against drunkenness or a satire directed against individuals who are concealed behind the fruit figures. Not dissimilar in tone to the OPSAROLOGOS, *Porikologos*'s continuing popularity is attested by many post-Byz. versions as well as by Serbian and Turkish translations.

ED. Wagner, *Carmina* 199–202. Eng. tr., M.C. Bartusis, "The Fruit Book," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 4 (1988) 205–12.
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 177f. –E.M.J.

PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA, bishop of Gaza (from 395) and saint; born Thessalonike ca.347, died Gaza 26 Feb. 420. Porphyrios began his career as a monk in the Egyptian and Palestinian desert (ca.372–82), then went to Jerusalem, where he earned his living as a leather-worker. In 392 he became a priest and three years later bishop of GAZA. The core of the Life of Porphyrios, allegedly written by his disciple MARK THE DEACON, involves the bishop's struggle against paganism in Gaza and his campaign for destruction of the temple of the local god Marnas (identified with Zeus). In Constantinople, Porphyrios gained the covert support of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM and attracted the Empress EUDOXIA to his cause by predicting to her the birth of a male heir. Her husband, Emp. Arkadios, was reluctant, but Eudoxia arranged for her newborn son, THEODOSIOS II, to sanction the destruction of the Marneion, supposedly on his baptismal day (6 Jan. 402?). Returning with an army commanded by the *clarissimus* Cynegius (a relative of CYNEGIUS MATERNIUS?), Porphyrios set the Marneion afire and replaced it with a huge church allegedly designed and funded by Eudoxia.

SOURCE. *Marc le Diacre, Vie de Porphyre évêque de Gaza*, ed. H. Grégoire, M.-A. Kugener (Paris 1930), with Fr. tr.; rev. by F. Halkin, *AB* 49 (1931) 155–60, and F. Nau, *ROC* 27 (1929–30) 422–41.
LIT. *BHG* 1570–72. J.L. Heiberg, *Den hellige Porphyrios, biskop af Gaza* (Copenhagen 1912). –A.K.

PORPHYRIUS OPTATIANUS, perhaps correctly (the orthography and style are disputed) Publilius Optatianus *signo* Porphyrius, 4th-C. Latin poet. Porphyrius was an important senator and perhaps a pagan priest from Africa, who in 325 earned his recall from exile by Constantine with a batch of 20 panegyrical poems. He later published these with the addition of seven more addressed to a certain Bassus, perhaps the eastern praetorian prefect of 318–31 and consul in the latter year (T.D. Barnes, *AJPh* 96 [1975] 173–86). Imperial favor subsequently extended to making Porphyrius governor of Achaea (325–29) and twice (329, 333) prefect of Rome. A fuller career is possible on the plausible but unprovable identification of him with the anonymous official whose horoscope is supplied by Firmicus Maternus (*Mathesis* 2.29.10–20). His verses (some items in the *Latin Anthology* may also be by him) are notable only for their structural trickeries, being multiple acrostics and on occasion figurate in the Hellenistic manner.

ED. *Carmina*, ed. G. Polara, 2 vols. (Turin 1973). It. tr. G. Polara, *Carmi* (Naples 1976).
LIT. *PLRE* 1:649. G. Polara, *Ricerche sulla tradizione manoscritta di Publilio Optaziano Porfirio* (Salerno 1971). W. Levitan, "Dancing at the End of the Rope: Optatian Porfyry and the Field of Roman Verse," *TAPA* 115 (1985) 245–69. –B.B.

PORPHYROGENNETOS (πορφυρογέννητος, πορφυρογεννήτης), an imperial epithet meaning "purple-born" and designating a son or daughter born after the father had become EMPEROR. The concept was already familiar in the 6th C. (G. Ostrogorsky, E. Stein, *Byzantion* 7 [1932] 199; cf. JOHN OF EPHESUS, *HE* 3.5.14, tr. Brooks, 199.29–200.5), but the term itself seems to reflect advancing conceptions of hereditary LEGITIMACY and has not been securely detected before 846 (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 12, n.64). It became common in the 10th C., esp. in connection with CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS, who described the court ceremonies that attended the birth of a male *porphyrogennetos* (*De cer.*, bk.2, ch.21, ed. Reiske 615–19). Byz. explained *porphyrogennetos* either in terms of the parents' assumption of the PURPLE (Psellos, ep.144, ed. Sathas, *MB* 5:390.21–27) or by the custom that had empresses giving birth in a purple-decorated structure of the palace, the Porphyra (An.Komn. 2:90.3–19). Both explanations were already current in the 10th C., since LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA accepts first the latter (*Antapodosis* 1.6, 3.30) and then echoes the former account (*Legatio*, 15f). As Psellos's phrasing suggests and *De ceremoniis* (cf. F. Dölger, *BZ* 36 [1936] 148 n.1) confirms, ACCLAMATIONS esp. favored the epithet. The term *porphyrogennetos* remained in use into the Palaiologan period (pseudo-Kod. 134.17).

LIT. R. Jenkins in *De adm. imp.* 2:10. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 61f, 108–10. –M.McC.

PORPHYRY, a hard rock ranging in color from dark red to purple. It was extracted in Upper Egypt until the mid-5th C., when the quarries of the Mons Porphyreticus were abandoned (R. Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*[2] [Rome 1988] 122–33). The hardest stone known to antiquity, it appears to have been reserved for imperial use, esp. during the Tetrarchy and the reign of Constantine I. Imperial PORTRAITS, SARCOPHAGI, and the column of Constantine in Constantinople represent the most important work in this material. Porphyry was worked by abrasion in Egyptian workshops and displays distinct features that had an impact on contemporary marble SCULPTURE (Kitzinger, *Making* 9–12, figs. 5, 8). Thus the tetrarchs in Venice and those in the Vatican as well as a bust of Galerius in Cairo (*Age of Spirit.*, no.5) share the wide staring eyes, typical also of FAYYŪM PORTRAITS, and the summary modeling that is also evident in parts of the Arch of Constantine in Rome and a number of marble sarcophagi in the same city (Kitzinger, *op. cit.* 22, figs. 35–38). The ornate porphyry sarcophagi of Constantia (the daughter of Constantine I) and St. Helena in the Vatican display pagan decoration, while imperial examples in Constantinople bear only crosses and wreaths. In a letter written from Rome to John VIII, Manuel CHRYSOLORAS recalls seeing enthroned figures of porphyry in Constantinople.

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, "Imperial Porphyry Sarcophagi in Constantinople," *DOP* 4 (1948) 1–26. R. Delbrück, *Antike Porphyrwerke* (Berlin-Leipzig 1932) 1–13, 24–30, 84–129, 140–51, 215f, 221–27. M.J. Klein, *Untersuchungen zu den kaiserlichen Steinbrüchen an Mons Porphyrites und Mons Claudianus in der östlichen Wüste Ägyptens* (Bonn 1988). –L.Ph.B.

PORPHYRY, Neoplatonist philosopher, named Malchos at birth; born Tyre 233, died ca.306. Porphyry studied NEOPLATONISM first at Athens, chiefly under Longinos, the "living library and walking museum" (EUNAPIOS, *Lives of the Sophists* 456). He then moved to Rome, where for six years (263–69) he was a disciple of PLOTINOS, whose works he edited and whose biography he later wrote. Mental illness drove him to Sicily to recuperate. Later he returned to Rome, where he taught Plotinian Neoplatonism for the rest of his life, IAMBLICHOS being his prize student. His wife Marcella was herself an amateur of philosophy. Not instantly famous (Eunapios remarks that there was no biography of him), he acquired notoriety through his treatise in 15 books *Against the Christians* (now fragmentary), which was condemned and burned in 448 (T.D. Barnes, *JThSt* n.s. 24 [1973] 424–42). An unlikely tradition makes him an apostate; any faith would not have survived a beating-up by a Christian gang in Caesarea (Sokr., *HE* 3.23).

Porphyry wrote some 78 works on a wide range of topics: vegetarianism, grammar, philosophy, rhetoric, science. His philosophical writings include a commentary on the *Categories* of Aristotle (*CAG*, vol. 4.1, ed. A. Busse [Berlin 1887]). His *Introduction* (*Eisagoge*) to the Aristotelian *Organon* was to be an influential schoolbook in both East and West. The traditional ascription to him of a chronicle that much influenced EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA has now been discredited. In sum, Porphyry's indefatigable preservation of others' work is

more valuable than his own. Bidez remarks that there is not a thought or an image that one can confidently affirm to be his own.

Porphyry accepted the theory of emanation developed by Plotinos: from the One through its hypostases, Intellect and Soul, to the matter that was unable to exist without form and therefore could not be preexistent. Porphyry, however, put the emphasis on the unity of the universe and on the monistic perception of the Triad. The central point of his doctrine was the soul's search for salvation: it was impossible for the individual soul to be consubstantial with the universal Soul; it was bound with the body, but at the same time, through the phenomenon of *epistrophe,* open to the god; it desires the ascent to the god with the help of thinking and of will, through faith, truth, love, and hope, but remained fettered by evil decisions, sin, and passions. The ascent is construed as a primarily intellectual operation, although Porphyry assumed (to a lesser degree than Iamblichos) a role for magic and theurgy, esp. for the rank and file.

ED. *Opuscula selecta,* ed. A. Nauck (Leipzig 1886; rp. Hildesheim 1963). *Gegen die Christen,* ed. A. Harnack (Berlin 1916, supp. Berlin 1921). Eng. tr. A.H. Armstrong, *Plotinus,* vol. 1 (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1966) 3–85. *Sententiae ad intellegibilia ducentes,* ed. E. Lamberz (Leipzig 1975).

LIT. J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre* (Leipzig 1913). B. Croke, "The Era of Porphyry's Anti-Christian Polemic," *Journal of Religious History* 13 (1984) 1–14. Idem, "Porphyry's Anti-Christian Chronology," *JThSt* n.s. 34 (1983) 168–85. L. Brisson et al., *Porphyre: La Vie de Plotin: Travaux préliminaires et index grec complet* (Paris 1982). A. Smith, *Porphyrios' Place in the Neoplatonic Tradition* (The Hague 1974). P. Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus,* 2 vols. (Paris 1968). F. Romano, *Porfirio di Tiro* (Catania 1979). C.J. Larrain, *Die Sentenzen des Porphyrios* (Frankfurt–Bern–New York 1987).

–B.B., A.K.

PORTRAITS AND PORTRAITURE. Following an overview, this article treats imperial and dynastic portraits, portraits of officials, authors, and donors, and funerary images.

AN OVERVIEW. In ancient Greece and Rome prominent individuals were honored by having their likenesses set up in public. Late Antique and Byz. portraits derive from the Roman traditions of public and funerary portraiture. Numerous portraits in SCULPTURE, predominantly frontal bust-length examples, survive from the 4th–5th C., and the genre continues, to a lesser extent, through

PORTRAITS AND PORTRAITURE. Portrait of Theodore Komnenos Doukas Synadenos and his wife Eudokia. Miniature in the *typikon* of the Bebaias Elpidos nunnery (Lincoln College, Oxford, gr. 35, fol.8r); 14th C. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

the 6th and 7th C. These are mostly of emperors and members of imperial families. Public officials are represented, among others, by the two statues of high dignitaries from Aphrodisias now in Istanbul.

The deceased, too, were honored by the setting up of portraits, carved in relief or painted, in funerary chambers. Since the cult of holy figures was focused on tombs, the Roman practice of having a portrait at the tomb developed into the creation of the images of saints that are known as ICONS. Verisimilitude here was requisite, since the spirit of the saint was thought in some way to be present in the icon. From the start, icons exemplified the classical notion that a portrait should be generally frontal, bust-length, and a "true likeness," however that may be understood. Early icons (of the 6th and 7th C.) include the portraits

of APA ABRAHAM in Berlin (K. Wessel, *Koptische Kunst* [Recklingshausen 1963] 187, title plate), Sts. Sergios and Bakchos in Kiev, and St. Peter and Christ Pantokrator at the St. Catherine monastery on Mt. Sinai (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons,* nos. B1, B5, B9). (See HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION.)

After the 7th C., the Roman tradition of portraiture continued in the icon, which isolated and presented to the beholder a holy figure as a subject in itself. It is a frontal close-up view of the saint, emphasizing his facial features and costume. When individuals other than saints were represented, they were shown participating in acts of piety rather than presented as portraits. The few exceptions are portraits of emperors, primarily in enamel, that were presented as gifts (e.g., on the Holy Crown of Hungary, the PALA D'ORO, or the diadem in Budapest). The icon thus became for all intents and purposes one of the principal vehicles of true portraiture. Sacred portraits were based on what were considered to be authentic models, such as St. Luke's painting of the Virgin; when no contemporary model of a saint was available, the painter was often said to have been helped by miraculous intervention. Once a likeness or portrait type was accepted, it was subsequently little altered. For this reason, great consistency is found in the portraits of holy figures throughout the centuries.

Beyond the realm of the icon, representations of individuals are generally limited to members of the imperial family, the aristocracy, the educated elite, and ecclesiastical personages. In contrast to the earlier portraits, those created from the 9th C. onward forego the variety of the Roman media. Portrait statues ceased to be made, perhaps as early as the 7th C. The artists worked in the two-dimensional media of painting and mosaic and in low relief in metal, ivory, and stone. The subjects were usually shown performing one of a limited number of acts (praying, presenting gifts, writing, etc.), for example, the *proskynesis* of the high official at the feet of the Virgin (cod. Lavra A 103, fol.3v; Spatharakis, *Portrait,* fig.45), of the monk Neophytos Enkleistos at the feet of Christ in the wall painting of his cell in the Enkleistra on Cyprus, or of the nun Theotime at the feet of the enthroned Virgin (Sinai, gr. 61, fol.256v; Spatharakis, *Portrait,* fig.17); the imperial donation of Constantine IX and Zoe in the south gallery mosaic in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, or Theodoule shown in the Lincoln College Typikon presenting to the Virgin and Child the church of the Bebaias Elpidos convent that she had founded (ibid., figs. 145, 153).

In this later tradition the bust-length portrait is rarely used for contemporary figures, perhaps because such portraits would have seemed too much like icons. The focus, as in icons, is not on accurate physiognomy, though this of course may be achieved; it is on identification of the individual and his status. A person is recognized by a few select physical characteristics (type of beard, hair color, shape of nose) and by insignia or attributes (headdress, garment, weapons, etc.). The portrait of BASIL II as a triumphant general (Marc. gr. Z 17, fol.IIIr; Spatharakis, *Portrait,* fig.6) accentuates his military dress and weapons. The emperor ALEXANDER, in the mosaic in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, stands in full regalia: he wears the *loros* and the crown and holds the orb and *akakia.* In the narthex mosaic of the Chora church in Constantinople, the position of the high court official Theodore METOCHITES is demonstrated by the elaborate headdress and gold-embroidered coat (*kabbadion*) of his office.

There are also funerary portraits in Palaiologan chapels that again show individuals as donors of the chapel they had built or as supplicants to Christ or the Virgin. In similar fashion a series of miniatures in the 14th-C. Lincoln College Typikon consists of portraits commemorating deceased relatives of the founders of the monastery. The figures are depicted standing frontally and praying to a small image of Christ or the Virgin represented above them.

LIT. E. Kitzinger, "Some Reflections on Portraiture in Byzantine Art," *ZRVI* 8 (1963) 185–93. Grabar, *Sculptures* I, 9–16. T. Velmans, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," in *Art et Société* 93–148. I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden 1976). C. Mango, "Epigrammes honorifiques, statues et portraits à Byzance," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:23–35. G. Dagron, *La romanité chrétienne en Orient,* pt.XI (1979), 133–60.

–I.K.

IMPERIAL PORTRAITS. Portraits of emperors survive from all periods in a variety of media, although only coinage offers a historically continuous series. From the late Roman period survive a few heads and full-length statues of emperors: the colossal head of Constantine I in Rome, the over lifesize statue of Marcian or Leo I in Barletta (U. Peschlow in *Studien Deichmann* 1:21–33), the statue of Valentinian II and the head of Arkadios

in Istanbul, the head of the empress Ariadne in the Louvre, and the head of Theodora in Milan. There are a number of portraits in MSS from the 9th through the 15th C. as well as in mosaic, enamel, and ivory. Imperial portraits also adorned wall paintings, marble reliefs, and silver dishes. After the 6th C., with the exception of coins, there are no surviving bust-length portraits, and after the 7th C. three-dimensional sculpture ceases. The sequence of drawings of Roman and Byz. imperial heads in the 15th-C. Zonaras MS (Modena, Bibl. Estense, gr. 122; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, figs. 115–17, 119, 121–23, 125, 127, 129, 131) is a unique occurrence.

In MSS imperial figures are usually portrayed frontally, with names and titulature invariably accompanying the portraits. Emphasis is placed on the garments. The LOROS marks a figure as imperial; when the CHLAMYS or the long tunic are worn, they are made imperial by rich ornament and appropriate imperial colors: Nikephoros III Botaneiates is shown wearing all three of these garments in reworked portraits in Paris (B.N. Coisl. gr. 79; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, figs. 70–72). The emperor wears or carries a combination of imperial insignia, such as the crown, the scepter, the orb and the *akakia*, so that his imperial status is always unambiguous. A common theme was the investiture of the emperor by Christ, as on the ivory plaque with the portrait of CONSTANTINE VII in Moscow. Some imperial chrysobulls, for example, that of ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS of Trebizond, bore portraits of the emperor.

To ensure that the viewer recognized the figure as imperial, the portraits tended to focus on accoutrements of office rather than individualized physiognomy. Almost all surviving portraits, from the mosaics in Hagia Sophia to those in MSS, are of an official nature and served the emperor as propaganda images. Not all imperial portraits were commissioned by the emperors themselves, inasmuch as gifts to the emperor (e.g., MSS) could also contain their portraits. Depicting the emperor in an official way did not exclude an attempt at likeness: when the 11th-C. Coislin MS (see *supra*) was relabeled for the emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates, his facial features were painted over those of the previous emperor, Michael VII.

LIT. A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris 1936, rp. 1971). *DOC* 2:88–94; 3:142–45. –I.K.

DYNASTIC PORTRAITS. Byz. representations of members of a dynasty are found in the same media as imperial portraits. Most common are representations on coins on which the emperor is depicted with one or, more rarely, two of his dynastic successors; both Herakleios and Eudokia Makrembolitissa, for example, are depicted with two sons (*DOC* 2:216–19; 3:779–84). Dynastic representations most often show the imperial couple and the children chosen as successors, not the whole family. In the double-page composition in Paris, B.N. gr. 510, Basil I and Eudokia are represented with Leo and Alexander, the two of their children who had been crowned co-emperors (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.XVI). The children, wearing crowns and the *loros*, flank the empress. That Leo was the next in succession was immediately apparent to the Byz. viewer, since he is larger than his brother. In mosaic there survive in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, the portraits of JOHN II KOMNENOS and his wife, together with their first-born son, Alexios.

An unusual case is the illustration in an early 15th-C. MS of the works of pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite (Paris, Louvre, cod. Ivoires 100; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.93), sent as an official gift from Manuel II Palaiologos to the monastery of St. Denis. The image depicts not only the emperor, his wife Helena, and their crowned successor John (VIII), but also the couple's two younger sons, who were not co-emperors. Although the image is official in nature, it is as much a family portrait as an official representation of the dynasty. An elaborate series of family portraits is preserved in the 14th-C. Lincoln College Typikon (A. Cutler, P. Magdalino, *CahArch* 27 [1978] 179–93). –I.K.

PORTRAITURE OF OFFICIALS. When government or court officials are represented in the company of an emperor, they remain anonymous to underscore the emperor's importance. They flank Constantine I in the ADLOCUTIO scene on the Arch of Constantine in Rome, Theodosios I on the obelisk base in Constantinople, and an anonymous emperor attending the games in the Hippodrome in the 12th-C. frescoes in a staircase at St. Sophia in Kiev. In only a few of these cases was the attempt made to depict historical individuals. In the apse mosaic in San Vitale, RAVENNA, for example, the officials flanking Justinian I have

individual and differentiated facial characteristics, unlike the uniformly treated faces of the soldiers. Only the figure of MAXIMIAN, archbishop of Ravenna, is identified by an inscription. The officials in the 11th-C. miniature of Paris, B.N. Coislin 79 (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.71) are similarly individualized.

From the late Roman period survive a number of statues of officials; they have been found primarily at Ephesus, Aphrodisias, Sardis, Constantinople, and Rome. Many of the statues are of high-ranking magistrates, garbed in togas, and holding a scepter in one hand, the *mappa* in the other. The similar togate torsos were evidently "mass produced" and then an individual portrait head was attached.

In the Byz. period officials sometimes commissioned their own portraits in MSS or wall paintings to commemorate their role as donors or *ktetores*. Here, a resemblance to the historical individual may be assumed, for instance, the portrait of LEO SAKELLARIOS of the 10th C. in Vat. Reg. gr. 1 (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.1) shows Leo as an old man with gray hair but beardless, suggesting that he was a eunuch. As in imperial portraiture, the individual's status or office is explicitly denoted by an accompanying inscription and by his garments and attributes. Thus, Leo's red and gold embroidered *chlamys* marks his high office. His brother Constantine, who is depicted in the subsequent miniature (ibid., figs. 2, 4), wears a similar garment, although his position as *protospatharios* is indicated by the sword he is holding.

When officials founded churches, they frequently had themselves depicted as presenting the church to Christ, the Virgin, or the eponymous saint of the church. The *magistros* Nikephoros Kasnitzes and his wife Anna are shown in the narthex of their church at Kastoria, offering a model to St. Nicholas. An example in mosaic is the portrait of Theodore Metochites as *ktetor*, offering the Chora church to Christ.

LIT. C. Foss, "Stephanus, Proconsul of Asia, and Related Statues," in *Okeanos* 196–219. C. Mango, "The Date of Cod. Vat. Regin. Gr. 1 and the 'Macedonian Renaissance,'" *ActaNorv* 4 (1969) 121–26. –I.K.

AUTHOR PORTRAITS. Author portraits were a common feature of MSS from late antiquity. Usually the author was shown in a frontispiece to his work, either seated as a philosopher or in a bust-length portrait. The portraits are almost always posthumous. From the late Roman period survive a few MSS with author portraits, such as the Vienna DIOSKORIDES, which has two frontispieces, each with seven portraits of the physicians who contributed to the medical treatise. The most common Byz. images of authors are portraits of the Evangelists, who are shown standing and holding the Gospels, seated while writing, or in contemplation (see EVANGELIST PORTRAITS). Other authors commonly portrayed are Gregory of Nazianzos, John Chrysostom, and John Klimax. A small number of historical books with author portraits survives. Niketas Choniates is shown writing his history in the pose of an evangelist (Vienna, hist. gr. 53; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.98). A standing frontal portrait of George Pachymeres as a cleric introduces his history (Munich gr. 442; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, figs. 106–07). The only known example of a portrait of a living author is found among the theological treatises of John VI Kantakouzenos (Paris, B.N. gr. 1242; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, figs. 87, 89): he is depicted twice in the miniature preceding his *Apology against Islam*, as emperor (with a dark short beard) and as monk (with a long white beard).

LIT. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Ill.* 116–27. –I.K.

DONOR PORTRAITS. The number of donor portraits surviving from different periods attests that it was a common practice to have one's portrait included in an artifact that one had commissioned. Donor portraits are found in MSS, wall paintings, mosaics, ivories, and icons. The donor commonly assumed a supplicant posture and was identified by an inscription. He was usually depicted holding his gift in his hands, whether a church or a manuscript, and offering it to God or an intercessor. Leo Sakellarios presents his Bible to Christ by handing it to the Virgin, who is interceding on his behalf (Vat. Reg. gr. 1; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.1), while Basil the *protospatharios* presents his lectionary directly to Christ (Athos, Koutl. 60; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.52). In a 12th-C. fresco in the Church of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos in Kastoria, Theodore Lemniotes, his wife Anna Radene, and their son offer the church they have built to a standing Virgin and Child.

While most donors were members of the upper class, whether Constantinopolitan or provincial, from time to time they were monks who had

produced the MSS they were offering, (e.g., the monk THEOPHANES—Melbourne gr. 710/5; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.43). Emperors were shown as donors in a variety of ways. Justinian I and Theodora in San Vitale offer liturgical vessels for the newly built church. Constantine IX Monomachos and Zoe present money and a document to Christ in a mosaic in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, while in a MS (Vat. gr. 666; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.80) Alexios I Komnenos offers the *Panoplia Dogmatica* to Christ as a symbol of his efforts to defend orthodoxy.

LIT. H. Belting, "Die Auftraggeber der spätbyzantinisches Bilderhandschrift," in *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice 1971) 149–76. –I.K.

FUNERARY PORTRAITS. Funerary portraits are most commonly found in connection with the burial site. In Egypt up to the 4th C. the so-called FAYYŪM PORTRAITS were painted on wooden panels that covered the faces of mummies. Roman traditions also continued at least into the 4th C.: on sarcophagi the deceased were depicted either in medallions or as full figures on the front side; in the catacombs, pictures of the dead were painted on the walls, often in an ORANS position. The first surviving Byz. funerary portraits are in fresco and mosaic and date from the 13th C., although there may have been examples in the tombs that appear in churches from the 11th C. onward. Funerary portraits are usually found on the walls of private chapels built for entombment of the patron and his family. The deceased are shown as donors of their church or as supplicants to Christ or the Virgin. The portrait is placed near or above the tomb, often within the niche containing the tomb (e.g., the portrait of Michael Tornikes and Eugenia in the *parekklesion* of the Chora in Constantinople). Portraits of deceased individuals may also be of a commemorative nature, as in the mosaic portraits in the Chora of Isaac Komnenos, son of Alexios I, and Maria Palaiologina, who took the monastic name Melane. That the 13th-C. portraits of the *despotissa* Theodora (St. THEODORA OF ARTA) and her son Nikephoros of Arta were carved on a marble sarcophagus is possibly a result of Western influence.

LIT. T. Velmans, *La peinture murale byzantine à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris 1978) 89–97. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 1:45–47, 269–99. –I.K.

PORTS (sing. λιμήν). The relatively small size of Byz. SHIPS and the use of a keel that could be lifted meant that a natural harbor (a well-protected bay, a soft sandy bank upon which to drag boats) was preferred to a complicated system of harbor construction. The jagged coastline of the Aegean Sea, Cilicia, western Balkans, and the Black Sea provided Byz. with plentiful places for mooring, so that not only small towns but even individual monasteries (e.g., on Mt. Athos) possessed their own harbors. The larger ports had more complex equipment, including piers and SKALAI for landing, loading, and unloading ships, as well as shipyards (*neoria*), breakwaters, chains to seal off the bay as in Constantinople and Thessalonike, and lighthouses. City walls extended close to the sea to prevent attacks from hostile warships. The larger ports functioned as trade centers, sometimes as places where cargo was transferred for land transportation; they were also customs points, and centers of ship construction. A larger port usually was under the command of an *archon*. Special harbor dues (*limeniatikon, katartiatikon, skaliatikon*) were paid for use of the port, wharves, landings, etc.

During the late Roman period construction of ports continued: the harbor of SELEUKEIA PIERIA was cleared under Diocletian and rebuilt under Constantine I; Lehmann-Hartleben (*infra*) lists Alexandria, Patras, Methone, and Aegina as ports reconstructed at this time. The underwater excavations in CAESAREA MARITIMA have discovered the harbor of Herod; the port was rebuilt in the early 6th C. by Anastasios I (R. Hohlfelder, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3 [1988] 55–62). After the 7th C. there are few references to harbor construction; in some cases, the threat of pirate raids compelled the transfer of the city center away from the shore, onto a hill; the cessation of dredging work could result in the transformation of an estuary into a swamp. In smaller centers, the coastal EMPORION was distinct from the *polis* proper. The major Byz. seaports, after the 7th C., were Constantinople, Thessalonike, Corinth, Monemvasia, Patras, Abydos, Smyrna, Ephesus, Miletos, Attaleia, Dyrrachion, Herakleia in Pontos, Trebizond, Cherson; from the 11th C. onward, Venetian and Genoese colonies were established in some of them. River harbors played no significant role in Byz. Metaphorically, the word *limen* was used to designate refuge, peace, or absence of persecution.

LIT. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres* (Leipzig 1923) 208–17. H. Ahrweiler, "Les ports byzantins (VIIe–IXe siècles)," in *La navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo*, vol. 1 (Spoleto 1978) 259–83. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 419–39. B. Cvetkova, "Régime de certains ports dans les terres balkaniques pendant les XVe et XVIe siècles," *BBulg* 7 (1981) 283–89. D.J. Blackman, "Ancient Harbors in the Mediterranean," *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 11 (1982) 79–104, 185–211. –A.K.

PORTULAN (πορτολᾶνος, Ital. *portolano*), sailing directions for navigators, the successor to the ancient PERIPLOUS. The anonymous and undated *Brief Measurement of the Entire Oikoumene* (*GGM* 1:424–26) is too general a survey to be considered a predecessor of true portulans, but the so-called *Stadiasmos* or *Periplous of the Great Sea* (Ibid., 1:427–514), which survives in a 10th-C. MS in Madrid (Bib. Nac. 4701) within the chronicle of Hippolytos, comes closer to the genre: it describes two sea routes—from Alexandria westward, along the North African coast, and from Ptolemais in Syria, via Antioch and the coast of Pamphylia, to Miletos. True Greek portulans are known only from MSS of the 16th C. and have strong similarities to Italian and Turkish portulans of the period; their vernacular language shows the influence of Western, esp. Venetian, vocabulary. The fullest example begins with Corfu (Kerkyra) and describes in detail the Dalmatian coastline, the Ionian islands, the Morea, Crete, the Aegean archipelago, Cyprus, and the route from Rhodes to Karaman. The term *portulan* is also applied to the regional maps that began to appear in the West in the 13th C. and soon replaced the *mappae mundi* typical of Western medieval CARTOGRAPHY.

ED. A. Delatte, *Les portulans grecs*, 2 vols. (Liège-Paris 1947, Brussels 1958).

LIT. Svoronos, *Études*, pt.I (1949), 237–40. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:525–27. M. de la Roncière, M. Mollat du Jourdin, *Les portulans* (Freiburg 1984). E.I. Čudinovskich, "Grečeskie portulany kak istočnik po istorii torgovych putej Central'nogo i Vostočnogo Sredizemnomor'ja XV–XVI vv.," *ADSV* 3 (1965) 61–84. –A.K.

POSOTES (ποσότης, lit. "value" or "quantity"), a term with three basic meanings in Byz. documents: (1) in general usage, a property's sale price; (2) rarely, in the 12th C., a synonym for ARITHMOS (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.65.11); (3) in the *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 117.42), a quota of state revenues given to a grantee to collect from the villages that are not in his ownership; it was measured in money (hence, *noumismatike posotes*). In this latter sense, the term is frequent in the acts of the 13th–15th C., where it indicates the size of imperial grants ceded to individuals (often holders of PRONOIA) or ecclesiastical/monastic corporations. While the *posotes* of *pronoia* grants varied widely, the typical range for a pronoiar-soldier in the 1320s seems to have been 70–80 hyperpyra; the *posotes* of monastic holdings in the 14th C. often was several thousand hyperpyra. The *posotes* represented only a quantification of the fiscal revenues (TELOS and state charges) ceded to the beneficiary, not the true economic benefit derived from the grant. Thus, because many imperial grants contained substantial quantities of arable land that seem to have been state-owned and that the grantee evidently rented to peasants, this RENT, together with other charges (mill fees, dock fees, KANISKIA, OIKOMODION) that the beneficiary enjoyed as landholder, increased the yearly economic revenue produced by the grant well beyond the official *posotes* of the OIKONOMIA.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 214–18. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 104f, 357. N. Oikonomides, "Contribution à l'étude de la pronoia au XIIIe siècle," *REB* 22 (1964) 170f. H. Ahrweiler, "La 'pronoia' à Byzance," in *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen (Xe–XIIIe siècles)* (Rome 1980) 681–83, 687. –M.B.

POSSESSION (νομή, κατοχή), in Byz. law, was the effective tenure of one's own or of another's object. Possession could be legitimate (based on a lease- or tenure-CONTRACT) or unlawful. A possession was protected against removal or interference by a so-called *interdictum* (*parangelma*). With this legal means a decision is reached in favor of the "better" owner; this decision was provisional, however, and avoided prejudicing the question as to who was the real owner of the object.

These dogmatic principles, already developed in Roman law, were preserved in Byz. legal literature practically unchanged (Harm. 2.1). The use of the terms *nome, katoche, despoteia* in documents is imprecise; the verbs *nemesthai* (possess) and *despozein* (own) are occasionally used synonymously (e.g., Guillou, *Ménécée*, no.40.6–7), and the im-

precise demarcation between possession (often connected with long-term rights of use) and OWNERSHIP led to numerous legal disputes (e.g., Dölger, *Schatz.* no.57.7–11). –M.Th.F.

POSTAL SERVICE. See DROMOS.

POTTERS' STAMPS. See STAMPS, COMMERCIAL.

POTTERY. See CERAMICS.

POULOLOGOS (Πουλολόγος, lit. "Bird Book"), an anonymous poem in nearly 700 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES, dating probably from the late 14th C. Emp. Eagle summons all the birds to celebrate his son's wedding; at the ensuing feast pairs of birds (Stork and Swan, Heron and Crane, etc.) quarrel noisily over their respective qualities (incidentally revealing some practical aspects of everyday life of the time); quiet is restored only when Eagle threatens to set Hawk and Falcon on them. Written at a VERNACULAR level of the language and including some striking compound words, *Poulologos* (surviving in seven MSS) enjoyed a certain popularity. Like the DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON, it reflects both long-standing Greek traditions (e.g., the fables of AESOP and the PHYSIOLOGOS or SYNTIPAS, combined with accurate observations on bird behavior) and the literary fashions of western Europe (e.g., the "Debate" poems of 13th-C. France or Chaucer's *Parlement of Fowles*); no direct Western model is known, however. Though the poem's satirical elements are directed at human foibles as mirrored in the birds' demeanor, rather than at particular social problems, the disharmony among the characters, as in the *Diegesis ton tetrapodon zoon*, probably refers to the upheavals of 14th-C. life.

ED. *Ho Poulologos*, ed. I. Tsabari (Athens 1987).
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 173f. –E.M.J.

POUND. See LITRA.

POUS (πούς, pl. πόδες, lit. "foot"), a unit of length. The foot of 31.23 cm, used in the construction of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, seems to have been standard in the eastern half of the empire (with fluctuations between 30.8 and 32 cm). This foot does not derive from the Roman foot of 29.6 cm, but from the common Greek foot of 31.6 cm. It remains unclear whether different regional *podes* were in use. The *pous* was divided into 16 DAKTYLOI.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 13–16. D. Chen, "A Note Pertaining to the Design of the Rotunda Anastasis in Jerusalem," *ZDPV* 95 (1979) 179. P. Underwood, "Some Principles of Measure in the Architecture of the Period of Justinian," *CahArch* 3 (1948) 64–74. –E. Sch.

POVERTY. See POOR.

POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET (lit. "Tale of Bygone Years"), conventionally known as the *Primary Chronicle* or the *Russian Chronicle*, is a hypothetical prototype extrapolated by modern scholars from preserved chronicles (primarily the Laurentian, Hypatian, and the first Novgorod Chronicle). It was compiled at the Kievan Caves monastery ca.1115 from diverse native and foreign sources and arranged according to the Constantinopolitan era (but with the years commencing in March rather than September); it is sometimes attributed to the Kievan monk NESTOR. The *Povest' vremennych let* is the main narrative source for the early history of RUS' and Rus'-Byz. relations. It includes the only extant texts of the 10th-C. Russo-Byz. TREATIES, accounts of the attacks by the Rus' on Constantinople, semilegendary tales about OL'GA and Constantine VII and about SVJATOSLAV and John I Tzimiskes, and a long composite tale of the conversion of VLADIMIR I and his sack of Cherson. After the mid-11th C., direct references to Byz. are sparser. The *Povest'* is itself evidence for the reception of Byz. literature in Rus'. Particularly frequent use is made of the chronicle of GEORGE HAMARTOLOS (O.V. Tvorogov, *TODRL* 28 [1974] 99–113); among other Byz. authorities cited are the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER, EPIPHANIOS of Salamis, pseudo-METHODIOS, the ALEXANDER ROMANCE (A. Vaillant, *BS* 18 [1957] 18–38), MALALAS, and various chronological, exegetic, and apocryphal fragments (S. Franklin, *OSP* n.s. 15 [1982] 1–27). The compiler of the *Povest' vremennych let* employs these texts to locate Rus' in the context of universal history and trace the development of the Rjurikid dynasty.

ED. Laurentian chronicle (*PSRL* 1); Hypatian chronicle (*PSRL* 2). *Povest' vremennych let*, ed. D.S. Lichačev, 2 vols. (Moscow-Leningrad 1950). *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, tr. S.H. Cross, O.P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953).
LIT. A.A. Šachmatov, "*Povest' Vremennych Let i ee istočniki*," *TODRL* 4 (1940) 9–150. D.S. Lichačev, *The Great Heritage* (Moscow 1981) 44–135. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 202–15. –S.C.F.

PRAECEPTA MILITARIA (Στρατηγικὴ ἔκθεσις καὶ σύνταξις Νικηφόρου δεσπότου, Presentation and Composition on Warfare by the Emperor Nikephoros), conventional title of a short military treatise of ca.965 preserved in the same 14th-C. MS (Moscow, Hist.Mus. 436/285) that contains the text of KEKAUMENOS (B.L. Fonkič, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 108–20). Its attribution to "the emperor Nikephoros," meaning Nikephoros II Phokas, is reliable, confirmed by the listing of "Nikephoros" among the sources for the *Taktika* of Nikephoros OURANOS (ca.1000); moreover, the *Praecepta*'s strict instructions on MILITARY RELIGIOUS SERVICES are in full accord with the ascetic character of Nikephoros Phokas. Ouranos rewrote the text, with slight revisions, as chapters 56 to 62 of the *Taktika*. The theory that chapters 63 to 74 preserve lost chapters of the Moscow text (R. Vári, *BZ* 30 [1929/30] 49–53; A. Dain, *TM* 2 [1967] 370f) must be rejected, however; these chapters instead represent Ouranos's continuation of the *Praecepta*, including his own contributions, sections from the DE RE MILITARI, and classical tacticians.

Written for commanders of expeditionary forces (about 25,000 strong) in the East, the text, in six chapters, prescribes the equipment, deployment, and tactics to be used against the Arabs: the INFANTRY in square formation maintained a strong defensive position, while the CAVALRY, reinforced by KATAPHRAKTOI, provided the offensive force. The author presents likely battle situations ranging from skirmishes to pitched battles and recommends the proper response to each one, repeatedly stressing reconnaissance, discipline, and caution. The text concludes with brief remarks on CAMPS, spies, and the army's religious observances.

ED. "Strategika imperatora Nikifora," ed. Ju.A. Kulakovskij, *ZapANIst-fil* 8.9 (St. Petersburg 1908) 1–58.
LIT. H. Mihăescu, "Pour une nouvelle édition du traité *Praecepta militaria* du X^e^ siècle," *RSBS* 2 (1982) 315–22. Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 153f. –A.K., E.M.

PRAEFECTUS MILITUM. During the 5th C. a deputy of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT was appointed to oversee the provisioning of expeditionary armies; this formerly *ad hoc* position became permanent during the reign of Justinian I. Prokopios records such an officer (*choregos*) sent out with an army (*Wars* 1.8.5) and gives the Greek title as *eparchos tou stratopedou* (3.11.17). A 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 146.22–24) also refers to this officer as a quartermaster and overseer of an expeditionary force.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 673f. Kaegi, *Unrest* 309–11. –E.M.

PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI (πραιπόσιτος τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου κοιτῶνος), grand chamberlain, and normally the highest-ranking EUNUCH in the imperial service. The office was introduced to replace the former *a cubiculo*, probably by Constantine I, although the first securely identified *praepositus sacri cubiculi* is Eusebios under Constantius II. Originally under the control of the *castrensis sacri palatii* (E.A. Costa, *Byzantion* 42 [1972] 358–87), the grand chamberlain managed the imperial bedchamber, wardrobe, and receptions; he had a staff of KOUBIKOULARIOI. As the emperor's confidant, the chamberlain was involved in important state affairs, including diplomatic activities; by the end of the 4th C. he replaced the COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM in charge of imperial estates in Cappadocia, and by the 5th C. he was ranked at the level of QUAESTOR. As a powerful eunuch the *praepositus* encountered considerable resentment from the aristocracy. By the 5th C. the empress had her own chamberlain. After the 6th C. the office of *praepositus sacri cubiculi* declined; his functions as grand chamberlain were assumed by the PARAKOIMOMENOS, and the Greek form of the title, *praipositos*, was assigned to eunuchs involved primarily in palace ceremony. The title itself disappeared after 1087 (Oikonomides, *Listes* 300).

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE*, supp. 8 (1956) 556–67. Boak-Dunlop, *Two Studies* 178–223. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:338–80. –A.K.

PRAETEXTATUS, more fully Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, a leader, together with Nicomachus FLAVIANUS and SYMMACHUS, of the Roman senatorial aristocracy; born Rome? in 310 (*PLRE*) or in 320 (Ensslin), died Rome end of 384. Praetextatus belonged to a noble family that had houses in Rome and an estate near Baiae and governed

the province of Etruria (Matthews, *Aristocracies* 26). The early career of Praetextatus was one customary for an aristocratic youth, but his fervent paganism checked his advancement. Julian appointed him proconsul of Achaia, and as such Praetextatus supported the local curiae (he is praised in inscriptions from Thespiai and Gortys) and resisted the enforcement of antipagan measures (e.g., Valentinian I's law prohibiting nocturnal sacrifices). The peak of his career occurred in Rome where he was prefect of the city (367–68) and prefect of Italy, Illyricum, and Africa (384). He participated in many senatorial embassies to the emperor. He protected pagan temples, supervised urban construction, and enforced correct measures and weights. The paganism of Praetextatus was probably more political than ideological; he allegedly said to Pope Damasus: "Make me the bishop of the Roman church, and I shall immediately become a Christian" (Jerome, PL 23:377). He was a priest of the Eleusinian cult. Praetextatus's justice and liberality are attested by Ammianus and Zosimos. His interest in philosophy is indicated by his translation into Latin of Themistios's paraphrase of Aristotle's *Analytics* and his composition of a philosophical tract in the manner of Iamblichos; none of these works survives, however. He is the primary speaker in MACROBIUS's *Saturnalia*.

LIT. T.W.J. Nicolaas, *Praetextatus* (Nijmegen-Utrecht 1940). *PLRE* 1:722–24. W. Ensslin, *RE* 22 (1954) 1575–79. –T.E.G.

PRAETOR (*πραίτωρ*), police and judiciary official during the late Roman Empire (G. Wesenberg, *RE* 22 [1954] 1602–05); the seal of the praetor Thomas is dated by Zacos and Veglery (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.562) to 550–650. In its Greek form *praitor*, the term reappears in the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij as a provincial functionary under the STRATEGOS. From the end of the 10th C. the term *praitor*, as a synonym for *krites* (JUDGE), designated the civil administrator of a province. Even though in theory the *praitor* was sharply distinguished from the DOUX or KATEPANO, both functions were regularly combined in the 12th C. An early 13th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 330.64–74) ascribes to Andronikos I the "revival" of the "praetorian office," which meant essentially the appointment of new officials and an increase in their salary. The term seems to have fallen out of use after 1204.

According to Ahrweiler ("Administration" 44), Nikephoros II created the office of *praitor* of Constantinople, a high-ranking judiciary official in the capital. Laurent published several seals of the *praitor* of Constantinople (*Corpus* 2:637–40) and suggested that in the 13th–14th C. he was identical with the *praitor* of the *demos*; Nicholas Sigeros, the last known *praitor* of the *demos*, held office in 1352–55 before acquiring the title of *megas hetaireiarches* (A. Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio* [Venice-Rome 1964] 48f).

LIT. Oikonomides, "Evolution" 148f. Guilland, *Titres*, pt. XXV (1969), 81–84. N. Bănescu, "La signification des titres de *praitor* et de *pronoetes* à Byzance aux XIe et XIIe siècles," *ST* 123 (1946) 388–94. –A.K.

PRAETORIAN PREFECT (*praefectus praetorio*, *ἔπαρχος τῶν πραιτωρίων*), commander of the emperor's bodyguard under the principate, but from the 4th C. an important regional civil functionary responsible for a praetorian prefecture. The praetorian prefect frequently acted as a kind of vice-emperor and many laws were addressed to him. In the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM one finds a system of four praetorian prefects, for Gallia, Italy, Illyricum, and Oriens; the prefects were attached not to the emperor's person, but to fixed areas. The traditional view that they formed a college is not valid (A.H.M. Jones, *JRS* 54 [1964] 78–89). Their responsibilities included taxation, justice, the *cursus publicus* (see DROMOS), public construction, grain provision, trade, prices, and higher education. The officials of the praetorian prefect's bureau were called *praefectiani*, divided primarily into two categories: the *schola exceptorum*, which dealt with political and judicial affairs; and *scrinarii*, who administered primarily financial matters. The office of the praetorian prefect declined in the turmoil of the 7th C., as it came to be rivaled by the EXARCHS in the West and LOGOTHETAI in the East; the last known praetorian prefect is Alexander in 626. According to Stein (*infra*), some aspects of the office were preserved in Illyricum to the 9th C. The link between the praetorian prefect and the APO EPARCHON who are mentioned in the *De ceremoniis* and in some seals (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 231, 644) is questionable, *apo eparchon* being an honorary title of minor officials.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 22 (1954) 2426–2502. J.-R. Palanque, *Essai sur la préfecture du prétoire du Bas-Empire* (Paris 1933), with rev. E. Stein, *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 327–53. E. Stein, *Untersuchungen über das Officium der Prätorianerpräfektur* (Vienna 1922). R. Morosi, "L'*officium* del prefetto del pretorio nel VI secolo," *Romanobarbarica* 2 (1977) 103–48. –A.K.

PRAIPOSITOS. See PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI.

PRAKTIKON (*πρακτικόν*, from *prasso*, "to do, to exact," cf. PRAKTOR), an inventory listing the taxes, as well as the DEMESNE land and PAROIKOS households held by a single individual or religious institution, that an imperial tax assessor (*apographeus*, ANAGRAPHEUS) either copied from imperial cadastral records (*thesis* or *biblion*) or compiled on the spot to be transcribed later into such records and delivered to the holder. While the earliest known *praktikon* is from 1073 (for Andronikos DOUKAS), most belong to the first half of the 14th C. and refer to southern Macedonia. Almost all are inventories of the possessions of monasteries, particularly those on Mt. Athos; only six deal with the possessions of laymen.

Praktika commonly contain the following elements: (1) a delimitation (*periorismos*) of the boundaries of the demesne lands, (2) a listing of the households of *paroikoi* with brief data concerning their family and property (STASIS), (3) a description of the taxes and supplementary charges burdening these lands and people, and (4) the fiscal and other privileges (EXEMPTION, EXKOUSSEIA) that were accorded to the property holder. Sometimes certain elements of the *praktikon* (e.g., *periorismos*) exist as separate documents.

During the 12th C., reflecting the ascendancy of the *paroikia*, collections of *praktika* supplanted the KODIX as the primary form of tax records. An act from the reign of Isaac II speaks of "the public *praktika-kodikes*" (MM 4:325.34–35). The *praktikon* and the *kodix* (or *isokodikon*) had several important differences: while the taxpayer in a *kodix* did not necessarily occupy the properties in his STICHOS, the peasant listed in a *praktikon*, as a rule, did; unlike the typical *kodix*, the *praktikon* provides data on the type and size of the taxpayer's properties, his family or his livestock; and most importantly, while the *kodix* was a fiscal instrument appropriate to an agrarian society composed of middling and small independent landowners, the *praktikon* developed out of the need to record the property of large landowners with substantial numbers of dependent peasants.

Because of their vast quantity of detail, much of which lends itself to quantitative analysis, *praktika* are important sources for the agrarian economy, fiscal practices, social structure, and demography of peasant society, and are esp. valuable in those cases when several *praktika* cover the same village, allowing the investigation of changes over time. Some Latin and Greek *praktika* survive from the Morea and Venetian Messenia.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 259–368. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 1:105–07. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 9–23. –M.B.

PRAKTOR (*πράκτωρ*), fiscal official of a low rank in the late Roman Empire. The office continued throughout the Byz. period. Vita A of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS (ed. Noret, par.10.13–15) equates the *praktor* with the KOMMERKIARIOS; according to Dölger (*infra*), the *praktor* inherited the functions of the DIOIKETES, whom he seems to replace after 1109. The first mention of *praktor* is by an early 9th-C. historian (Nikeph. 51.5–6), who says that before becoming emperor Theodosios III was *praktor* of "the state taxes" in Atramyttion. The functions of *praktores* are not clearly defined in the sources; THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid complains about their activity and represents *praktores* primarily as TAX COLLECTORS, but he also indicates that they measured land "by the leaps of the flea." In the vita of GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS (55.20–24), Merkouras, *praktor* of the "state treasury," is described as confiscating the properties of those who died intestate. Litavrin (*Bolgaria i Vizantija* 301) distinguishes local *praktores* from those of the central administration.

In various acts of the 10th–12th C. (the earliest of 984: *Ivir.* 1, no.6.34) *praktores* are mentioned as the agents of the fisc; a certain Constantine Doukas was *doux* and *praktor* of the themes of Boleron, Strymon, and Thessalonike (*Lavra* 1, no.64.60–61). Fiscal *praktores* also had judicial duties, the role of which increased in the 13th C. (Angold, *Byz. Government* 258–60). In a chrysobull of 1263 *praktores* are placed between the *doux* and the *katepano* (*Lavra* 2, no.72.81). *Praktores* disappear from the acts after 1264, but a model FOR-

MULARY of the 14th C. indicates that *praktores* fulfilled the duty of collecting "the state *akrosticha*" (Sathas, *MB* 6:627.14–18). Ahrweiler ("Smyrne" 162) suggests that there were *praktores* of large domains, e.g., John Thelolites or Theololites, who served in 1302 or 1307 as representative of the *parakoimomenos* Nestongos (MM 4:259.12).

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 71–75. –A.K.

PRANDIOPRATES (πρανδιοπράτης), merchant in Syrian textiles. The term is derived from *prandion* (Lat. *brandeum*), "ribbon" or "band." A 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 232.7–10) relates that the Avars wore long hair tied with *prandia*. *Prandia* are included among the luxury goods, such as purple cloth, gold brocade, pepper, and scarlet or "Parthian" leather, that were transported to Cherson and given to selected Pechenegs in payment for services (*De adm. imp.* 6.8–9).

The guild of *prandiopratai* is first mentioned in the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.5), which states that *prandiopratai* dealt in garments imported from Syria, esp. *chareria* (Ar. *harir*) brought from Seleukeia Pieria; the text lists various other Islamic textiles, but the meaning of the words employed is not always clear. *Prandiopratai* were prohibited from selling clothing produced in the empire (a privilege reserved to the VESTIOPRATAI); they were also forbidden to deal in dyestuffs and perfumes imported from Syria. The textiles had to be stored in a MITATON. The guild (*koinotes tou systematos*) of *prandiopratai* acquired the imported textiles collectively, with the participation (or assistance) of those Syrian merchants who had lived in Constantinople for not less than 10 years. *Prandiopratai* sold their goods in the EMBOLOS. In the 12th C. a decree forbade clergy from becoming members of guilds, such as money changers, *prandiopratai*, or wine merchants (Balsamon in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:469.27–29).

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 32–34. *Bk. of Eparch* 156–61. –A.K.

PRAOTES (πραότης, "gentleness, mildness") was considered a virtue by the church fathers; John Chrysostom (PG 59:335.53–58) proclaimed it, together with the synonymous *epieikeia*, to be the quality that best distinguishes humans from beasts and enables them to compete with angels. *Praotes* was not, however, common in the lists of imperial virtues and is absent in *prooimia* to the emperors' charters (Hunger, *Prooimion* 254); *to praon* ("kindness") is only incidentally mentioned in the *Imperial Statue* of Nikephoros BLEMMYDES (ed. H. Hunger, I. Ševčenko, ch.61); the 14th-C. paraphrase replaces the word with *to tapeinon* ("humility"). On the other hand, Plethon (PG 160:876AB) lists *praotes* among the virtues and explains its necessity in terms of human limitations: we cannot rule the souls of other men.

In art, the PERSONIFICATION Praotes is found in imperial contexts. This Antique female figure attends David's Anointment in the PARIS PSALTER, where she is shown pointing out the proper candidate to Samuel and thus functioning as an agent of divinity. Similarly clad and nimbed but without identifying inscription, she plays the same role in the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS and in illustration of the Book of KINGS; she is omitted in other versions of the scene. In the *Heavenly Ladder* of JOHN KLIMAX, Praotes is described by Anger as his adversary; illuminated versions of this text put Praotes in medieval garb (a sleeved and belted tunic) and show her in the company of such figures as Simplicity and Placidity, who with Praotes embody the virtues taught by the abbot.

–A.K., A.C.

PRAXAPOSTOLOS (πραξαπόστολος), a LECTIONARY used only at EUCHARIST, which contains all the nonevangelical New Testament lections except for Revelation, which was not used in the Byz. liturgy. In the *Typikon of the Great Church*, *praxeis* and *apostolos* seem to be two separate books (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:285f, 314). In MSS, *apostolos* usually designates a lectionary containing only the passages actually read during the service, while the term *praxapostolos* refers to a book with the whole New Testament text except for the Four Gospels and Revelation. The text was arranged, like the EVANGELION, according to the LECTION system of the mobile cycle of the church CALENDAR, beginning with the readings for Easter. The sequence was as follows: Acts, the Catholic Epistles in their biblical order, then the Pauline and other Epistles in their biblical order. Fully developed *praxapostoloi* also contain, in appendices, the responsories (*prokeimenon*, alleluia) for the whole church year and calendars with lection tables (*kanonarion* and *synaxarion*) for the mobile and fixed cycles, respectively.

LIT. C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des neuen Testamentes*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1900) 335–42, 465–78. –R.F.T.

PRAYER (εὐχή), in Christian thought, consciously placing oneself in God's presence by raising mind and heart to him, in thought or in word, expressly or interiorly, speaking and/or listening to him speaking in one's heart. Christian prayer, addressed to God or to one of the Trinity, includes praise, blessing, thanks, confession of faith, and petitions. Prayer at set times later evolved into the HOURS. The "Our Father," Jesus' model prayer (Mt 6:9–13; Lk 11:2–4), and the command to pray without ceasing (1 Th 5:16–18; Col 4:2; Eph 6:18; Lk 18:1), provide the basis for treatises on prayer by the church fathers.

Prayer could be "bodily," involving gestures (see LITURGY); "vocal," the recitation of set formulas (the "Our Father," *Kyrie eleison*, PSALMODY); or "meditation" (*melete*), a ruminative reading, esp. of the Bible, but also of patristic FLORILEGIA. The life of Jesus, believed to be the only way to the Father, was a preferred object of meditation. The purest form of prayer was contemplation by means of the *nous* purified of passions through the practice of asceticism and the virtues. Mystical prayer, produced by divine illumination, described as the "ascent of Sinai" or the "light of Tabor" (see TRANSFIGURATION), was an apophatic prayer that rejected images to achieve pure contact with God. This "prayer of the heart" was esp. cultivated by the HESYCHAST monks of Athos in the 13th–14th C., though its origins go back to the earliest days of monasticism.

The only prayer books in this time of widespread illiteracy were the LITURGICAL BOOKS used by the clergy and monks. The PSALTER, which the monks knew by heart, was the privileged monastic prayerbook. For Byz. laity, prayer was chiefly "bodily" and liturgical. In addition to SUNDAY worship, they participated in FEASTS and VIGILS, and, less frequently, the hours.

LIT. T. Špidlík, *La spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien, La prière* (Rome 1988). L. Bouyer et al., *History of Christian Spirituality*, vol. 2 (New York 1968) 547–90. F. Heiler, *Das Gebet*[5] (Munich 1923). –R.F.T.

PREDESTINATION (πρόθεσις) is God's universal foreknowledge or his eternally conceived plan, according to which he leads humans to their supernatural end. In a narrow sense, predestination or predetermination is the mystery of God's judgment: which mortals will be doomed to HELL and which will be liberated and admitted to PARADISE. Origen (ed. J.A.F. Gregg, *JThSt* 3 [1902] 240f) distinguishes *proorismos* (predetermination) and *prothesis* as two stages of this mystery: *proorismos* is a design formed on the basis of God's plan (*ennoemata*), *prothesis* is a subsequent step. Connected with the concept of GRACE, predestination was its preparation, grace being the bestowal of the gift itself. The Greek fathers usually considered SALVATION as the resultant force of two factors: predestination/grace on the one hand, human FREE WILL on the other. Salvation comes, says John Chrysostom (PG 62:12.49–53), "neither from grace (*agape*) alone nor from our virtue, but from them both . . . Had it been accounted for only by our virtue, then [Christ's] coming and the whole [mystery of] *oikonomia* would have been superfluous . . . Nobody could be saved if grace did not exist." In general, the Greek fathers did not pay much attention to this problem, although John of Damascus dwelt on it in his polemics against the Manichaeans (ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:393f), defining *proorismos* as judgment and sentence of future actions.

The problem of predestination is of greater concern in AUGUSTINE's attack on PELAGIANISM: the Pelagians denied the necessity of supernatural grace and connected salvation with man's own efforts, whereas in Augustine's doctrine God predivides mankind into two groups, the virtuous and the sinners, the chosen and the doomed, and thus brings to realization his foreknown design of historical development.

LIT. J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*[2] (London 1960) 366–69. J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, vol. 1 (Chicago-London 1971) 297–331. G. Nygren, *Das Prädestinationsproblem in der Theologie Augustins* (Göttingen 1956). –A.K.

PREFECTURE, office and sphere of authority of a *praefectus*, a late Roman functionary, ranging from the highest (PRAETORIAN PREFECT, URBAN PREFECT) to local governors (prefect of Egypt), fiscal officials (prefect of the ANNONA), police of-

ficers (prefect of the night watch, *nykteparchos*), and some military commanders (PRAEFECTUS MILITUM). –A.K.

PREFIGURATION (*τύπος*, lit. "form, type"), a vehicle of EXEGESIS for the purpose of establishing Old Testament prototypes of the events of the New Testament. Thus, according to Cyril of Jerusalem (PG 33:849AB), JONAH being swallowed by a great fish was the *typos* of Christ descending into Hell, to "the heart of the earth." Adam, Moses, and Joshua were also interpreted in TYPOLOGY as prefigurations of Christ. The concept of prefiguration was extended to nonbiblical personages (Emp. Nero as the *typos* of ANTICHRIST) and to objects and actions (BAPTISM as a prefiguration of salvation). The idea of prefiguration contributed much to the development of Byz. allegorical and symbolic vision of the world.

In art the most important prefigurations were those of the Virgin. Often cited as the new Eve, the Virgin was also likened to numerous other Old Testament figures and even objects. Many of these parallels evolved from Old Testament readings in the liturgies of her feasts: the high priests before the altar (Ezek 43:27–44:3, read on all her feasts), Jacob's Ladder, and Wisdom building herself a temple (Gen 28:10–17, Pr 9:1, read on the feasts of the BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN and her DORMITION), the BURNING BUSH (Ex 3:1–8, read for the ANNUNCIATION), the rod from Jesse's root (Is 11:1–9, read on Christmas Eve), and the tabernacle of Moses as well as the individual objects brought into the Holy of Holies—the ARK OF THE COVENANT, the *stamnos* filled with manna, the altar for incense that fills the universe with sweet odor, the table for the bread, the seven-branched candlestick (Ex 25–27, 1 Kg 8:1–6, Heb 9:1–7, read for the feast of the PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN).

Other parallels emerge from theological literature: Moses' staff (Ex 4:2–4), the blossoming rod of Aaron (Num 17:8), Balaam and the star (Num 24:17–19), Gideon's fleece (Jg 6:36–40), the tongs with the live coal (Is 6:1–8), the closed gate (Ezek 44:2), Mount Sion and the rock that fell from it (Ps 68:16, Dan 2:31–35), and Solomon's bed (S of S 3:7–8). Though used in literature since the 4th C., these acquire visual form only from the 9th C. onward, first in icons (Soteriou, *Eikones*, pl.54) and MSS: marginal PSALTERS (Mount Sion; Gideon's fleece at Ps 72), the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS (Ark of the Covenant), a KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES MS formerly in Smyrna (tabernacle of Moses), illustrated homilies of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS (Eve, Jacob's ladder, Moses' staff and the bush, Aaron's rod, Gideon's fleece, Solomon's bed). These images enter monumental painting in the Palaiologan period, usually in the narthex programs (OHRID, Sv. Kliment; Hagia Sophia, TREBIZOND), but in the naos at Polško (G. Babić, *CahArch* 27 [1978] 163–78) and in the funerary *parekklesion* at the CHORA.

LIT. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:305–46. –A.K., A.W.C.

PREPENDOULIA. See CROWN.

PRESANCTIFIED, LITURGY OF THE (*λειτουργία τῶν προηγιασμένων*), a COMMUNION service appended to VESPERS, for use on days when there is no EUCHARIST. "Presanctified" gifts—eucharistic gifts that have been consecrated at an earlier Eucharist—were reserved for such occasions. The usage results from the practice of prohibiting the Eucharist, deemed festive, on weekdays during Lent (Council of Laodikeia, par.49, Mansi 2:571D). Presanctified followed vespers because only one meal, to be consumed in the evening, was allowed those who were fasting, and even communion would break this fast. Thus the full Eucharist, a morning service, could not be celebrated on fast days, and canon 52 of the Council in TRULLO orders Presanctified to be substituted for it on all days of Lent except Saturdays and Sundays and on the feast of the Annunciation (Mansi 11:968B–C). This is the usage in the *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:315f). A passage in the CHRONICON PASCHALE regarding the year 615 (705.21) is the earliest witness to the use of the Presanctified rite in Constantinople. With the introduction of the SABAITIC TYPIKA into the monasteries of Constantinople, elements of Jerusalem vespers—for example, the PHOS HILARON—are synthesized with those of Constantinopolitan vespers in the first part of Presanctified to form a hybrid rite.

The attribution of Byz. Presanctified to Pope Gregory I the Great does not antedate the 12th C. The short *diataxis* of the Presanctified (PG 99:1687–90) attributed to Theodore of Stoudios is, in its present redaction, later in date.

The *typika*, the HOUR preceding *none*, was originally a Palestinian monastic Presanctified communion service for days without the full liturgy, first found in the 9th-C. HOROLOGION MS Sinai gr. 863 (J. Mateos in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 3 [Vatican 1964] 54f). The STOUDITE TYPIKA borrowed this service, but, since Constantinople already had its own Presanctified service, *antidoron* (blessed but unconsecrated PROSPHORA) was substituted for communion—*ta hagia dora*—at the *typika*, hence its name, "in place of the gift." By the 11th C., the *typika* was split in two and added to the beginning and end of the Eucharist (Mateos, *La parole* 68–71).

LIT. M. Arranz, "La Liturgie des Présanctifiés de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," *OrChrP* 47 (1981) 332–88. –R.F.T.

PRESBEUTIKOS. See BASILIKOS LOGOS.

PRESBYS HIPPOTES. See OLD KNIGHT.

PRESENTATION OF CHRIST. See HYPAPANTE.

PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN (*εἴσοδος τῆς Θεοτόκου*) in the Temple, one of five Marian GREAT FEASTS, celebrated 21 Nov. It is based not on the Bible, but on New Testament APOCRYPHA—the Gospel of pseudo-Matthew 4 and, esp., the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES (chs. 7–8)—that apply to Mary the Jewish custom (Lev 12:2–8) of presenting a male or female child in the temple after birth. The Presentation falls within the pre-Nativity LENT (15 Nov.–24 Dec.) and foreshadows the Nativity. The poetry for the feast stresses the theme of Mary as the true temple and "God-bearer" (*theotokos*); the Ark of the Covenant; and the candelabrum bearing Jesus, the light of the world.

Though believed to originate in Jerusalem in the dedication of the Nea (New St. Mary) church under Justinian I (21 Nov. 543), the feast is not found in the Jerusalem LECTIONARIES through the 8th C. It appears in Constantinople in the *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:110f) and in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.198). In this period, the emperor regularly celebrated the feast in the Church of the Chalkoprateia (*Synax.CP*, 244.33–34); in the 14th C. he went to the Peribleptos monastery instead (pseudo-Kod. 243.9–12). Manuel I Komnenos included the Presentation in a list of holidays (*Reg* 2, no.1466). The West received the feast from Byz., apparently via Hungary, ca.1200 (M. Zalan, *EphLit* 41 [1927] 188f).

Representation in Art. The standard composition—first attested in a 10th-C. ivory in Berlin (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, no.11)—shows a procession consisting of the Virgin's parents, seven candle-bearing maidens, and the little Virgin. The priest, Zacharias, stands beneath the altar ciborium to receive her, and behind him the Virgin appears again, now seated in the sanctuary receiving bread from an angel (*Protoevangelion of James*, ch.8:1). Varying little in iconography, the scene appears in liturgical MSS, the MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS, and monumental painting, where it is found either in the narthex as at DAPHNI or in the naos (LAGOUDERA).

LIT. I.E. Anastasios, "Eisodia tes Theotokou," *ThEE* 5 (1964) 451–54. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'empire byzantin et en occident*, vol. 1 (Brussels 1964) 136–67. –R.F.T., A.W.C.

PRESLAV, GREAT (*Μεγάλη Πρεσθλάβα*), Bulgarian city on the left bank of the river Tiča (Kamčija), immediately south of modern Preslav, in northeastern Bulgaria. The name is Slavic (Prě-jęslav, "inheritor of glory"?). Founded by SYMEON OF BULGARIA at the end of the 9th C. as the second capital of BULGARIA, Preslav is on the site of a 6th-C. Roman fortress. Extensive building went on for some 30 years. Preslav consisted of an outer city surrounded by massive earthworks, and an inner or royal city surrounded by a stone wall and containing a palace, administrative buildings, and churches. The outer city held many substantial dwellings, churches (esp. the Round Church, a major monument of BULGARIAN ART), monasteries, and industrial premises. Excavations have revealed much sculptured decoration, floor and wall mosaics, and decorative ceramics. In a suburb on the right bank of the Tiča were two large monasteries and several churches, and 1.5 km southeast of the city was an *ergasterion* (workshop) that produced decorative TILES. Preslav was captured in 969 by SVJATOSLAV of Kiev and in 971 by John

I Tzimiskes, who destroyed much of the city and renamed it Ioannopolis. It was reoccupied by the Bulgarians in ca.986 and by the Byz. by ca.1000. Under the Second Bulgarian Empire it remained an important city until its capture by the Ottoman Turks in 1388.

LIT. *Pliska-Preslav*, vol. 4, ed. D. Angelov (Sofia 1985) 132–222. *Preslav*, ed. T. Totev, 3 vols. (Varna 1968–83). K. Mijatev, *Krŭglata cŭrkva v Preslav* (Sofia 1932). Idem, *Preslavskata keramika—Die Keramik von Preslav* (Sofia 1936). T. Totev, *Manastirŭt v Tuzlalŭka—Centŭr na risuvana keramika v Preslav prez IX–X v.* (Sofia 1982). Idem, "Les monastères de Pliska et Preslav aux IX^{e}–X^{e} siècles: Aperçu archéologique, *BS* 48 (1987) 185–200. –R.B.

PRESLAV, LITTLE (Πρεσθλαβίτζα, Russ. Perejaslavec), Bulgarian city at the mouth of the Danube. Prince SVJATOSLAV of Kiev considered it an important entrepôt for trade between eastern and central Europe and the Byz. Empire, and, perhaps encouraged by Nikephoros II Phokas, proposed in 968/9 to move his residence from Kiev to Little Preslav. It played an important role in the Russo-Byz. conflict of 967–71, but John I Tzimiskes finally recaptured it. I. Jordanov (*Vekove* 12.1 [1983] 58–62) suggests, on the basis of seals found at Great Preslav, that it was renamed Theodoropolis after 971; 11th-C. seals, however, record *strategoi* and *kommerkiarioi* of Presthlabitza, and Skylitzes reports that a Byz. army recaptured Mikra Presthlaba ca.1000. The last mentions of Little Preslav are in Idrisi and in sailors' maps (PORTULANS). The city appears to have been in decline in the 12th C. For a short time after 971 Little Preslav may have been the administrative center of the *katepanate* of MESOPOTAMIA TES DYSEOS.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "Presthlavitza, the Little Preslav," *SüdostF* 42 (1983) 1–9. I. Jordanov, "Malŭk Preslav ili Preslavec X–XI v.," *Bulgaria 1300*, vol. 2 (Sofia 1982) 335–40. P. Diaconu, "Où trouvait Théodoroupolis, nom consigné sur certains sceaux du Grand Preslav?," *II Meždunaroden kongres po bŭlgaristika* 6 (Sofia 1987) 437–47. –R.B.

PRESPA (Πρέσπα), the name of two adjoining lakes in western Macedonia. Great Prespa Lake is situated at the intersection of the borders of modern Yugoslavia, Greece, and Albania, with most of it lying within Yugoslavia. Little Prespa Lake, separated from the larger body of water by a narrow sand spit, is predominantly in Greece but extends into Albania. A town at Prespa is first attested at the end of the 10th C., when Samuel of Bulgaria temporarily established his residence there and transferred the relics of St. Achilleios from LARISSA to Prespa (Skyl. 330.5–9). When the Byz. quelled the rebellion of the Bulgarian George VOITECH (died 1073), the German and Norman mercenaries destroyed Samuel's palace in Prespa. The town remained an administrative and ecclesiastical center; however, the letter that THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid addressed to an *archon* of Prespa in 1103 (ed. P. Gautier, no.108) requesting that he make sure there was sufficient provision of food for a synod meeting there suggests difficult living conditions. Late Byz. writers (Akropolites, Pachymeres, Gregoras) infrequently mention Prespa (Lj. Maksimović in *VizIzvori* 6:15, n.18).

The date of the now-ruined basilica of St. Achilleios on the island of that name in Little Prespa Lake is disputed, but its original construction probably goes back to the time of Samuel. It had three aisles, with nave arcades supporting galleries. In the apse were painted inscriptions (now lost) naming 14 metropolitan seats subject to the archbishop of Prespa (A. Grabar, *ZRVI* 8.2 [1964] 163–66), and (on a later layer) a bold painted inscription in honor of the Virgin around the base of the conch. Other churches on or near Little and Great Prespa lakes possess frescoes of the 13th and 14th C. (N. Moutsopoulos, *The Churches of the Prefecture of Florina* [Thessalonike 1966] 9–13).

LIT. J. Ivanov, "Zar Samuilovata stolica v Prespa," *Izvestija na Bŭlgarskoto archeologičesko družestvo* 1 (1910) 55–80. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 2:503–07. S. Pelekanides, *Mnemeia byzantina kai metabyzantina tes Prespas* (Thessalonike 1960). N.K. Moutsopoulos, *Anaskaphe tes basilikes tou Hagiou Achilleiou* (Thessalonike 1972). –A.K., N.P.Š.

PRICE EDICT (*edictum de pretiis*), issued by DIOCLETIAN between 20 Nov. and 9 Dec. 301 (E. Ruschenbusch, *ZPapEpig* 26 [1977] 193), law that set maximum PRICES for a wide variety of goods and services, with severe penalties for disobedience. The Latin and Greek texts of the edict are known only from inscriptions found in Asia Minor, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Greece, and Italy; Giacchero (*infra*) counts 132 fragments, some relatively complete, such as those from Stratonicaea in Caria, Aix-en-Provence (of Egyptian provenance), and Aezanoi. The edict was an attempt to control inflation by imperial fiat. No copies have been found in the West, and it seems that neither Maximian nor Constantius Chlorus published it in their territory. Even in the East it apparently had little effect. Some local governors put forth modified versions; thus Fulvius Asticus, governor of Caria, issued an order which echoes many phrases of Diocletian's preface, but emphasizes a fair rather than a maximum price (M. Crawford, J. Reynolds, *JRS* 65 [1975] 162). The edict is an important source for the study of coinage, prices, industry, trade, and language ca.300.

ED. S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt* (Berlin 1971). M. Giacchero, *Edictum Diocletiani et collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium*, 2 vols. (Genoa 1974). Eng. tr. W.M. Leake, *Edict of Diocletian, Establishing a Maximum Schedule of Prices for Commodities and Services throughout the Roman Empire, 301 A.D.* (Providence, R.I., 1919?).

LIT. G. & W. Leiner, "Kleinmünzen und ihre Werte nach dem Preisedikt Diokletians," *Historia* 29 (1980) 219–41. H. Michell, "The Edict of Diocletian: A Study of Price Fixing in the Roman Empire," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 13 (1947) 1–12. –T.E.G.

PRICES are mentioned in various sources, some of which (such as saints' vitae) are not reliable, while others (such as chronicles) deal with exceptional cases of inflation. Papyri have abundant information, whereas the late Byz. documents convey almost exclusively data concerning immovable property; even this documentary evidence is tenuous since the quality of the object is rarely indicated.

It is not quite clear which forces, beside market supply and demand, regulated prices. Diocletian's PRICE EDICT demonstrates an attempt of the state to control prices, and state MONOPOLIES provided a powerful means for such regulation. The idea of the JUST PRICE was presumably operable and not only with regard to land. Moral strictures could be effective: the story is told of a shoemaker who was irritated when a dealer sold his product for a price three times higher than the shoemaker considered just (F. Halkin, *Le Corpus Athénien de S. Pachôme* [Geneva 1982] 84, par.23). It is plausible to hypothesize that social status also influenced the price of immovables: thus, lords fixed arbitrary prices when buying the lands of their *paroikoi*, or lands sold to religious institutions could go for reduced prices (Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 156–62).

A general impression is that after the great devaluation of the 3rd C. prices remained relatively constant until the 11th C. G. Mickwitz (*Aegyptus* 13 [1933] 103), however, calculates that in late Roman Egypt prices declined 30 percent, a development that he connects with the diminishing amount of gold in circulation. Prices vacillated during natural disasters (droughts, severe winters, etc.), sieges, or conscious trade speculation. Chronicles preserve complaints about rising prices under Basil I and Nikephoros II; they seem to have skyrocketed in the mid-11th C. Alexios I managed to restrain inflation, but it again became substantial in the 14th C. The causes of inflation are not yet clear: besides negative factors such as military defeats or debasement of coinage, intensification of the exchange of goods could also contribute to the destabilization of prices. At any rate, the Byz. government finally gave up its attempts to control the level of prices, WAGES, and PROFIT in general.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, "Löhne und Preise in Byzanz," *BZ* 32 (1932) 312–33. J. Irmscher, "Einiges über Preise und Löhne im frühen Byzanz," *BBA* 51 (1983) 23–29. *Les 'dévaluations' à Rome* 2 (Paris 1980) 187–270. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, "Démographie, salaires et prix à Byzance au XIe siècle," *Annales ESC* 27 (1972) 215–46. –A.K.

PRIENE (Πριήνη), town of the Aegean region of Asia Minor near MILETOS whose development can be followed primarily from the archaeological evidence. During late antiquity, although a cathedral church was built, most of the city was in decline, with small houses occupying the public buildings and overriding the regular urban plan. The ancient site was apparently abandoned in the late 7th C. when Priene withdrew to its high fortified acropolis. The lower city was reoccupied during the 11th–13th C. By then Priene was known as Sampson (Σαμψών), a name that also appears in al-IDRĪSĪ. Sampson was center of an *episkepsis* in 1204; it was the capital of the ephemeral state of Sabbas ASIDENOS, 1204–08. Remains indicate that it consisted of the fortress on the acropolis (rebuilt in the 12th and 13th C.) and a small fort in the lower town with scattered habitations outside its walls. Priene was a suffragan bishopric of EPHESUS.

LIT. T. Wiegand et al., *Priene* (Berlin 1904) 475–88. W. Müller-Wiener, "Mittelalterliche Befestigungen im südlichen Jonien," *IstMitt* 11 (1961) 46–56. –C.F.

PRIEST (πρεσβύτερος, *presbyteros*, "elder, venerable man"), originally a member of the council of elders, or "senate," surrounding the BISHOP. Although the terms "priest" and "bishop" (*episkopos*) seem to be interchangeable in the New Testament (Titus 1:5–7), the bishop appears as the only head of each community and as the celebrant of the eucharist, with priests acting as advisers, teachers, and administrators. The priest, however, was superior to the DEACON (the lowest order among the CLERGY). By the 4th C. in both town and countryside, resident presbyters were being put in charge of parishes then springing up with the expansion of Christianity and became normal celebrants of the eucharist. Despite this "division of labor," the priest was assigned to his parish by the bishop and was entirely under his jurisdiction. In the main, he could celebrate the LITURGY or administer baptism only in churches (*katholikai ekklesiai*) immediately dependent on the bishop, rather than in private chapels or EUKTERIA (Council in TRULLO, canons 31, 59). Permission to officiate in the latter was eventually granted, however.

Although the priest was an influential member of Byz. society, his social position and material status varied (cf. B. Ferjančić, *ZRVI* 22 [1983] 59–117). His salary as a rule came from the bishop or from the properties of the episcopal district to which he was assigned. In the case of private churches, the founder alone was responsible for the priest's livelihood. This was equally the case for those who were or lived as dependent peasants (PAROIKOI) on the estate of a wealthy landowner or monastery. Although formal education or training was unknown, knowledge of the faith and the canons and a blameless moral life were considered essential for ordination (Justinian I, nov.6, 123). The minimum age of entry into the priesthood, from which women were excluded (PG 104:1025C), was fixed at 30 (Justinian, nov.123; Trullo, canon 14). Unlike in the West, CELIBACY was never obligatory for priests. Their principal vestments were the STICHARION, EPITRACHELION, *zone* (see BELT), PHELONION, and, from the 12th C., the EPIMANIKIA and EPIGONATION.

LIT. W. Seston, "Note sur les origines religieuses des paroisses rurales," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 15 (1935) 243–54. E. Herman, "Die kirchlichen Einkünfte des byzantinischen Niederklerus," *OrChrP* 8 (1942) 378–442. *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Theologie des Presbyterates*, ed. L. Ulrich (Leipzig 1971). E. Theodorou, "Das Priestertum nach dem Zeugnis der byzantinischen liturgischen Texte," *Theologia* 57 (1986) 155–72. J. O'Callaghan, "La palabra 'presbiteró' en documentos de epoca bizantina," *Boletin de la Asociacion Española de Orientalistas* 12 (1976) 212–14.
–A.P.

PRIEST OF DIOKLEIA, anonymous southern Slavic author of a *Chronicle* (*Letopis*) recounting the history, partly legendary, of southern DALMATIA and neighboring lands from the 6th to 12th C.; fl. mid-12th C. Originally written in Church Slavonic, the *Chronicle* survives only in a 16th-C. Latin translation and an Italian version of that translation. Its sources are largely local legend, but they include a lost Life of Prince Vladimir of Zeta and a forged bull of Pope Callistus II. The *Chronicle* is a valuable, if not always reliable, source for the early medieval history of the Dalmatian cities, and also for the last decades of the First Bulgarian Empire and the efforts of Tsar SAMUEL OF BULGARIA to form an anti-Byz. alliance with Serbian principalities.

ED. *Letopis popa Dukljanina*, ed. F. Šišić (Belgrade-Zagreb 1928).

LIT. J. Ferluga, "Die Chronik des Priesters von Diokleia als Quelle für die byzantinische Geschichte," *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 429–60. K. Chvostova, "K voprosu o terminologii letopisi popa Dukljanina," *Slavjanskij archiv* (1959) 30–45. L. Havlik, *Dukljanskatá kronika a Dalmatskatá legenda* (Prague 1976).
–R.B.

PRILEP (Πρίλαπος), a stronghold, *phrourion* (Skyl. 349.35), or *asty* (Akrop. 92.1, 149.6) in western Macedonia, probably northwest of modern Prilep (Soulis, *Dušan* 223, n.154). It is first mentioned in connection with the war of 1014, when Basil II took it from Samuel of Bulgaria. In 1041, when Michael IV was crushing Deljan's revolt, Manuel Ibatzes tried to stop the emperor's army at Prilep but failed. DOBROMIR CHRYSOS and his father-in-law, Manuel Kamytzes, occupied Prilep, but in 1202 Alexios III recaptured the fortress (Nik.Chon. 535.90). Prilep played an important role in the conflicts of the 13th C.: Epiros, Bulgaria, and Nicaea in turn obtained it. Prilep was one of the fortified Byz. cities on the Serbian border ca.1300. In 1321 Andronikos II appointed the *protostrator* Synadenos governor of "the *eparchia* of Prillapos" (Kantak. 1:87.1). The district remained in Byz. hands until the treaty with Stefan Uroš IV Dušan in 1334 (*Reg* 4, no.2815), which gave Prilep to the Serbians. VUKAŠIN possessed it ca.1350, and after his death Prilep became the capital of the principality of Vukašin's son Marko. Prilep fell under Turkish domination in 1385 (Soulis, *Dušan* 156) or 1395 (Fine, *Late Balkans* 424). Byz. coins of the 12th to 14th C. have been found in the region.

LIT. J. Hadji-Vasiljević, *Prilep i njegova okolina* (Belgrade 1902). B. Babić, *Materijalnata kultura na makedonskite Sloveni vo svetlinata na arheološkite istražuvanja vo Prilep* (Prilep 1986).
–A.K.

PRIMACY of the PAPACY, phrase that refers to the supreme authority of the pope of Rome over all bishops. The idea of primacy developed slowly; in the 4th C. the bishop of Rome was considered an equal of the principal Eastern bishops, such as those of Alexandria and Antioch. The growth of Constantinople as an administrative and ecclesiastical center and the rivalry between Constantinople and Alexandria allowed Rome to adopt the position of mediator and to reach the highest rung in the PENTARCHY, with Constantinople assuming the second rank, as seen at the Council of Constantinople in 381 and esp. in canon 28 of the Council of CHALCEDON in 451. At the same time, the theory of Roman primacy developed in the 5th C. under Popes LEO I and GELASIUS (A.S. McGrade, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 7 [1970] 1–45), esp. during the AKAKIAN SCHISM.

The cornerstone of the primacy theory was the belief that the Roman church was founded by the apostles Peter and Paul and that the pope was a successor to PETER. From Peter the pope was understood to inherit absolute power, *plenitudo potestatis*, which at first involved only the church, since the emperor was considered the total master of secular affairs. From the 8th C. onward, however, the popes expanded the idea of primacy to encompass political relations—first with the Byz. emperor, then the German king (H.M. Klinkenberg, *ZSavKan* 72 [1955] 1–57). The political independence of the papal state was supported by the legend of Constantine I the Great's baptism by Pope SILVESTER, who was allegedly rewarded with the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE. The patriarchate of Constantinople opposed the concept of Roman primacy—at first actively, as in the 6th and 7th C. when the bishops of Constantinople claimed the title of ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH; then, in the 9th C., during the dispute between Pope NICHOLAS I and Patr. PHOTIOS, when the latter insisted on the equality of both sees. From the 11th C. onward, the Byz. patriarchs adopted a defensive stance, protecting the independence of Constantinople from subjugation to Rome (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 23 [1965] 42–88). After 1204 and the split of the two churches, Rome always made recognition of papal primacy a condition of UNION OF THE CHURCHES and of Western military assistance.

LIT. F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York 1966; rp. 1980). P. Conte, *Chiesa e primato nelle lettere dei papi del secolo VII* (Milan 1971). J. Spiteris, *La critica Bizantina del Primato Romano nel secolo XII* (Rome 1979). D. Stiernon, "La 'Nouvelle Rome' et le Siège apostolique," *Roma, Costantinopoli, Mosca* (Naples 1983) 261–66. J. Meyendorff, "La primauté romaine dans la tradition canonique jusqu'au Concile de Chalcédoine," *Istina* 4 (1957) 463–82.
–A.K.

PRIMARY CHRONICLE. See POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET.

PRIMIKERIOS (πριμικήριος, Lat. *primicerius*, "the one whose name stands first on the wax tablets"), the senior member of any group of functionaries (SOUDA 2286, ed. Adler, 4:195). The term was in use from the late Roman period until the end of Byz. in various spheres.

1. *Military primikerioi.* These included esp. the palatine guards, *primicerii* of the *domestici*, of the *scholae*, and so on; after the late Roman period there were *primikerioi* of the VESTIARITAI, MANGLABITAI, VARDARIOTAI, and VARANGIANS.

2. *Courtiers, primarily eunuchs.* The *primicerius sacri cubiculi*, mentioned in the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, appears in the TAKTIKA as *primikerios* of the *koubouk*leion; from the time of Alexios I onward, there was the post of *primikerios* of the *aule* (court). *Primikerioi* are often represented on seals combining their duties with certain civil services connected with the emperor, e.g., the chiefs of the KOITON, the EIDIKON, and the VESTIARION.

3. *Civil primikerioi.* These included primarily *primikerioi* of the notaries, who in the *Book of the Eparch* are called *primikerioi* of the *taboullarioi*.

4. *Ecclesiastical primikerioi.* Darrouzès (*Offikia* 356) distinguishes ecclesiastical *primikerioi* of notaries from those of *taboullarioi*; *primikerioi* of *taboullarioi* are also known from several documents of the metropolitan chancery in Serres of ca.1300 (e.g., *Koutloum.*, no.4; *Esphig.*, no.9; *Lavra* 2, no.102); there were also *primikerioi* of ANAGNOSTAI, SINGERS, and other groups.

The difference between the office and the title is not always clear. By the end of the 11th C. the title of *megas primikerios* was introduced; the first known holder was TATIKIOS. According to the 14th-C. pseudo-KODINOS, *megas primikerios* was one of the highest titles, above the *megas konostaulos* and *megas logothetes*, but in the 15th C. George SPHRANTZES considered the title inadequate, although he was satisfied with that of *megas logothetes*. There were *primikerioi* at the court of the Morea.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:300–32. Bury, *Adm. System* 122f. W. Ensslin, *RE* supp. 8 (1956) 614–24. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 174–78. –A.K.

PRINCES' ISLANDS (Πριγκίπιοι νῆσοι in *SynaxCP* 158.26), nine islands in the Sea of MARMARA; the largest are Prote, Antigone, Chalke, and Prinkipo, and the smaller ones Plate, Oreia, Pita, Niandros, and Terebinthos. They were an important monastic retreat—some 12 monasteries from the Byz. period are known—and a place of EXILE, esp. in the 9th and 10th C. In 809 THEODORE OF STOUDIOS was exiled by Nikephoros I to Chalke and his brother Joseph to Prote. In 813 Michael I Rangabe and his two sons were exiled to Prote, and in 820 Michael II sent Theodosia, widow of Leo V, and her four sons to Prote—she was later transferred with her son Basil to Chalke. In 821 the future patriarch METHODIOS I was exiled to Antigone, where he was supposedly imprisoned in a cave under terrible conditions. The islands were sacked by the Rus' in 860; PHOTIOS may have been responsible for the subsequent restoration of the monasteries. In 921 Romanos I Lekapenos banished several of his enemies to a monastery on Antigone, and in 944 the emperor was himself exiled to Prote, where he died; in 945 his sons followed him to the islands and then on to other places of exile. In 970 John I Tzimiskes exiled the empress Theophano to Prote and in 1071 Romanos IV Diogenes was mutilated and sent to Prote, where he soon died in a monastery he had founded.

Soldiers of the Fourth Crusade sacked the islands in 1204 and Latin pirates from Crete and Euboea again burned and pillaged them in 1302. In 1412 the fleet of Manuel II defeated a Turkish squadron in the waters north of Chalke. The islands were taken by the Ottomans on 17 April 1453, during the siege of Constantinople.

The Princes' Islands contain the remains of many monasteries, most of them in ruined condition. On Prote are the ruins of the monastery founded by Romanos IV and some traces of another monastery on the site of the modern Church of the Virgin in the lower town. At the summit of Antigone are the remains of a monastery of Christ (or the Transfiguration), possibly dating from the 9th C.; in the lower town are the ruins of a large cistern. On Chalke is the Church of the Virgin Kamariotissa, a tetraconch building of Constantinopolitan type now assigned to the 11th–12th C. (A. Pasadaios, *ArchEph* [1971] 1–55), although previously dated in the 14th C. The monastery of the Holy Trinity on Chalke has been identified by some as a monastery known to have existed in the early 9th C. and perhaps restored by Photios. The rich MS collections of these latter monasteries were transferred to the Library of the Greek Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul in 1936 (E. Tsakopoulos, *Perigraphikos katalogos ton cheirographon tes bibliothekes tou oikoumenikou Patriarcheiou,* vols. 1–2 [Istanbul 1953–56]).

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 506–12. T. Mathews, "Observations on the Church of the Panagia Kamariotissa on Heybeliada (Chalke), Istanbul," *DOP* 27 (1973) 115–27, with note by C. Mango, *ibid.* 128–32. A. Mellas, *He Chalke ton Prinkeponeson* (Athens 1984). –T.E.G.

PRINKIPS CHEILAS. See CHEILAS.

PRISCIAN, Latin poet and grammarian; born Caesarea (in Mauritania), died Constantinople probably after 530. He studied in Constantinople under a certain Theoktistos and became a teacher of Latin grammar. The most important of his several grammatical works is the *Grammatical Institutions*, 18 voluminous books dedicated to a consul and *patrikios* named Julian, dealing with accidence and syntax and rich in quotations from early Latin literature; it was widely influential in the Middle Ages. His other grammatical studies included accent and meter, with particular attention to Terence and VERGIL; three of these are dedicated to Symmachus, who had been consul in 485.

Priscian also wrote two hexameter poems. One is a translation/adaptation of the *Description of the World* by Dionysios Periegetes, the other a panegyric on Emp. ANASTASIOS I. The panegyric is usually dated between 503 and 513, with Al. Cameron (*GRBS* 15 [1974] 313–16) preferring the former date, while its most recent editor, Chauvot (*infra* 98–107) argues that 513 is more likely. The eulogy of Anastasios emphasizes his struggle against the Isaurians and contains invective against certain curias for their cruelty to peasants, against corrupt magistrates, and against barbarians. Overall, Priscian's works argue for a continued Latin-reading audience in the East in the early 6th C.; if, as some think, his addressee Julian is JULIAN THE EGYPTIAN, the poet of the *Greek Anthology*, a healthy cultural and linguistic interchange is also implied.

Priscian the grammarian is to be distinguished from his homonymous contemporary, the philosopher Priscian of Lydia, who was a student of DAMASKIOS, and one of the philosophers who sought refuge in Persia after Justinian I closed the ACADEMY OF ATHENS.

ED. M. Hertz, H. Keil, *Grammatici latini*, vols. 2–3 (Leipzig 1855–59; rp. Hildesheim–New York 1981). *La Periégèse de Priscien*, ed. P. van de Woestijne (Bruges 1953). A. Chauvot, *Procope de Gaza, Priscien de Césarée. Panégyriques de l'empereur Anastase Ier* (Bonn 1986).

LIT. M. Salamon, "Priscianus und sein Schülerkreis in Konstantinopel," *Philologus* 123 (1979) 91–96. R. Helm, *RE* 22.2 (1954) 2328–46. –B.B., A.M.T.

PRISCILLIAN, bishop of Avila, Spain; born between ca.335 and 345, died Trier 385 or more probably summer 386 (Chadwick, *infra* 137). Priscillian came into conflict with Spanish bishops, because he expounded Eastern-style asceticism. Condemned at the Synod of Saragossa in 380, he tried fruitlessly to gain the support of Pope Damasus I (366–84) and AMBROSE of Milan. Even less successful was his attempt to obtain assistance from the usurper MAXIMUS: after being condemned for MANICHAEANISM and involvement in black magic, Priscillian was executed. This first execution of a Christian heretic created a wave of protest, even by churchmen such as Ambrose who had refused to support Priscillian. Priscillian's adherents were active in Spain and Gaul in the 5th C., but his tenets were little known in the East.

Data about Priscillian's literary oeuvre and teaching are questionable. A parchment codex of the 5th–6th C. in the University of Würzburg contains Priscillianist writings, but it is unclear whether they are his own work or those of his followers. It is also debatable whether he actually propagated the heretical ideas that were ascribed to him by his adversaries: a distinction between the God of the Old Testament and the God of the New Testament; emphasis on the divine nature of the soul; denial of the perfect humanity of Christ; condemnation of marriage; engaging in the practice of magic and astrology. Many of these accusations resemble those made against GNOSTICISM and Manichaeanism.

LIT. H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila* (Oxford 1976). F. Paret, *Priscillianus, ein Reformator des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg 1891). J.M. Blásquez Martínez, "Prisciliano introductor del ascetismo en Gallaecia," *Primera Reunión gallega de estudios clásicos* (Santiago de Compostela 1981) 185–209. –A.K.

PRISKOS (Πρίσκος), rhetorician at Constantinople and writer; born Panion between 410 and 420, died after 472. In 449, he went unofficially (?) on an embassy to ATTILA the Hun. Then after an interlude in Rome, he traveled to Egypt, visiting Alexandria and the Thebaid. He last appears ca.456 in the East, attached to the staff of Euphemios as Marcian's *magister officiorum*. Priskos's *History of Byzantium* (perhaps not the original title) survives only in fragments. Its scope is uncertain; he may have written a separate account of Attila. Very influential in Byz., it was much used in the *Excerpta de legationibus* (see EXCERPTA) and cited by authors from EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS (commending its elegance and erudition) to the SOUDA; CASSIODORUS and thereby JORDANES also exploited it. Priskos can be too rhetorical, his military narratives (esp. sieges) often owing more to literature than to reality. His attitudes, e.g., contempt for barbarians, are often traditional, but strong personal likes and dislikes often make him inconsistent. His meeting with a Greek defector provokes a debate over the respective qualities of justice and life in Byz. and among the barbarians. This occurs in his long account (fr.11) of the embassy to Attila, a narrative rich in ethnographic detail. Western events were evidently less amply treated, but Priskos shows himself well aware of the collapse of the old Roman Empire.

ED. Blockley, *Historians* 1:48–70, 113–23; 2:222–400, with Eng. tr. *Fragmenta*, ed. F. Bornmann (Florence 1979).

LIT. B. Baldwin, "Priscus of Panium," *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 18–61. E.A. Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns* (Oxford 1948) 9–14, 103–20, 184–203. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:282–84. –B.B.

PRISKOS (Patr. Nikephoros I calls him Krispos), general; died after 612. Priskos was *magister militum* under Maurice, who sent him to replace PHILIPPIKOS in 588; a soldiers' mutiny forced Priskos to resign. In 592 the emperor put Priskos in

command on the Danube border (Theophanes the Confessor calls him "*strategos* of Thrace"); the chronology of the events described by Theophanes and Simokattes is not clear. Priskos's policy consisted in fighting small groups of Slavs penetrating Byz. territory while, by sly negotiations, he kept the khan of the Avars at peace. Maurice attempted to replace Priskos by Peter, the emperor's brother, but Peter was defeated and Priskos recalled. He was clever in dealing with soldiers, appeasing their discontent; he even managed to send to Constantinople booty that the soldiers had claimed was their own. When at Easter (598) Priskos was encamped near Tomi before the Avars, he persuaded the khan to conclude a truce, and the khan even sent grain to the Romans suffering from famine. A new appointment of Peter to the Danube army and the order to winter to the north of this river provoked the revolt of PHOKAS. Priskos was one of the few commanders who retained the favor of soldiers and Phokas after their victory: Phokas appointed him *komes* of the *exkoubitoi* and married his own daughter Domentzia to Priskos. When HERAKLEIOS approached Constantinople, Priskos clandestinely negotiated with him against his father-in-law and retained his position. Priskos marched against SHĀHĪN and encircled the Persian army at Caesarea in 612 but allowed the enemy to escape. Herakleios ordered the case to be investigated by the senate and accused Priskos of treason; he was deposed and tonsured on 5 Dec. 612.

LIT. Kaegi, *Unrest* 104–07, 145–47. Lemerle, *Miracles* 2:56–60. Whitby, *Maurice & His Historian* 151–64.
–W.E.K.

PRISONERS, EXCHANGES OF (ἀλλάγια). Soldiers or civilians taken prisoner by an army were often sold into SLAVERY. In Byz., their relatives usually had to find the funds and make the arrangements for buying them back. Byz. and the Arabs, however, arranged for exchanges of the very numerous prisoners captured in the course of the continuous raids and counterraids of the 9th–10th C. From 844 to 946, ten such exchanges are attested. They were carried out on the Cilician frontier at the river Lamis (west of Tarsos): during a truce, prisoners of either side, one by one, walked across a bridge to liberty and their coreligionists. Another such exchange is mentioned in 966, near Samosata. The exchanges, which involved several thousand prisoners each time, were usually peaceful (only in 905 was the exchange interrupted by the sudden departure of the Byz., probably motivated by a revolt in the empire). The unexchanged prisoners were bought back by the authorities of their country or exchanged later with liberated slaves.

LIT. Bréhier, *Institutions* 319f. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:198–204, 222–26, 239f; 2:124f, 182–84, 243f, 254–56.
–N.O.

PRISONERS OF WAR (αἰχμάλωτοι) were commonly paraded in triumphal processions (e.g., McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 147f); thereafter they were normally sold into captivity or retained in prison for ransom or exchange. A novel of John I Tzimiskes regulates the purchase and resale of prisoners by soldiers (Zepos, *Jus* 1:257f). During the 9th and 10th C., exchanges of captives (see PRISONERS, EXCHANGES OF) between Byz. and Arabs took place with a certain regularity. In other cases, esp. in times of military crisis, foreign prisoners of war might be invited to join the imperial army, and *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.* 695.3–14) outlines a procedure whereby Muslim prisoners of war who converted to Orthodoxy were introduced into Byz. households. While Byz. might occasionally make a noble gesture of releasing captives without ransom, examples of cruel treatment of prisoners of war—such as execution or mass blinding—are also attested.

The legal rights of Byz. captured by the enemy were suspended. In classical Roman law both their marriages and wills were voided; over the centuries, however, some of these provisions underwent modification: Justinianic legislation ruled that marriages continued in force as long as a captive spouse was known to be alive; Leo VI in novel 40 allowed prisoners of war to draw up wills while in confinement and in novel 33 prohibited wives of prisoners of war from remarrying in their absence. The same emperor permitted children of two captives to inherit regardless of whether their parents died free or in captivity.

In art prisoners of war are depicted as bound or in *proskynesis*, as in the JOSHUA ROLL. Exhibited in the HIPPODROME, they were a standard feature of imperial triumphs. The theme of captivity was often treated in Byz. literature and formed a *topos* of the romance, depicting the separation of lovers taken captive. The cruelty of captors and physical sufferings of captives are described in historical texts (e.g., THEODOSIOS THE MONK, John KAMINIATES) whereas hagiographers and authors of romances stressed the moral problem—the difficulty of preserving chastity or Christian faith while in captivity. The stories of benefactors ransoming people from captivity and of miraculous liberation of captives by saints (St. Nicholas of Myra, St. George, and others) are common in saints' vitae. The hagiographer of NEILOS OF ROSSANO, however, censured a metropolitan of Calabria who managed to bring many captives from Africa—Neilos reportedly was cross with the metropolitan for his negotiations with the Arabs (*AASS* Sept. 7:301A).

LIT. L. Amirante, "Appunti per la storia della 'redemptio ab hostibus,' " *Labeo* 3 (1957) 170–220.
–A.J.C., A.C., A.K.

PRISONS (primarily φυλακαί or δεσμωτήρια: Koukoules, *Bios* 3:224) served as a place of confinement for criminals (thieves, debtors, murderers, traitors, magicians) and political adversaries. Private prisons were prohibited by law (*Basil.* 60.55.2), but monasteries were widely used as jails (A. Guillou, *JÖB* 33 [1983] 79–86). Conditions were poor; the cells varied from dark rooms where prisoners were kept in chains to individual chambers where noble inmates lived in relative comfort. The most ancient prison in Constantinople was the Strategion, but the largest prison was the Praetorium of the eparch (see LOGOTHETES TOU PRAITORIOU); according to a legend, a pious lady Mare or Markia, under Phokas, appalled by the dirty conditions of existing prisons, donated her house for use as a jail. Five or six prisons were located in the Great Palace: Chalke, Noumera, Elephantine, Boukoleon, Anemas, and nearby Prandiara.

The chief of prisons, *tes phylakes proestos*, was in theory to be punished if he improperly alleviated the conditions of prisoners; a certain John Lagos, however, who was in charge of the Praetorium prison, employed prisoners for his own benefit, releasing thieves at night to burgle houses, and then dividing with them their loot (Nik.Chon. 525.85–95). Charity toward prisoners was a point of Christian morality, and pious people were supposed to visit prisons and comfort inmates. The release of prisoners sometimes became a political necessity, and the government also released them when Constantinople was threatened by attack or revolt. Women were not confined in regular prisons but in convents.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, R. Guilland, "Voleurs et prisons à Byzance," *REGr* 61 (1948) 127–36. Janin, *CP byz.* 166–73. G. Dmitriev, "Dolgovaja tjur'ma v Latinskoj Moree," *BS* 30 (1969) 73–76.
–A.K.

PRIZREN (Πρισδρίανα), town in modern Yugoslavia, district of Kosovo and Metohija, known from the early 11th C. as a bishopric in Bulgaria and site of a cathedral church. In 1072 it was a center of the revolt of George VOITECH against Byz. (*SkylCont* 163.13–19). The Serbs, Byz., and Bulgarians disputed control over Prizren during the second half of the 12th and in the 13th C., but in the 14th C. it was one of the most important economic and political centers of the Serbian state: an annual fair was held there, and numerous merchants (Latin, Greek, traders from Dubrovnik, etc.) came to the town. Some Serbian coins were minted in Prizren, and an episcopal see was established there.

Church of the Virgin Ljeviška (Bogorodica Ljeviška). Cathedral church of the bishops of Serbia from the 13th C., the original structure was a three-aisled basilica of the 10th C. (a coin of Romanos I Lekapenos was found in excavations). This building was frescoed in the 13th C.; a figure of the Virgin Eleousa holding Christ (who is called "the one who feeds") and some Miracle scenes are preserved from this period. According to a brick inscription on the east façade, this original church was restored in 1306/7 by King STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN, who is referred to as the son-in-law of Andronikos II.

The church is oblong in plan, but in elevation it is an inscribed cross with five domes. The walls, of stone and brick cloisonné (see BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES), are articulated by arches framing gables and windows and other decorative brickwork. The outer aisles have apses at their east end; a high belltower and two side chapels were built over the exonarthex. According to an inscription in the exonarthex, the church was executed by the architect Nicholas, who is believed to have been trained in Epiros.

The wall paintings were done between 1307 and 1313. They reflect a typically Byz. program, and include themes such as the life of St. NICHOLAS OF MYRA (Ševčenko, *Nicholas*, 40f, 241f) and church councils (both in the south outer aisle), episcopal themes particularly appropriate for the decoration of a cathedral. An image of Christ is labeled the "protector" of Prizren. In the narthex, the figures of Milutin and his father stand under a blessing Christ; these royal portraits again echo Byz. models. Earlier members of the NEMANJID DYNASTY are portrayed on a facing wall. The exonarthex contains wall paintings of the Last Judgment, a long Baptism cycle, the Tree of Jesse, an illustration of the Second Kanon of John of Damascus, the Heavenly Ladder, prophets holding symbols of the Virgin, and personifications of the Old and New Testament.

The paintings are the work of Astrapas, whose name appears alongside that of the architect; he is probably the painter MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS). Though the volume of the human body is still stressed through the juxtaposition of light and shade, the colors are more harmonious here than in the earlier work of Astrapas at the Peribleptos church in OHRID. Although these frescoes do have some local Serbian features in their program, they are to be considered one of the finest surviving examples of the "second" Palaiologan style (see MONUMENTAL PAINTING).

LIT. K. Jireček, J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba* 2 (Belgrade 1952) 94f. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 2:142. D. Panić, G. Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška* (Belgrade 1975). S. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška* (Belgrade 1963). Djurić, *Byz. Fresk.* 68–70.
–A.K., G.B.

PROASTEION (*προάστειον*), in classical and patristic vocabulary "suburb" or "suburban house"; Prokopios (*SH* 15:36) notes that the nobles of Constantinople spent almost the entire year in their "littoral *proasteia*," probably their suburban mansions. In the papyri of the 6th and 7th C., *proasteion* designated the owner's country residence without any connection with "suburbanism" (G. Husson, *Recherches de papyrologie* 4 [1967] 192–96). This sense of the term becomes prevalent in Byz. texts from the 8th C. onward, which mention *proasteia* located far away from urban centers (Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 60, n.13): for instance, Eustathios BOILAS founded several *choria* and a *proasteion* (Lemerle, *Cinq études* 22.66) in a deserted region (possibly Cappadocia). The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 115.39–43) gives a definition of the *proasteion*: it was an allotment located at a distance from the inhabited center of a village; unlike the *agridion*, a regular type of "outside allotment," the *proasteion*'s owner did not dwell there but it was inhabited by his slaves, MISTHIOI, and the like. Gregory, the hagiographer of St. BASIL THE YOUNGER, owned a *proasteion* of this kind, which he visited annually, and where a *misthios* lived and worked. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, the son of a rich peasant in the Paphlagonian village of Amnia, is said to have had 48 or 50 *proasteia* (possibly within the territory of a single village), and the widow DANELIS possessed 80 *proasteia* in the Peloponnesos.

From the end of the 10th C. onward, the term *proasteion* designated an estate populated with *paroikoi*: Balsamon (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:595.15–16) speaks generally of the "outside *proasteion*" inhabited by *paroikoi*, and monastic charters, from ca.975 onward, list *paroikoi* living in *proasteia* (*Lavra* 1, no.6.14, *Ivir.*, no.2.13–14). Alexios I's chrysobull of 1104 describes three *proasteia* of the Lavra of St. Athanasios, which contained approximately 14,000 *modioi* of land and accommodated 50 *paroikoi* (G. Ostrogorsky, *Istoriski časopis* 5 [1954–55] 19–25). The term, common in acts of the 11th–13th C., is relatively rare in later charters; it may have had the generic meaning of "countryside" as opposed to "polis" ("they built shrines everywhere in cities and *proasteia*"—*Lavra* 3, no.167.10, a.1429). The *idiostata* (lit. "separated") *proasteia* or *agridia* were allotments severed by fiscal officials from the main body of the *chorion* and levied at a separate, usually reduced, rate. M.Ja. Sjuzjumov (*infra*), maintaining the classical meaning of the word, considered *proasteia*-suburbs as major centers of industrial and trade activity.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 127f, 137–39. M.Ja. Sjuzjumov, "Ekonomika prigorodov vizantijskich krupnych gorodov," *VizVrem* 11 (1956) 59–65. M. Loos, "Quelques remarques sur les communautés rurales et la grande propriété terrienne à Byzance," *BS* 39 (1978) 8–10. –M.B.

PROBUS, more fully Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus, Roman senator; born Verona? 328 (*PLRE*) or between 330 and 334 (W. Seyfarth), died Thessalonike 388 or later. Probus belonged to the wealthy and influential Christian family of ANICIUS and played an important role during the reign of Valentinian I and esp. during the minority of Valentinian II. He was at least four times praetorian prefect and in 371 consul (together with the emperor Gratian). Probus is praised in several inscriptions and esp. by Ausonius; Symmachus corresponded with him seeking his support. He was reportedly well educated. Paulinus, a biographer of Ambrose, relates that his fame reached the Persians. The image of Probus in Ammianus Marcellinus, however, is a kind of caricature. In 375 the philosopher Iphicles, representing Epiros, accused Probus of fiscal oppression in Illyricum, and this probably forced him to retire. He reappeared at court in 383 as prefect of Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. In 387 Probus fled with Valentinian II from Rome when it was endangered by the invasion of MAXIMUS; he died soon after.

LIT. W. Seyfarth, "Sextus Petronius Probus," *Klio* 52 (1970) 411–25. *PLRE* 1:736–40. –T.E.G.

PROCESSION (*πρόκενσος, προέλευσις*), a public parade staged by various social groups (clergy, guilds, students, dignitaries, etc.). This basic element of most Byz. CEREMONY took its most characteristic form in the emperor's processions around Constantinople and its environs. Solemn imperial processions to HAGIA SOPHIA for the Eucharist on Great Feasts—which entailed sizable payments to the clergy—and to other shrines apparently reached their classic form by the 8th C. and are documented by DE CEREMONIIS, book 1, chapters 1–37 and the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH. Preliminary ceremonies within the palace included donning the COSTUME selected for the occasion and formation of the escort. The itineraries of processions changed over time (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 216–20); the routes were cleaned and decorated in advance and stations were selected at which the FACTIONS would greet with ACCLAMATIONS the emperor, who might walk or ride according to the occasion. Written petitions might be thrown on the emperor's path. For major processions to Hagia Sophia, a similar ceremony was observed on the return. Special kinds of processions included the TRIUMPH, ADVENTUS, and PROFECTIO. Artistic representations of such events, from the 4th through the 12th C., suggest only minor variations on the imperial adventus ceremony (K. Holum, G. Vikan, *DOP* 33 [1979] 115–33).

Processions formed a substantial element of private ceremonies such as WEDDINGS and FUNERALS. Hagiographical texts describe the processions accompanying the transfer of the coffin of a deceased saint from one church to another, where it was placed in a special chapel; the populace wore white garments and carried candles and torches (e.g., vita of SYMEON THE STYLITE THE ELDER, ed. Lietzmann, 76.5–10). Processions also accompanied translations of RELICS and were a constituent element of festivities organized by professional groups or of collective prayers asking for rain, the extermination of locusts, or repulsion of the enemy. (See also LITE.)

LIT. D.F. Beljaev, *Byzantina*, vols. 2–3 (St. Petersburg 1893–97). Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 150–55. –M.McC., A.C.

PROCHEIRON NOMON. See HARMENOPOULOS, CONSTANTINE.

PROCHIRON, or *Procheiros Nomos* (Πρόχειρος Νόμος, Handbook, or The Law Ready at Hand), a law book divided into 40 titles that used to be dated to 870–79 (more precisely 872) but must be regarded as a revision of the EPANAGOGE ordered by Leo VI in 907 (Schminck, *Rechtsbücher* 55–107). The compiler of the *Prochiron* is unknown, though a Symbatios who is named in the preface to the EPITOME LEGUM may have participated in its composition. The aim of the *Prochiron* was to eliminate the forgeries and adulterations in the *Epanagoge* that were ascribed to Photios. The *Prochiron* is closer than the *Epanagoge* to their common basic source, the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. Thirteen chapters of the *Prochiron* contain new regulations of Leo VI. The work mainly comprises private and penal law. The *Prochiron* is transmitted in numerous MSS and served as the basis for several other law books, for example, the *Hexabiblos* of HARMENOPOULOS.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 2:107–228, 395–410. Eng. tr. E.H. Freshfield, *A Manual of Eastern Roman Law. The Procheiros Nomos* (Cambridge 1928).

LIT. Troianos, *Peges* 103–07. M. Benemanskij, *Ho Procheiros Nomos imperatora Vasilija Makedonjanina*, vol. 1 (Sergiev Posad 1906). N. Oikonomides, "Leo VI's Legislation of 907 Forbidding Fourth Marriages. An Interpolation in the Procheiros Nomos (IV, 25–27)," *DOP* 30 (1976) 173–93. –A.S.

PROCHIRON AUCTUM (Expanded Handbook), an extensive collection of mostly secular law, divided into 40 titles and 32 (or 33) supplementary titles (*paratitla*). The compilation, which originated in the first half of the 14th C., is based on the PROCHIRON, whose text—including the order of titles—was essentially retained but expanded through borrowings from various other sources (such as the ECLOGA, the EPANAGOGE, and the BASILIKA). The law book is transmitted in about a dozen MSS—considerably fewer than those containing the legal compendia of Matthew BLASTARES and Constantine HARMENOPOULOS, which originated at approximately the same time.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 7:1–361.
LIT. Zachariä, *Prochiron*, clv–clxxxv. J.-A.-B. Mortreuil, *Histoire du droit byzantin*, vol. 3 (Paris 1846; rp. Osnabrück 1966) 277–95. Burgmann in *Ecloga* 68f. –A.S.

PROCHIRON LEGUM (Handbook of the Laws), also called *Prochiron Calabriae*, a law book in 40 (or 41) titles transmitted in a single MS, Vat. gr. 845. The work of an unknown compiler, it must have been produced in Norman Italy in the 12th C. Sources of the *Prochiron legum* are a version of the ECLOGA closely related to the ECLOGA PRIVATA AUCTA and a version of the EPITOME LEGUM, which was enriched by passages of the EPANAGOGE. The special character of the work lies in the fact that its models are not reproduced word for word but in a simplified style and vocabulary.

ED. F. Brandileone, V. Puntoni, *Prochiron Legum* (Rome 1895). Partial Eng. tr. E.H. Freshfield, *A Provincial Manual of Later Roman Law. The Calabrian Procheiron* (Cambridge 1931).
LIT. F. Brandileone, "Studio sul Prochiron legum," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano* 16 (1895) 93–126. L.-R. Ménager, "Notes sur les codifications byzantines et l'Occident," in *Varia: Études de droit romain*, vol. 3 (Paris 1958) 264–69. Burgmann in *Ecloga* 77–79. –A.S.

PROCONSUL. See ANTHYPATOS.

PRODROMOS. See JOHN THE BAPTIST. For monasteries of the Prodromos, see MENOIKEION, MOUNT; PETRA MONASTERY; PHOBEROU MONASTERY.

PRODROMOS, MANGANEIOS, conventional name of the 12th-C. author of anonymous poems contained in the 14th-C. MS, Venice, Marc. gr. XI, 22. Up to the end of the 19th C. the poems were attributed to Theodore PRODROMOS, as they closely resemble his works in their contents and technique. There are, however, some difficulties in attributing them to Prodromos. One of the poems apparently alludes to Prodromos as deceased; the biographies as established on the basis of the works of Theodore and of Manganeios Prodromos are slightly different; rhythmic patterns also seem dissimilar. None of these arguments is, however, irrefutable, and the question remains open.

Manganeios Prodromos relates that he served as a poet in the entourage of the exiled *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE and addressed proud verses to Manuel I in Irene's name, claiming that she had been unjustly accused. Eventually he returned to Constantinople and tried to acquire Manuel's favor. He persistently begged Manuel to permit him to enter the monastery of St. George in MANGANA. Poems of Manganeios Prodromos contain abundant historical and prosopographical data on mid-12th-C. Byz.

ED. S. Papadimitriu, "Ho Prodromos tou Markianou kodikos XI 22," *VizVrem* 10 (1903) 102–63. *Theodori Prodromi De Manganis*, ed. S. Bernardinello (Padua 1972), rev. by A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 35 (1973) 252–54. I. Rácz, *Byzantina poiemata peri ton Oungrikon ekstrateion tou autokratoros Manuel* (Budapest 1941).
LIT. W. Hörandner, "Theodoros Prodromos und die Gedichtsammlung des Cod. Marc. XI 22," *JÖB* 16 (1967) 91–99. Idem, "Marginalien zum 'Manganeios Prodromos,'" *JÖB* 24 (1975) 95–106. –A.K.

PRODROMOS, THEODORE, poet at the court of IRENE DOUKAINA and JOHN II; born Constantinople ca.1100, died Constantinople ca.1170?. Prodromos (Πρόδρομος) developed the genre of poetic panegyric created by Nicholas KALLIKLES and used it to praise the military qualities of both the emperor and noble generals. In a poem on the birth of Alexios, son of the *sebastokrator* Andronikos Komnenos, Prodromos expatiates on the ideal education for a young aristocrat, on his wealth and his noble origin (Hörandner, no.44). Prodromos also produced prose panegyrics, such as a eulogy of Patr. John IX Agapetos (1111–34) (K. Manaphes, *EEBS* 41 [1974] 226–42) and a monody on his friend and teacher Stephen Skylitzes (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 8 [1903] 6–14). More than the conventional presentation of the emperor or a virtuous man, Prodromos's panegyrics are full of personal observations and emotions, of gentle lyricism and mockery (even self-mockery). He helped to regenerate the genre of erotic romance. Although his *Rodanthe and Dosikles* imitated the *Aethiopica* of HELIODOROS, it reflected the realities and political aspirations of his own time (cf. C. Cupane, *RSBN* 10–11 [1973–74] 147–68); also the *Katomyomachia* (The War of the Cat and Mice), despite its archaic framework, has contemporary allusions and associations. Prodromos wrote parodies laughing at the shortcomings and vices of everyday life—illiteracy, lewdness, the helplessness of a patient in the hands of a clumsy dentist (ed. G. Podestà, *Aevum* 21 [1947] 12–21); in a more serious vein he also composed an allegorical description of the 12 months and philosophical and theological works.

The events of Prodomos's life are little known. His career probably ended with the death of John II. He lost his position of poet laureate and his modest property and lived at the Church of the Holy Apostles, writing occasional verses for the Byz. nobility. Prodomos died as a monk, having assumed the name of Nicholas. He enjoyed enormous popularity; some of his devotees knew his prose and iambics by heart (*Michel Italikos*, ed. P. Gautier [Paris 1972] 64.1–3). Niketas EUGENEIANOS (along with other contemporaries) lamented Prodomos's death in monodies, and many of his works were imitated. On the other hand, Prodromos's authorship of several pieces has been questioned; no convincing evidence proves whether he was the real author of poems conventionally assigned to PTOCHOPRODROMOS and Manganeios PRODROMOS.

ED. *Historische Gedichte*, ed. W. Hörandner (Vienna 1974). PG 133:1101–1424. R. Hercher, *Scriptores erotici graeci* (Leipzig 1859) 2:287–434. H. Hunger, *Der byzantinische Katz-Mäuse-Krieg* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1968). A.A. Longo, *Il calendario giambico in monostici di Teodoro Prodromo* (Rome 1983). See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon*, 666–70.
LIT. S.D. Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom* (Odessa 1905). Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 87–114. W. Hörandner, "Prodromos-Reminiszenzen bei Dichtern der nikänischen Zeit," *ByzF* 4 (1972) 88–104. –A.K.

PROEDROS (πρόεδρος), a term used both as a civilian title of rank and as an ecclesiastical title.

Proedros as a Civilian Dignity. According to an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 284.2–4), Nikephoros II Phokas appointed BASIL THE NOTHOS as *proedros*, "an *axioma* that did not previously exist." The title was high-ranking: it is mentioned in the mid-10th-C. TAKTIKON of Beneševič (245.3) following the BASILEOPATOR, but G. Ostrogorsky (*ZRVI* 2 [1953] 56f) considered this a later interpolation; in the slightly later *Taktikon of Escurial* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 263.10) it is situated one rung lower, after the ZOSTE PATRIKIA. The dignity of *proedros* was identical with the office of *proedros* of the SENATE, the promotion to which is described in *De ceremoniis*. The term implied precedence: *proedros* of the notaries amounted to the PROTONOTARIOS; the first *proedros* of judges (*dikaspoloi*) is known from an undated seal (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.687). The title of *proedros* (and *protoproedros*) was broadly granted in the 11th C. (Kazhdan, *Gosp. klass.* 107–13) but disappeared after the mid-12th C. The first *proedroi* seem to have been exclusively eunuchs, but from the mid-11th C. there were bearded *proedroi*, many from the military aristocracy. In the second half of the 11th C., a *proedrissa*, Maria Philokalina, is attested.

A leaf inserted into a late 11th-C. MS in Princeton (Spatharakis, *Portrait* 74–76) depicts a *proedros* John, holding a scroll on which his dedication of a *menologion* is inscribed. He wears a chlamys perhaps similar to the silk coat of the *proedros* ARGYROS, son of Melo, valued at 100 *librae* of silver in an 11th-C. document (A. Guillou, *DOP* 28 [1974] 100, 109).

LIT. C. Diehl, "De la signification du titre de proèdre à Byzance," in *Mélanges G. Schlumberger*, vol. 1 (Paris 1924) 105–17. Oikonomides, *Listes* 299. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 282–86, 297–301. –A.K., A.C.

Proedros as an Ecclesiastical Title. In ecclesiastical terminology *proedros* was generally a synonym for BISHOP, the supreme officer or "president" of the local church. Every bishop was indeed the natural *proedros* of his see (Gregory of Nyssa, PG 46:453A). Infrequently, however, the term served as a title for the METROPOLITAN, the superior of an ecclesiastical province (TRULLO, canon 39). Despite this occasional restriction, the term continued to be used indiscriminately for all dignitaries of episcopal rank until the 13th C. when it acquired a more technical canonical meaning. Specifically, a bishop given a vacant see(s) to hold as a benefice concurrently with his own—*kat' epidosin*—was referred to in the patriarchal acts as the *proedros* of the vacant see. By virtue of this subvention the bishop in effect became the administrator or director of the second see but not

its effective titular head as no enthronement or installation was involved. Strictly speaking, he could never occupy this throne. The incorporation of such sees was, in fact, provisional, ceasing once a new bishop was elected. *Proedros* in this absolutely new sense was thus the equivalent of administrator.

Since the word implied a right of precedence, it was sometimes combined with other titles to form honorary offices, such as *proedros* (or *protoproedros*) *ton protosynkellon*.

LIT. S. Salaville, "Le titre ecclésiastique de 'proedros' dans les documents byzantins," *EO* 29 (1930) 416–36. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:xxxi. N.B. Tomadakis, "I titoli 'Vescovo, arcivescovo e proedro' della Chiesa Apostolica Cretese nei testi agiografici," *OrChrP* 21 (1955) 321–26. –A.P.

PROFECTIO (*τὰ ἐξιτήρια, προπομπή*), the ceremonial counterpart of ADVENTUS, marking the departure of the emperor, officials, etc., for which the Romans issued COINS and developed a specific iconography. *Profectio bellica* marked the departure of the army or the emperor for war and entailed propitiatory services, distribution of alms, a PROCESSION out of Constantinople, and veneration of the emperor's cross-standard containing a relic of the True Cross (*TheophCont* 881.5–9; Goar, *Euchologion* 651–53) and, when appropriate, a blessing for the fleet (Prokopios, *Wars* 3.12.1–2; Goar, *Euchologion* 685). A more common form of *profectio* was the peacetime departure ceremony, which might comprise a liturgical service, citizens' escort out of the city gates, acclamations, and even panegyrics. It allowed citizens to express their opinion of an administrator: Kekaumenos (Kek. 154.9–11) told his son that he would get a real send-off if he administered his district properly.

LIT. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 246–51, 254f. –M.McC.

PROFIT (*κέρδος*) was evaluated by the Byz. on social and moral grounds. Kekaumenos wrote that "honest" profit was one derived from agricultural enterprise (the simple surplus of goods produced above the demands of the household) and from state salaries; he overtly rejects "dishonest" (and dangerous) sources of profit, such as USURY or tax farming. Emp. Theophilos went even farther than Kekaumenos and condemned commercial activity as unworthy of a noble person. The TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (15:39) arrogantly dismissed profit-seeking as a motive for any imperial action: "*Kerdos*," he said, "is not the objective of Our Majesty in seeking to subjugate Our opponents."

The Byz. tended to eliminate the uncertainty or RISK involved in seeking profit by introducing the idea of fixed profit: the JUST PRICE restricted in theory the rampant inflation of PRICES (which in practice could soar during a shortage of goods), and the *Book of the Eparch* regulated the level of profit; the prohibition on hoarding goods in the expectation of price increases was directed toward the same tendency to fix profits; in practice, however, Byz. managers recommended the purchase of goods at a time of low prices, even once a year. MONOPOLY as a means to maximize profit also originated with the concept of a "stable" economy, providing the state with a source of income independent of any market fluctuation.

LIT. A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (London 1973) 39f. Litavrin in Kek. 102. Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni" 208–12. M. Ja. Sjuzjumov, "O zaprete nakoplenija naličnymi den'gami v Vizantii," *VizVrem* 1 (1947) 267–69. –A.K.

PROGYMNASMATA (*προγυμνάσματα*), "preliminary exercises" in composition, originally designed to prepare a student for *gymnasmata*, the public performance of complete speeches. They were first discussed by Theon of Alexandria (1st–2nd C.), then by an anonymous author whose work was included in the corpus of HERMOGENES, more fully by NICHOLAS OF MYRA and esp. APHTHONIOS. Aphthonios established 14 categories of *progymnasmata*: (1) FABLE; (2) *diegema*, short narrative; (3) *chreia*, maxim or anecdote; (4) GNOME; (5) *anaskeue*, refutation (of a statement or narrative); (6) *kataskeue*, confirmation; (7) *koinos topos*, a general point (usually exemplifying a vice); (8) ENKOMION; (9) INVECTIVE; (10) *synkrisis*, comparison; (11) ETHOPOIIA; (12) EKPHRASIS; (13) *thesis*, presentation of an argument; (14) *tou nomou eisphora*, introduction of a law.

Numerous *progymnasmata* composed by teachers and men of letters survive from the time of Libanios through the last Palaiologoi. Some of the categories acquired independent status as separate genres. According to Schissel (*infra*), the most popular *progymnasmata* were *ekphrasis* and *ethopoiia*, which gave the maximum opportunity for aesthetic expression. Though biblical topics appear occasionally (e.g., in the *ethopoiia* of Nikephoros BASILAKES on the "Words the Theotokos uttered when Christ changed water into wine"), the majority of themes were borrowed from Greek mythology or ancient history. *Progymnasmata* may have been not mere exercises, but a way to escape the prohibitions of Orthodoxy by choosing non-Orthodox topics (H.G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* [Munich 1978] 146f) or using hidden allusions.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:92–120. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 54–70. O. Schissel, "Rhetorische Progymnasmatik der Byzantiner," *BNJbb* 11 (1934–35) 1–10. –E.M.J., A.K.

PROHOR OF PČINJA, southern Slavic hermit, monk, and saint; fl. mid-11th C.; feastday 15 Jan. Prohor established himself in a cave at Staro Nagoričino near Kumanovo, where he was visited, according to the late tradition, by the Byz. officer Romanos Diogenes, to whom Prohor foretold that he would become emperor. When Romanos did so in 1067 (see ROMANOS IV DIOGENES), he built a church on the site of Prohor's cave, which was restored in the 14th C. During the Pecheneg and Cuman invasions Prohor moved to Pčinja near Vranje. In the late 11th C. a monastery was founded there that became, like those of GAVRIIL OF LESNOVO, Ioakim of Osogove, and JOHN OF RILA, a center of southern Slavic literature and culture in the 12th C. In the early 14th C., King Stefan Uroš II Milutin restored the Pčinja monastery.

LIT. J. Hadži-Vasiljević, "Sv. Prohor Pčinjski i njegov manastir," in *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića* 20 (1900) 167f. –R.B.

PROKATHEMENOS (*προκαθήμενος*, lit. "president"), the designation of the chief of a bureau. The term appeared in the 12th C. (not the 11th, as in Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 155, n.106). In 1166 Manuel I listed four major tribunals, whose heads were the *megas* DROUNGARIOS [TES VIGLAS], the *prokathemenos* of the *demosiaka dikasteria* (state courts), PROTASEKRETIS, and DIKAIODOTES (R. Macrides, *FM* 6 [1984] 138.223–24); in 1186 Isaac II entrusted the *prokathemenos* of the SEKRETA with collecting fines for disobeying the emperor's chrysobull (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.10.25). It is not clear whether the two should be identified, as did Stein ("Untersuchungen" 34). The *prokathemenos* of a *kastron* or town is attested at the same time, if the seal of a certain *prokathemenos* of Maroneia is indeed of the 12th C. In any case, *prokathemenoi* of towns are often mentioned in the 13th–14th C.: in Smyrna (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 155–58), Philadelphia, Drama, Ioannina, Avlon, Kanina, and Dyrrachion. Stein ("Untersuchungen" 24, n. 1) suggests that *prokathemenoi* were civil administrators, whereas the KASTROPHYLAX served as commander of the garrison. Pseudo-KODINOS speaks also of *prokathemenoi* of palaces, of the imperial KOITON and VESTIARION—all connected with aulic service.

LIT. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 2:53, 55f. –A.K.

PROKLOS (*Πρόκλος*), bishop of Constantinople (from 434 or 437) and saint; died 12 July 446 or 447; feastday 20 Nov. In 425 he failed to secure election to the see of Constantinople on the death of Patr. ATTIKOS, whose secretary he was; he also failed to gain his designated see at Kyzikos in 426. In 428/9 at Constantinople he delivered an epochal sermon against NESTORIOS, in which he praised Mary as the THEOTOKOS, developing the notion that she had conceived Christ aurally on hearing the words of the Holy Spirit (T.E. Gregory, *GRBS* 16 [1975] 321–23). After finally becoming bishop, he effected the transfer of the body of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM to Constantinople in 438, one of several attempted acts of reconciliation of the theological factions. He is credited with introducing the TRISAGION into the liturgy.

Nearly 30 of his sermons survive, in Greek, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Syriac versions; the authenticity of some is disputed. In the so-called *Tome to the Armenians*, Proklos defends the Chalcedonian doctrine of two natures of Christ in one hypostasis or person. Although Proklos does not name him, the *Tome* is directed against THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. Letter 4, which is preserved in a Latin fragment (PG 65:876f), contains the words "One of the Trinity was crucified according to the flesh," a formula that was discussed in the 6th C. during the controversy over THEOPASCHITISM.

ED. PG 65:679–888. Theotokos sermon—ed. Schwartz, *ACO*, Tome 1, vol. 1, pt.1:103–07. Syriac tr., ed. E. Lucchesi in *Antiquité païenne et chrétienne*, ed. E. Lucchesi, H.D. Saffrey (Geneva 1984) 187–98. *Tome*—ed. Schwartz, *ACO*, Tome 4, vol. 2:187–95.

LIT. F.J. Leroy, *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople* (Vatican 1967). F.X. Bauer, *Proklos von Konstantinopel* (Munich 1919). Richard, *Opera minora* 2, no.52:303–31. –B.B.

PROKLOS, Neoplatonic philosopher; born Constantinople 8 Feb. 410 or 412, died Athens 17 Apr. 485. Proklos first studied rhetoric, law, and philosophy at Alexandria. In 430/1 he joined the Neoplatonic ACADEMY OF ATHENS, studying Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy with Ploutarchos of Athens and with Syrianos, whom he succeeded as head of the school (ca.437). A life of intensive teaching and writing, interrupted by a year of exile in Lydia, resulted in a large corpus, including commentaries on Euclid, Ptolemy, and Aristotle and on Plato's *Alcibiades*, *Republic*, *Timaeus*, and *Parmenides* as well as a *Platonic Theology* and the *Elements of Theology*.

Proklos developed the philosophy of his immediate predecessors (not enough is known of the latter to permit one to measure the degree of Proklos's originality), giving it a systematic form that became authoritative in the Neoplatonic schools of Athens and Alexandria. Like his immediate predecessors, Proklos saw philosophy as a divine revelation conveyed to man by the gods through oracles (the so-called CHALDEAN ORACLES), prophets, and sages (both barbarian and Greek), including in particular PLATO. This revelation is intended to save man by leading him to self-knowledge and a return to his divine, otherworldly origin. The return makes use of theurgy and sciences such as physics and mathematics that prepare the soul for access to the science of the divine (theology or metaphysics), communicated in Plato's *Parmenides*, and leading to a union of the soul with the divine that transcends scientific thought. Proklos summarized very successfully the science of the divine in his *Elements of Theology*, where, following the strict standards of scientific demonstration prescribed by Aristotle and that Proklos found exemplified in Euclid, the various levels of reality transcending the material world are presented: the ineffable "One," the source of all reality; the "henads," an order of gods deriving from the One and acting as causes of what follows; a series of descending levels of lesser gods, "intelligible" and "intellectual," terminating at the level of the human soul and arranged in complicated, mathematically inspired (in particular, triadic) relationships.

Later Influence of Proklos. Proklos's works became standard in the philosophical schools of the period and his authority was assured by a network of pupils that included Marinos, his successor and biographer, and AMMONIOS. Proklos's ideas were appropriated for Christian theology by pseudo-DIONYSIOS, but attacked by John PHILOPONOS. From the 7th C. onward the name of Proklos disappears from view, to be resurrected in the 11th C., esp. by Michael Psellos and John Italos and also by Eustratios of Nicaea and Michael of Ephesus. The 12th C. became more critical of Proklos: whereas the *sebastokrator* Isaac KOMNENOS still copied much of him, Tzetzes, George Tornikes, Niketas Seides, and Prodromos were polemical. NICHOLAS OF METHONE wrote *Refutation*, in which he emphasized the unity of the Trinity as opposed to the Proklean theory of emanation. Proklos again became popular from the 13th C. onward, when George Pachymeres copied, supplemented, and quoted from MSS of Proklos. The *Elements of Theology* was translated into Georgian by JOHN PETRIC'I, and WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE translated many of Proklos's works into Latin.

ED. *The Elements of Theology*^{2}, ed. E.R. Dodds (Oxford 1963), with Eng. tr. *Théologie platonicienne*, ed. H.-D. Saffrey, L.G. Westerink, 6 vols. (Paris 1968–), with Fr. tr.

LIT. W. Beierwaltes, *Proklos: Grundzüge seiner Metaphysik*^{2} (Frankfurt 1979). G. Podskalsky, "Nikolaus von Methone und die Proklosrenaissance in Byzanz," *OrChrP* 42 (1976) 509–23. P. Kristeller, "Proclus as a Reader of Plato and Plotinus, and His Influence in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance," in *Proclus lecteur et interprète des anciens*, ed. J. Pépin, H.-D. Saffrey (Paris 1987) 191–211. *Proclus et son influence*, Actes du colloque de Neuchâtel (Zürich 1987). L. Siorvanes, *Proclus: The Forgotten Light* (London 1989).

–D.O'M., A.K.

PROKONNESOS (Προικόννησος, mod. Marmara), the largest island in the Sea of MARMARA, close to the city of KYZIKOS. It was famous for its MARBLE quarries, which continued production during the late Roman period: in the early 5th C. taxes on the mines and quarries of Docimeum, Prokonnesos, and the Troad were levied with a special strictness (*Cod.Theod.* XI 28.9 and 11), and Prokonnesian marble was used to ornament Constantinople (e.g., ZOSIMOS 2.30.4, ed. Paschoud 1 [1971] 103.25); in the 9th C. "the white stone from Proikonnesos" still served as building material for major monuments (*TheophCont* 141.17–18, 145.22). The SARCOPHAGI made of fine, blue-tinged, crystalline Prokonnesian marble were known throughout the whole Roman world; in the 4th and 5th C. elaborate garland-patterned sarcophagi were replaced by plain chests without garland pattern (J.B. Ward Perkins, *Archaeology* 11 [1958] 98–104).

Prokonnesos was the seat of the archbishop of the Islands (*Notitiae CP* 1.55); 11th-C. seals of archbishops of "Proikonnesos" are published (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 829–30). The island served as a place of exile: Stephen the Younger was banished there in 754; in 1058 Patr. Michael I Keroularios was exiled there, together with his nephews; Patr. Arsenios was exiled to Prokonnesos in 1264 and founded a small monastery on the island in the region of Souda; according to a late *akolouthia*, Emp. Michael VII took the monastic habit at the monastery of St. Timothy on Prokonnesos.

LIT. C.M. Danoff, *RE* supp. 14 (1974) 560f. Janin, *Églises centres* 209–14. –A.K.

PROKOPIOS (Προκόπιος), saint; feastday 8 July. According to EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA (*De mart. Palest.* 1.1–2), he was the first Palestinian martyr, beheaded in Caesarea during Diocletian's persecutions of 303 after refusing to sacrifice to the four emperors. The longer version of Eusebios's work, preserved in Syriac, Georgian (G. Garitte, *Muséon* 66 [1953] 245–66), and Latin translations, conveys more biographical data: supposedly born in Aelia-Jerusalem, Prokopios was active in Skythopolis as *anagnostes*, interpreter in Syriac, and exorcist. These data are included in the first version of Prokopios's *passio*, which relates in great detail the martyr's trial and miracles: the hands of the "speculator" Archelaos were paralyzed when he lifted his sword against Prokopios; Prokopios held burning frankincense in his palm. The second version transforms Prokopios into a different person—the pagan Neanias, son of a *synkletike prote* in Aelia. Diocletian's military commander, he was miraculously converted to Christianity. CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS and the CHRONICON PASCHALE attest the veneration of Prokopios in Skythopolis and Caesarea; eventually he acquired the features of a MILITARY SAINT. Prokopios's *passio* was included in the collection of SYMEON METAPHRASTES and he was praised by NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON (F. Halkin, *AB* 80 [1962] 174–93), Constantine AKROPOLITES, and others. A very rhetorical *passio* of Prokopios of Persia by HESYCHIOS OF JERUSALEM (H. Delehaye, *AB* 24 [1905] 475–82) may have been modeled on the *passio* of Prokopios of Caesarea.

Representation in Art. In artistic depictions it is the military figure of Prokopios that predominates. He wears a *maniakion* (see TORQUE) on 10th-C. ivory triptychs and icons but is clad in full armor by the 11th C. in his many representations in MSS of Symeon Metaphrastes and in monumental painting, esp. in Cappadocia. He is young and beardless, with dark hair curling about his ears. His vision while on horseback of a cross hung in the sky by two chains is illustrated in the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.85r) and his beheading in one MS of Metaphrastes (Paris, B.N. gr. 1528, fol.86v).

SOURCES. Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 228–33. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 5:1–27. F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* (Brussels 1963) 96–130.

LIT. *BHG* 1576–1582c, 1584. C. Weigert, *LCI* 8:229f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

PROKOPIOS, usurper (from 28 Sept. 365); born Korykos ca.326, died Phrygia 27 May 366. Prokopios was related (probably through his mother) to Emp. Julian. First a notary, he was given an important military command by Julian, who may have promised him the succession to the throne. In 363, however, when Julian was killed, he yielded to Jovian; after presiding over Julian's burial in Tarsos, he went into retirement on his estates in Cappadocia. Once Valens came to the throne in 364, however, he fell under suspicion and subsequently fled to the Chersonese in the Crimea. Broad opposition to the harsh policies of Valens led to the proclamation of Prokopios by troops in Constantinople. He arrested the supporters of Valens and tried to gain the backing of the house of Constantius II, including his widow Faustina. The movement was supported by peasants in Thrace and Asia Minor. In his propaganda Prokopios stressed his legitimacy as Julian's successor (J.-L. Desnier, *Latomus* 43 [1984] 606), but lack of resources forced him to levy high taxes, which made him unpopular. The majority of troops either remained loyal to Valens or soon deserted Prokopios's cause. Prokopios was captured and executed. The revolt, however, continued, and Markellos, a former commander under Julian, was acclaimed emperor in Nicaea; he too was soon seized and killed. Chalcedon and Philippopolis held out for a while, but the rebels surrendered after they were shown Prokopios's head. Thrace was severely punished and some rebels fled to the barbarians.

LIT. G.L. Kurbatov, "Vosstanie Prokopija," *VizVrem* 14 (1958) 3–26. A. Solari, "La rivolta Procopiana a Costanti-

nopoli," *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 143–48. N.J.E. Austin, "A Usurper's Claim to Legitimacy: Procopius in A.D.365/6," *Rivista storica dell'antichità* 2 (1972) 187–94. –T.E.G.

PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA in Palestine, 6th-C. historian. Prokopios spent his adult life in Constantinople. Until 540 he accompanied the campaigns of Justinian's general BELISARIOS (whose secretary and legal adviser [*assessor*] he became in 527) in the East, North Africa, and Italy. His eyewitness account of the PLAGUE shows he was in Constantinople in 542. Prokopios then largely drops from view, his fortunes doubtless suffering from Belisarios's own vicissitudes. His equation with the Prokopios who was city prefect in 562 has been rightly challenged.

Prokopios's major work is the *Wars*, eight books celebrating Byz. victories over the Persians, Vandals, and Ostrogoths. More observer than analyst, Prokopios is conventional in his attitudes toward emperor and society, albeit his preference for secular over religious causation is notable. The *Buildings*, a eulogy of Justinian's public works, has some tedious passages, but is valuable for its architectural and social history. Most notorious is the *Secret History* (*Anekdota*), in which Prokopios reshapes his narratives into a vicious, indeed ludicrous, invective against Justinian, Theodora, and other principals of the reign; it can have circulated only clandestinely. All three works were probably written in the 550s, though precise dates are much disputed, and the reasons for his change in attitude toward Justinian are endlessly discussed. The apparent promise (*SH* 26.18) to write an ecclesiastical history has surprised some, but further calumny of Justinian seems to be his principal aim.

ED. *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, ed. J. Haury, revised G. Wirth, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1962–64). *Procopius*, ed. H.B. Dewing, 7 vols. (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1914–40), with Eng. tr.

LIT. Av. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1985). J.A.S. Evans, *Procopius* (New York 1972). B. Rubin, *Prokopios von Kaisareia* (Stuttgart 1954) [= *RE* 23.1 (1957) 273–599]. I. Goldstein, "Historiografski kriteriji Prokopija iz Cesareje," *ZRVI* 24/25 (1986) 25–101. –B.B.

PROKOPIOS OF GAZA, rhetorician and exegete; born Gaza ca.465, died ca.528. Prokopios's career was spent in his native city. His reputation profits from the glittering funeral tribute of his pupil CHORIKIOS, which emphasizes Prokopios's student precocity. His Christianity led him into polemics against the Neoplatonist PROKLOS, along with commentaries on biblical texts. Discernible ideas include preference for a progressive universe over an eternal world and prophetic inspiration rather than ecstasy. Prokopios's panegyric on Emp. ANASTASIOS I is of value to modern historians, and his approximately 160 letters provide much contemporary information. A monody on Antioch's destruction by earthquake in 526 is lost. Among his rhetorical set pieces, the description of a mechanical HOROLOGION in which a figure of Herakles came out to perform his 12 labors (H. Diels, *Über die von Prokop beschriebene Kunstuhr von Gaza* [Berlin 1917]) and pictures of scenes from Euripides' *Hippolytus* (P. Friedländer, *Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus in Gaza* [Vatican 1939]) are of most interest to historians of art and science.

The major part of the oeuvre of Prokopios is devoted to commenting on the Old Testament (the Octateuch, Song of Songs, etc.); in the case of the *Eklogai,* Prokopios's exegesis of the Proverbs, however, there survives not the original version but "a medieval catena of very bad quality" (Richard, *Opera minora* 1, no. 17, 1259f). Prokopios believed that the so-called obscurity of the Old Testament was owing to the failure of previous generations to understand it (PG 87:28C); to clarify the text he collected statements of "fathers" and of other writers, regardless of whether they agreed or disagreed with one another (PG 87:21A). Thus he tried to systematize the patristic heritage and was one of the creators of the genre of CATENAE.

ED. PG 87. *In imperatorem Anastasium Panegyricus*, ed. C. Kempen (Bonn 1918). *Epistolae et declamationes*, ed. A. Garzya, R.-J. Loenertz (Ettal 1963).

LIT. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 170–75. G. Downey, *Gaza in the Early Sixth Century* (Norman, Okla., 1963) 108–16. L. Eisenhofer, *Procopius von Gaza* (Freiburg 1897). E. Lindle, *Die Oktateuchkatene des Prokop von Gaza und die Septuagintaforschung* (Munich 1902). –B.B., A.K.

PROKYPSIS (*πρόκυψις*), a term describing both an elevated wooden platform and an imperial CEREMONY performed on that structure at the Komnenian and Palaiologan court. The emperor mounted the platform behind a closed curtain. On cue, he was brilliantly illuminated, the curtain was thrown open, and an audience of palace guards, officials, and clergy, which was assembled below, intoned the *polychronion* (see ACCLAMATIONS) and appropriate chants. Surviving texts associated with the *prokypsis* are filled with sun and light metaphors, leading some to claim survivals in them from Hellenistic or Roman solar cults. A 14th-C. ceremonial book describes the ceremony as it was performed on Christmas Eve (pseudo-Kod. 195.11–204.23); it seems to have been repeated for Epiphany as well as for imperial CORONATIONS and weddings. Parallels with earlier KATHISMA ceremonies have been argued, but the precise origins of *prokypsis* remain unclear. A possible illustration in Vat. gr. 1851, fol.7r (cf. M. Jeffreys, *Byzantine Papers* [Canberra 1981] 101–15) remains controversial.

LIT. E.H. Kantorowicz, "Oriens Augusti–Lever du roi," *DOP* 17 (1963) 119–77. Spatharakis, *Portrait* 214–16. M. Andreeva, "O cerimonii 'prokipsis,'" *SemKond* 1 (1927) 157–73. –M.McC.

PRONOETES (*προνοητής*), administrator, supervisor, esp. of estates; the term was often used in papyri (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 3:149f) and a novel of Tiberios I mentions the *pronoetes* of imperial domains (Zepos, *Jus* 1:20.2). This meaning was preserved to the 10th and 11th C.: the vita of PAUL OF LATROS (*AB* 11 [1892] 138.17–18) speaks of a *protospatharios* entrusted with the *pronoia* of imperial estates, and a *sigillion* of 1092 mentions the *pronoetes* of estates of a *sebastokrator* (*Lavra* 1, no.51.14). *Pronoetes* could also be the designation of the user of a CHARISTIKION. The *protonotarios* of St. George (of MANGANA) and *pronoetes* was the owner of a seal of the 12th C. (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 151), and probably CONSTANTINE (III) LEICHOUDES, "the *phylax* of the *pronoia* of Mangana and of the documents" (*SkylCont* 106.9), held this post a century earlier. In the 10th–12th C. the terms *pronoia* and *pronoetes* were employed for provincial administration; *pronoetai* of Bulgaria, Samos, Lakedaimon, and Athens are known. Bănescu considered *pronoetai* as fiscal officials, while Wasilewski viewed them as governors, although of a lower rank than the DOUX or KATEPANO. The term *pronoetes* was never applied to the holder of a private PRONOIA (Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 18).

LIT. N. Bănescu, "La signification des titres de *praitor* et de *pronoetes* à Byzance aux XIe et XIIe siècles," *ST* 123 (1946) 395–98. T. Wasilewski, "Les titres de duc, de catépan et de pronoétès dans l'Empire byzantin du IXe jusqu'au XIIe siècle," 12 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Belgrade 1964) 236f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 210–13. Oikonomides, "Évolution" 149f. –A.K.

PRONOIA (*πρόνοια*, lit. "care," "forethought"), in Byz. Greek both a theological and administrative-fiscal term.

Theological Meaning. *Pronoia*, meaning providential care, was a concept developed by Byz. theology in contrast to pagan, esp. Epicurean, DETERMINISM. The problem was discussed in apologetic and polemical literature, in EROTAPOKRISEIS, and in monographs, the greatest of which are the five tracts by Patr. GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS. Although the distinction between *pronoia* and TYCHE was not always clear-cut, the concept of providence presupposed belief in the personal Godhead who had created mankind as good but possessing FREE WILL and thus able to choose the path of good or evil. Michael PSELLOS was the first to analyze deeply relations between human deliberate choice (*proairesis*) and divine providence.

In patristic terminology providence often appears synonymously with (kindness of) God; Eusebios of Caesarea (*HE* 2.14.6), for example, speaks of "the all-good Pronoia, philanthropic toward all" that directed the apostle Peter to Rome. The idea of providential care was, in John of Damascus and his followers, a momentous argument against the concept of ontological evil typical of dualistic tenets. It created, however, another difficulty: Beck (*infra* 262) emphasizes the "tragic conflict" in late Byz. that existed between the concept of providence and predestination (*proorismos*), between the concept of a personal God caring about his "chosen people," and the reality of the shrinking world of Byz., ever oppressed and finally destroyed by surrounding "barbarians." The rationale for this paradox, that it was a temporary divine punishment for sinful behavior, became less and less convincing as Byz. moved toward its demise; the late Byz. philosophy of history suggested no rationale for the fact that providence had seemingly turned away from the Byz. (C.I.G. Turner, *BZ* 57 [1964] 346–73).

LIT. H. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome 1937). L.G. Benakis, "Die Stellung des Menschen im Kosmos in der byzantinischen Philosophie," in *L'homme et son univers au Moyen Âge: Actes du 7e Congrès international de philosophie médiévale (30 août–4 sept. 1982)* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1986) 64–75. W. Lackner in *Nikephoros Blemmydes, Gegen die Vorherbestimmung*

der Todesstunde (Leiden 1985) xliii–lxxxiv. M. Pharantos, *Peri theias pronoias kai proorismou kata ten didaskalian Gennadiou tou Scholariou* (Athens 1966). –G.P., A.K.

Fiscal Meaning. Used in a technical sense from the 12th C. onward, *pronoia* was equated by F. Uspenskij and after him by Ostrogorsky with the Western fief, thus forming one of the foundations of the theory of Byz. FEUDALISM. The 12th-C. data on *pronoia* are meager and disputable (A. Hohlweg, *BZ* 60 [1967] 288–308; Jacoby, *Société*, pt.VI [1967], 479–81). The testimony of Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 208.23–24) regarding Manuel I's "grants of PAROIKOI" to soldiers has frequently been interpreted as *pronoia*; the term *pronoia*, however, is not used by Choniates, but appears only in a *scholion* to the late revision of this passage in the chronicle ascribed to Theodore SKOUTARIOTES (Sathas, *MB* 7:301, n.1). The latinized term *pronoiarios* is attested only in the 15th C., and the modern term "pronoiar" is a scholarly convention.

In documents of the 13th–15th C., *pronoia* (sometimes identified with the term OIKONOMIA) is technically a grant of a certain amount (POSOTES) of tax revenues derived from specific properties and *paroikos* households. In fact the holder of a *pronoia* also acquired the right to the rents on some of the property he was assigned, as well as the labor services of the *paroikoi*. Occasionally, things such as fishing rights could be granted as *pronoia*. The *pronoia* was a conditional grant that at times implied military service, but the precise nature of these conditions is not yet clear. Michael VIII was the first emperor to make *pronoia* hereditary on a large scale, granting soldiers who gave their lives or otherwise served well the right to leave their *pronoia* to their sons (N. Oikonomides in *Docheiar.* 125). In the 14th–15th C. the right to transmit *pronoia* through one or more generations, though never the rule, became increasingly common and could be granted "with service" or "without service."

The question of the status of pronoiars is also under discussion: Uspenskij described them as feudal knights, and Ostrogorsky saw in them a landowning aristocracy, whereas Lemerle (*Agr. Hist.* 222–41) emphasized the low origin of, at least, the earlier pronoiars. In any case, some sources indicate that women and church institutions may have been in possession of *pronoia-oikonomia*. By the first half of the 14th C. (and probably already in the late 12th C.) the "collective *pronoia*" appears, in which a number of persons, particularly a company of soldiers, each possesses his own, rather modest, *posotes* within a single *pronoia* (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 8 [1981] 353–71). The term and concept of *pronoia* were appropriated by the Latin and Serbian authorities of the Balkans.

In a nontechnical sense, the term *pronoia* was employed to designate various kinds of "care"—CHARISTIKION, administration of imperial estates or institutions (e.g., of the MANGANA monastery), and esp. of provinces (such as Samos, Bulgaria, Athens, etc.). The administrator of such *pronoiai* was called PRONOETES, a term attested at least from the 10th C. onward.

LIT. F. Uspenskij, "Značenie vizantijskoj i južnoslavjanskoj pronii," *Sbornik statej po slavjanovedeniju sostavlennyj i izdannyj učenikami V.I. Lamanskogo* (St. Petersburg 1883) 1–32. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 1–257, with add. *ZRVI* 12 (1970) 41–54. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 202–23. R. Radić, "Novi podaci o pronijarima iz prvih decenija XIV veka," *ZRVI* 21 (1982) 85–93. K. Chvostova, "Pronija: Social'no-ekonomičeskie i pravovye problemy," *VizVrem* 49 (1988) 13–23. –M.B.

PROOIMION (*προοίμιον*), preamble or introduction to a document, letter, or literary work, often imitating a classical model. *Prooimia* to emperors' chrysobulls were usually written by eminent authors and are important for studying imperial ideology and propaganda. *Prooimia* to letters sometimes became independent of the main text and fulfilled their own rhetorical purposes (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:218f). *Prooimia* to historical works were manifestos of the AUTHOR; although many points of the preamble were drawn from Thucydides or Lucian, *prooimia* served as a vehicle to present the author's position. Prokopios and Agathias stressed their individual attitudes to the events described, whereas Theophylaktos Simokattes furthered his own interests in a complicated two-part preamble that is in the form of a DIALOGUE between History and Philosophy; it contains compliments addressed to Simokattes' patron, the patriarch, followed by the praise of historiography as the most significant creation of reason and a discipline useful to generals and laymen, old and young (I. Čičurov in *Antičnost' i Vizantija* [Moscow 1975] 204–06).

The antique topos of MODESTY, already—and incongruously—present in the sophisticated Simokattes, was used by Theophanes the Confessor and George Hamartolos (probably under the influence of hagiographical *prooimia*), but was omitted by Skylitzes who devoted his introduction to an analysis of the faults of his predecessors. Psellos avoided *prooimia* entirely. The authors of saints' lives composed *prooimia* that emphasized the hero's significance and the hagiographer's inadequacy; a similar topos also appears in *enkomia*. Christian themes are frequent, and didactic purposes (usefulness and entertainment alike) are stressed. (For *prooimion* as a legal term, see CIVIL PROCEDURE.)

LIT. H. Hunger, *Prooimion* (Vienna 1964). R. Browning, *Studies on Byzantine Prooimia* (Vienna 1966). J. Bompaire, "A propos des préambules des actes byzantins des Xe–XIe siècles," in *Prédication et propagande au moyen âge* (Paris 1983) 133–47. H. Lieberich, *Studien zu den Proömien in der griechischen und byzantinischen Geschichtschreibung*, vol. 2 (Munich 1900). R. Maisano, "Il problema della forma letteraria nei proemi storiografici bizantini," *BZ* 78 (1985) 329–43. M. Mazza, "Sulla teoria della storiografia cristiana," in *La storiografia ecclesiastica nella tarda antichità* (Messina 1980) 335–89. –A.K., I.Š.

PROPAGANDA. Imperial propaganda stressed LEGITIMACY, victory, divine approval, and subjects' loyalty; subtle changes in themes mirror changes in society, for example, the growth of military imagery in the late 11th C. Church propaganda concerned doctrinal tenets (e.g., ICONS), competing cults of saints, and sometimes rival patriarchs.

The means were diverse. COINS of the 4th–6th C. constantly announced and interpreted political events. From the 7th C. onward, coinage's spectrum of messages narrowed dramatically and its concentration on gold suggests an elite audience. Art—whether posterlike murals or monuments addressing a broad audience, imperial PORTRAITS, or INSIGNIA granted to officials or client rulers—had an avowed purpose as propaganda (Mansi 13:356B). CEREMONY acted out the imperial and religious themes in ritual form, such as TRIUMPHS or the Feast of Orthodoxy (see TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY). Publicity stunts reinforced a menaced regime's credibility. RELICS were exploited to enhance its religious prestige, as in the translation of the relics of St. Stephen the protomartyr by Theodosios II and Pulcheria (K. Holum, G. Vikan, *DOP* 33 [1979] 115–33) or Irene's discovery and translation of the relics of St. Euphemia. Even more characteristic of Byz. mentality were faked prophecies planted and "discovered" at a propitious moment, for example, the pagan sage who prophesied the Virgin Birth and his own exhumation after 2,000 years, when Irene and Constantine VI took power (C. Mango, *ZRVI* 8.1 [1963] 201–07), or the inscription acclaiming John I Tzimiskes and Theodora, unearthed in a Constantinopolitan garden (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 171, n.162).

Official communiqués provided "sanitized" versions of events and influenced historiography, while laws and PROOIMIA of diplomas trumpet favorite propaganda themes. Panegyrics presented official commentary on events to elite audiences; ACCLAMATIONS or prayers focused minds on orthodoxy or victory, while SERMONS and HYMNS delivered propaganda to a wider audience, as when SEVEROS of Antioch celebrated the fall of Vitalian (PO 7 [1911] 71of, 36.3 [1972] 430–37). Partisan or subversive propaganda, like vernacular songs, taunted Maurice or Theophano (Beck, *Volksliteratur* 25–28), while religious songs spread Arian doctrines; lampoons, adulatory verses, or *libelli famosi* were set up surreptitiously in public places and might be legally repressed (*Cod.Just.* IX 36; *Basil.* 60.63.1), while political tracts like PHILOPATRIS circulated among the elite and left traces in historical writing. Ambassadors and missionaries helped spread imperial propaganda beyond Byz.'s borders.

LIT. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.IV (1967), 649–74. A. Kazhdan, "Certain Traits of Imperial Propaganda in the Byzantine Empire from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Centuries," in *Prédication et propagande au moyen âge* (Paris 1983) 13–28. C. Jolivet-Levy, "L'image du pouvoir dans l'art byzantin à l'époque de la dynastie macédonienne (867–1056)," *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 441–70. I.S. Čičurov, "Teorija i praktika vizantijskoj imperatorskoj propagandy," *VizVrem* 50 (1989) 106–15. –M.McC.

PROPERTY (*οὐσία, περιουσία, πράγματα, ὑπόστασις*, all nontechnical terms). All material goods that a person has at his disposal constitute his property. To these belong his claims (from legal transactions) as well as his POSSESSION and his OWNERSHIP of movable and immovable THINGS. This broad concept of property was mainly relevant in Byz. inheritance law: the HEIR did not inherit single objects but entered into all the testator's rights of whatever kind. "Net" property (*kathara ousia* or *hypostasis*) was the property after subtraction of the testator's debts (e.g., *Prochiron* 32.3).

G. Litavrin (*VizOč* [1971] 152–68) has demon-

strated, on the basis of three aristocratic wills of the 11th C., that movable things were deemed more significant than land. We get the same impression from William of Tyre (PL 201:734AB), who relates that Manuel I's niece brought to her marriage to Baldwin III of Jerusalem a dowry of 100,000 hyperpera as well as clothing, jewelry, carpets, etc., whereas the Latin groom gave her as DONATIO PROPTER NUPTIAS the town of Saint-Jean d'Acre; the story reflects two different approaches to property. Other features of Byz. property are the large role of livestock (e.g., Weiss, *Kantakuzenos* 21f), a relative contempt for mercantile property, and the perception of slaves (at least through the 11th C.) as part and parcel of property. On the other hand, Theodore PRODROMOS (ed. Hörandner, no.44.150–54) includes as property, besides clothing and jewelry, retainers, income-producing lands, and high-roofed houses. –A.K.

PROPERTY, SACRED, constituted a sizable, if indeterminable, proportion of the total wealth of Byz. society. Churches, monasteries, and charitable foundations attracted all manner of donations and bequests, both because of the social and spiritual recognition expected in return and because of the protection that civil and canon law accorded such property. Despite distinctions between different ecclesiastical proprietors and between different types of sacred property—consecrated goods (*hiera*: church buildings, altars, liturgical utensils, cemeteries) being distinguished from those that were merely dedicated (*aphieromena*) to sacred use—sacred property formed a single category insofar as it was, in theory, strictly inalienable and contributions to it were irreversible. By the 9th C., an inventory (BREBION) of every church's holdings was to be deposited with the local bishop or the patriarch. The legal status of sacred property was first properly defined by Justinian I, who systematically limited the conditions under which church goods, esp. immovable assets and liturgical objects, could be mortgaged, sold, leased, or exchanged, and under which clerics could dispose of property in their possession (esp. *Cod.Just.* I 2–3; novs. 6, 7, 67, 120). Justinian's concern was primarily to protect church assets against unscrupulous creditors and leaseholders and against corrupt or irresponsible bishops.

In later centuries, the principle of inalienability, reiterated and extended by church councils, was more frequently invoked against the secularization of church property by emperors and their officials. This was a point on which ecclesiastical opinion, regardless of political necessity, progressively hardened, in reaction not only to major expropriations (e.g., by Herakleios, Alexios I, John V), but also to increased taxation and restrictions on the growth of episcopal and monastic domains (Nikephoros I, Nikephoros II, Basil II). Theodore BALSAMON, in the late 12th C., implied that the very taxation of church lands—a matter on which Justinian had made no concessions—was a form of secularization, which the emperor had a duty to alleviate (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:594–611).

The excesses, and corrupting effects, of ecclesiastical wealth, esp. in monasteries, were criticized by ascetics, emperors (Manuel I), and leading churchmen (EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, Patr. ATHANASIOS I). Yet religious poverty (*aktemosyne*) never became as contentious an issue as in the medieval West or Russia. The canonical theory of sacred property was tempered by a flexibility of practice that, on the one hand, allowed clerics to enjoy private possessions, and, on the other, allowed lay KTETORES a direct, tangible, and personal return on their religious endowments (see CHURCHES, PRIVATE). Moreover, much sacred property, such as imperial CHURCHES, constituted STATE PROPERTY, and emperors were able to confiscate on a small scale without arousing controversy (THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid, *Letters*, ed. Gautier 215.6–10; Tafel-Thomas, *Urkunden* 1:111f). This and the practice of granting monasteries in CHARISTIKION to lay protectors helped to ensure that sacred property was not subject to infinite accumulation, and that churchmen were never entirely responsible for its abuse.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 65–67, 71f. Ševčenko, *Society*, pt.IV (1957), 145–61. Hendy, *Economy* 231f, 495. –P.M.

PROPHET BOOK, modern term for a collected volume of the biblical books of the 16 PROPHETS (see also PROPHETOLOGION.) The prophets were popular with the church fathers, who sought in their words clues to the coming of Christ. Patristic commentaries (already begun by Hippolytos and Origen) were devoted primarily to ISAIAH and DANIEL, but also to some of the minor prophets,

(e.g., Hosea and Malachi, by Apollinaris of Laodikeia). The books of the 12 minor prophets were systematically commented on by CYRIL of Alexandria, from the viewpoint of typology of Christ, and THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, within the framework of a history of the Jews. John Chrysostom devoted two homilies to the prophets in general, observing their "obscurity," whereas his homilies on Isaiah primarily treated moral problems. After the 6th C. interest in the prophets decreased. Basil of Neopatras (10th C.?) cited them in anti-Jewish polemics, interpreting them as foretelling Christ's mission on the earth. Some of the prophets were later cited by Balsamon and Matthew of Ephesus.

The prophet book circulated in Byz. as a convenient single volume, like the Octateuch or Psalter. Seven illustrated examples of the prophet book date from the mid-10th C. (Vat. Chis. gr. R.VIII.54) to the second half of the 13th C. (Vat. gr. 1153). Miniatures are for the most part simple author portraits, with little narrative content. More complex narrative scenes are also found, as in Vat. gr. 755. This MS has an illustration to Isaiah's Ode that closely follows a famous model in the PARIS PSALTER and an image of the martyrdom of the prophet, based on the account in the vita by pseudo-Epiphanios and related iconographically to a scene in the PARIS GREGORY. The relationship among prophet books is relatively straightforward, the text of the oldest supplying the model for the latest MSS. This type of book was probably developed in Byz. only after Iconoclasm, although Weitzmann (*Sacra Parallela* 133–60, 257) proposed that all images deriving from the prophetical books stem from pre-Iconoclastic examples. (See also OLD TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION.)

LIT. M.G. Mara, *DPAC* 2:2917–20. Lowden, *Prophet Books*. C. Walter, "The Iconography of the Prophet Habakkuk," *REB* 47 (1989) 251–60. –J.I., J.H.L., C.B.T.

PROPHETIC VISIONS. See VISIONS.

PROPHETOLOGION (*προφητολόγιον*, sometimes called a *propheteia*), Old Testament LECTIONARY of Constantinople, for use during services other than Eucharist, principally at VESPERS and PRESANCTIFIED during Lent and on vigils of the GREAT FEASTS. The *prophetologion* also contained responsories (*prokeimena*), ANTIPHONS, STICHERA, etc., as well as rubrical information proper to the feast. The *prophetologion* developed in the 7th–8th C. after the Old Testament lection had been eliminated from the Constantinopolitan Eucharist in the 7th C. (Mateos, *La parole* 131–33) and achieved its final form ca.800; the earliest known MS is the 9th-C. Sinai gr. 7. Old Testament lections for the liturgical HOURS and Presanctified were gradually incorporated into other liturgical books, namely the MENAION, TRIODION, and PENTEKOSTARION, thereby rendering the *prophetologion* obsolete.

ED. *Prophetologium* [= *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Lectionaria, 1*], pt.1, ed. C. Höeg, G. Zuntz (Copenhagen 1970); pt.2, ed. G. Engberg (Copenhagen 1980–81).

LIT. G. Zuntz, "Das byzantinische Septuaginta-Lektionar ('Prophetologion')," *ClMed* 17 (1956) 183–98. C. Höeg, G. Zuntz, "Remarks on the Prophetologion," in *Quantulacumque, Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* (London 1937) 189–226. –R.F.T.

PROPHETS, supposed authors or protagonists of 16 books of the OLD TESTAMENT. The Byz. recognized the four Major Prophets—ISAIAH, JEREMIAH, Ezekiel, and DANIEL—and the twelve Minor Prophets—Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, JONAH, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. The term *prophetes*, however, was also used for many other Old Testament worthies, for example, AARON and MOSES, ELIJAH and Elisha, and DAVID and SOLOMON. This use was sanctioned in the New Testament, esp. Matthew, by the frequent references to Old Testament prophecies of events in Christ's life. Their most sophisticated application was a typical scheme in CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION in which a variable number of prophets stand below the Pantokrator in the dome; they usually display texts that provide a theological commentary, often on the Incarnation. Such a scheme was already known in the art of the 6th C., to judge from the rhetorical description by Chorikios of Gaza (Chorik.Gaz. p.7, pars. 17–20) of the Church of St. Sergios. The principal Byz. commentators on the Prophets were Basil the Great, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and at a later date Theophylaktos of Ohrid.

LIT. Lowden, *Prophet Books*. –J.H.L., A.C.

PROPONTIS. See MARMARA, SEA OF.

PROSEK (Πρόσακος), Bulgarian fortress (*phrourion*) on the right bank of the Vardar near Demirkapija, first mentioned by Skylitzes (Skyl. 358.88) while recording Basil II's victory over Bulgaria. It was assigned to the bishopric of MOGLENA, which owned some *paroikoi* there. From the end of the 12th C. Prosek was disputed by several powers: in 1197/8 DOBROMIR CHRYSOS seized it; by 1204 it seems to have been controlled by KALOJAN. At the beginning of the reign of BORIL, Strez, a nephew of Kalojan, established himself in Prosek, but by 1208 he had submitted to Boril. Captured by Serbia in 1327/8, Prosek remained in Serbian hands until the battle of KOSOVO POLJE, when it passed to the Ottomans.

LIT. N. Radojčić, "O nekim gospodarima grada Proseka na Vardaru," *Letopis Matice srpske* 259 (1909) 1–19; 260 (1909) 32–40. –R.B.

PROSKATHEMENOS (προσκαθήμενος, "settler" [Laiou, *Peasant Society* 246]), a term applied to various categories of peasants; according to N. Svoronos (*TM* 1 [1965] 357, n.155), a collective term meaning "tenant" in general. The word appears in the vita of St. Peter of ATROA (ed. Laurent, *La vita retractata*, par.94.1; p.47.5–9) as a synonym for *hyperetes* ("servant") and becomes common in later documents, sometimes in a variant form, such as *proskathezomenoi* (*Ivir.*, nos. 2.18, 10.14). The term could be used independently or formed into a compound with other social and agrarian terms: not only with *douleutoparoikoi*, PAROIKOI, *ateleis*, MISTHIOI (*mistharnoi*), ELEUTHEROI, *xenoi*, *ptochoi*, etc., but also with ANTHROPOI, EPOIKOI, and priests—terms that do not inherently imply dependency. This multiple use of the term reveals its fluidity of meaning and the lack of precision. Smetanin (*infra*), however, considers *proskathemenoi* as a specific, large group of dependent peasants, second only to the *paroikoi*, who either had no land whatsoever or leased it under worse conditions than *paroikoi*. The term itself and its combination with words denoting the status of "strangeness" indicates that in many cases *proskathemenoi* were newcomers who in the course of time were gradually transformed into ordinary dependent peasants.

LIT. V.A. Smetanin, "Proskafimeny pozdnevizantijskogo vremeni," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 3–24. Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* 69f. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 85f. P. Zepos, "Kalliergetai xenes ges eis to Byzantinon Kratos," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 35–40. –M.B.

PROSKOMIDE (προσκομιδή), offering, offertory. Until the 10th C. the term *proskomide* was synonymous with ANAPHORA. Thereafter it was used, by synecdoche, for the opening formula of the anaphora, called the prayer of the *proskomide*, in which the priest prays for worthiness to approach the altar and offer the sacrifice (Mateos, *La parole* 176–79). From the 12th C. the term *proskomide* is synonymous with PROTHESIS (Laurent, "Proscomidie" 126–35; P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 45).

LIT. Taft, *Great Entrance* 350–73. –R.F.T.

PROSKYNESIS (προσκύνησις, Lat. *adoratio*), a common gesture of supplication or reverence in Byz. CEREMONIAL. The physical act ranged from full prostration to a genuflection, a bow, or a simple greeting and concretized the relative positions of performer and beneficiary within a hierarchical order (TAXIS). Although *proskynesis* to the emperor occurred under the principate, the revamped Byz. symbolism of absolute rulership lent it new meaning and system. Certain forms of *proskynesis*, such as those which entailed kissing the emperor's breast, hands, or feet, were reserved to specific categories of officials. AUDIENCES granted to native or foreign delegations included multiple series of *proskyneseis* at points marked by porphyry disks (*omphalia*) set in the floor. Until the 10th C., at least, imperial ceremonial avoided *proskynesis* on Sundays out of reverence for the divinity. As a form of loyalty display, *proskynesis* had strong political overtones; it recurs in imperial iconography and its importance in imperial ceremonial could sometimes raise delicate diplomatic dilemmas when foreign potentates were involved.

Proskynesis in the sense of prostration was by no means confined to the imperial court. It occurs as a posture of intense prayer, of penance (whence its designation as *metanoia*), or as a gesture of greeting holy men. Its wide diffusion in society explains, for example, the legend that a great tree bent down to worship the infant Jesus (Sozom., *HE* 5.21.9), the common pilgrim idiom "venerating the Holy Places" (derived from Ps 131:7), and the gesture's transformation into a banal formula for concluding letters (e.g., *P.Oxy.* XVI 1933).

LIT. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 84–94. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:144–50. B. Hendrickx, "Die 'Proskunesis' van die bysantynse Keiser in die dertiende eeu," *Acta Classica* 16 (1973) 147–58. I. Spatharakis, "The Proskynesis in Byzantine Art," *BABesch* 49 (1974) 190–205. –M.McC.

PROSKYNETARION (προσκυνητάριον). The rare Byz. term *proskyneterion* (προσκυνητήριον), meaning "oratory," "place of worship," was applied to places or objects associated with the Muslim cult: the Arabs, say both Theophanes (Theoph. 339.20–22) and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 19.10–11), transformed the Jewish temple of Solomon into the *proskyneterion* of their blasphemy. NIKETAS BYZANTIOS describes Muslims as turning their faces toward the "*proskyneterion* of contemplation" as their idol was called (PG 105:720BC).

Despite this pejorative connotation of *proskyneterion*, the term *proskynetarion* was coined and acquired two meanings:

1. From the 16th C. onward, it designated travel guides to Sinai or Jerusalem; the term was translated into medieval Russian as *poklonen'e* (Seemann, *Wallfahrtslit.* 38–41).

2. As a modern, conventional term, it denotes the monumental ICON of Christ, the Virgin, or the patron saint of a church; A. Epstein (*JBAA* 134 [1981] 12–15) proposed that from the 10th C. *proskynetaria* were set on the piers separating the parts of the TEMPLON. Usually in fresco or mosaic, such icons were sometimes carved in stone (Lange, *Reliefikone* 129f). Their frames were mostly carved in marble, molded in gesso, or simply painted on the surface of the pier; the marble frame consists of a plain or a three-lobed arch or an arched slab on double, often knotted colonnettes (G. Babić, *ZbLikUmet* 11 [1975] pls. 2f, 9f). *Proskynetaria* of the patron saint may be found in the narthex or along the nave walls. The term may also refer to the stand of a particularly venerated processional icon (A. Grabar, *CahArch* 25 [1976] 145).

LIT. M. Chatzidakis, "L'évolution de l'icône aux 11e–13e siècles et la transformation du templon," 15 *CEB* (Athens 1979) 1:336. –L.Ph.B., A.K.

PROSMONARIOS (προσμονάριος), or *paramonarios* (παραμονάριος), the "concierge" of a church or monastery, so called because he remained in the church permanently and was thus responsible for keeping it locked at night (An.Komn. 1:77.3–5). In canon 2 of the Council of Chalcedon, *prosmonarioi* are listed among those clerics whose functions were conferred by appointment rather than ordination; however, as in the case of the *ekdikoi* (see PROTEKDIKOS) and the OIKONOMOI, with whom they are grouped, this did not prevent them from being chosen from the ranks of the ordained clergy. By the late 14th C., and probably much earlier, the *prosmonarios* of the Great Church was subordinate to the *megas* SKEUOPHYLAX (*RegPatr*, fasc. 6, no.3066). A *prosmonarios* of the monastery of St. Diomedes in Constantinople achieved fame and fortune through befriending the future emperor Basil I (pseudo-Symeon Magistros in *TheophCont* 656.3).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 105, 114, 133. –P.M.

PROSOPOGRAPHY, an AUXILIARY DISCIPLINE dedicated to the study of names of individuals and families in a given historical period. The main sources for Byz. prosopography are these: (1) narrative texts; (2) EPISTOLOGRAPHY; (3) documents, esp. PRAKTIKA; (4) SIGILLOGRAPHY; (5) EPIGRAPHY (to a much lesser extent than for the Roman Empire); and (6) lists of participants in COUNCILS. The sources have serious limitations, since most of them (except the *praktika*) deal with the upper echelon of society, and the *praktika* are geographically and chronologically restricted; for some periods (esp. the 7th–9th C.) the data are meager and barely representative. The goals of prosopography may be defined on two levels. The first is establishing lists of persons organized either by family names or by titles/offices; for the late Roman period local lists—for Rome (H. Sorin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom* [Berlin 1982]), Africa (A. Mandouze, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire* [Paris 1982]), and part of Egypt (J. Diethart, *Prosopographia arsinoitica*, vol. 1 [Vienna 1980])—are available. The second level is the interpretation of the prosopographical material for history, primarily social history—such problems as structure of the ruling class in the 11th–12th C. (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 185–96) and the ethnic and professional composition of rural society in 14th-C. Macedonia (A. Laiou, *BMGS* 1 [1975] 71–95).

A related discipline is onomastics, the study of the etymology, origin, and patterns of usage of personal NAMES. Patterns of name-change may, for example, reflect the christianization of society.

LIT. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, ed. A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, et al., 2 vols. (Cambridge

1971–80). *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. E. Trapp (Vienna 1976–). H. Moritz, *Die Zunamen bei den byzantinischen Historikern und Chronisten*, 2 vols. (Landshut 1897–98), rev. by S. Papadimitriou, *VizVrem* 5 (1898) 713–35, 6 (1899) 167–76. A. Chastagnol, "La prosopographie, méthode de recherche sur l'histoire du Bas-Empire," *Annales* 25 (1970) 1229–35. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 13–24. R.S. Bagnall, "Conversion and Onomastics," *ZPapEpig* 69 (1987) 243–50. –A.K.

PROSOPON. See PERSON.

PROSPHONETIKOS LOGOS (*προσφωνητικὸς λόγος*), a formal address to an ARCHON, according to MENANDER RHETOR (pp. 164–70); Menander describes it as a de facto ENKOMION, but not a complete one. In the 11th–15th C. the terms *prosphonematikos*, *prosphoneterios*, and *prosphonemation* designated the speech directed to a high official; Eustathios of Thessalonike addressed to the *megas hetaireiarches* John Doukas a specimen "of talk and *prosphonesis*."

The term could be applied to a speech to an emperor; thus JOHN SIKELIOTES called his speech to Basil II a *prosphonetikos logos* (*RhetGr*, ed. Walz 6:447.25–27). More often an improvised address to the emperor was called *autoschedios*. It apparently differed from the BASILIKOS LOGOS to the extent that the emphasis was not on the ideal qualities of the ruler, but on the specific occasion of the speech.

LIT. Martin, *Rhetorik* 207. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:145–47. –A.K., E.M.J.

PROSPHORA (*προσφορά*, lit. "offering"), term referring to (1) bread loaves prepared for consecration at the EUCHARIST and stamped with a seal (see STAMPS, BREAD); (2) the act of offering these gifts; or (3) the consecrated gifts themselves (van de Paverd, *Messliturgie* 238, 247–50, 288f, 457, n.2). Bringing *prosphorai* for the Eucharist, a custom witnessed from the 3rd C. onward, was a privilege and obligation of baptized communicants in good standing; those excluded from communion could make no offering. *Prosphorai* were handed over to the deacons on arrival at church for the liturgy. The deacons then selected which loaves were to be brought to the altar. The selection of gifts before the liturgy was to evolve into a separate rite, the PROTHESIS, and the transfer of these gifts to the altar is later solemnized in the GREAT ENTRANCE. Various forms of bread and of bread stamps were used for the preparation of the *prosphora*, whence the term "seal" (*sphragis*) for the eucharistic loaves, though the term properly refers only to the AMNOS, or central section.

LIT. Taft, *Great Entrance* 11–46. G. Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy* (Madison 1970). –R.F.T.

PROSTAGMA (*πρόσταγμα*, esp. 13th–15th C.) or *prostaxis* (*πρόσταξις*, 11th–13th C.) or HORISMOS or PITTAKION, synonymous terms designating an administrative order. Technically, they indicate a usually short imperial document (earliest preserved original: 1214) signed with the autograph red MENOLOGEM and often bearing (until the end of the 13th C.) the wax seal of the emperor (Trapezuntine *prostagmata* as well as *horismoi* of the rulers of Epiros were signed with an abridged signature; less is known of the *prostagmata* of Serbian rulers). Beyond transmitting orders, *prostagmata* were also used for granting privileges, for legislating and for regulating, for attesting an OATH taken by the emperor (*horkomotikon prostagma*), for appointing individuals to administrative positions, or for granting honorific titles (11th–15th C.; in this they replaced the late Roman *probatoriae* and the *kodikilloi*, still attested in the 10th C. but none of which have survived). *Horismos* was also the technical name of documents issued by 14th–15th-C. *despotai*, while *pittakion* was commonly used to indicate simple letters, often those coming from the patriarchal CHANCERY. The patriarch's orders and those of the state officials were usually called ⟨*para*⟩*keleusis*, *entalma*, *gramma*, etc. and could be signed with a *menologem*.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 109–12. Oikonomides, "Chancery" 319f. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 191f. Darrouzès, "Ekthesis Nea," 85–127. G. Ostrogorsky, "Prostagme srpskih vladara," *PKJIF* 34 (Belgrade 1968) 245–57. –N.O.

PROSTATES (*προστάτης*), an ancient term meaning "defender" and later "chief, head," was applied to the bishop as protector of the ordinary people (B. Treucker, *Politische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zu den Basilius-Briefen* [Frankfurt 1961] 31). In the *Book of the Eparch* it is employed, along with EXARCH, to refer to the heads of some guilds—soapmakers, harnessmakers, fishmongers. In other cases a similar term *prostateuon* or the more general *proestos* was used. –A.K.

PROSTIMON (*πρόστιμον*), the penalty for a breach of contract. According to Roman law the *prostimon* could be agreed upon through STIPULATION and was to be paid to the contract-partner in case of infringement of the contract. Its main function was to ensure an orderly and punctual payment of DEBT. The same aim was served by the agreement regarding the fines owed to the state in case of breach of contract. The two kinds of *prostima* competed in Byz. legal texts for reasons that have not yet been explained. Default on the part of the parties and lack of enforcement by judges (PROCHIRON AUCTUM 17.77), which could result when the *prostima* agreed upon were unreasonably harsh (*Peira* 45.2), gave the legislator repeated occasion to demand payment of the *prostimon* (*Reg* 1, nos. 358, 691; 2, nos. 1083, 1465; 4, no.2295). Also designated as *prostimon* was the fine imposed by a judge based on his independent assessment as opposed to the fine determined by law. (For the *prostimon* in the marriage contract, see ARRHA SPONSALICIA.)

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 1:519–21, 2:268f. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 305–08. –L.B.

Usage in Documents. The term *prostimon* is common in papyri (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 2 [1925] 415f). Byz. documents establish *prostimon* in one of their final clauses as a guarantee against breach of contract; the earliest known case is a purchase deed of 897 (*Lavra* 1, no.1.29). In addition to purchase deeds, *prostimon* appears in acts of exchange, donation, and guarantee; a chrysobull of 1102 establishes *prostimon* for transgression of the EXKOUSSEIA (*Lavra* 1, no.55.85–87). Typical of the chancellery of Thessalonike, it appears also in documents from Smyrna (e.g., MM 4:198.20) and Serres (e.g., *Esphig.*, no.9.25, *Koutloum.*, no.7.27). The sum of *prostimon* varies significantly: a fine of 4 nomismata is known (*Chil.*, no.125.80–81), but in an act of 897 the exorbitant *prostimon* of 20 litrae is prescribed. The clause establishing *prostimon* varies; sometimes it is noted that a *prostimon* was imposed in accordance with the contract and stipulation (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.59.67–68); the formula "as *prostimon* and for the disregard of the revered cross" (*Ivir.*, no.26.30) is also found. *Prostimon* is meant to be a private indemnification, usually given for one party; an act of exchange of 1154, however, stipulates mutual *prostimon* (*Lavra* 1, no.63.58). In some documents alongside the private *prostimon* an (unnamed) state fine is anticipated: it was less than *prostimon* (an act of 1110 [*Lavra* 1, no.59.67–68] established it as one-third of the *prostimon*; often it is not defined in figures, only said to be "in accordance with laws") and collected by various treasuries (*sakelle*, office of the *epi ton oikeiakon*, and mainly the *vestiarion*). –A.K.

PROSTITUTION (*πορνεία*), engaging in sexual intercourse in exchange for payment, remained a permanent feature of late Roman and Byz. society, despite urban decline. Prostitutes (*pornai*, *hetairai*) flourished in organized brothels (*mastropeia*) as well as at baths, theaters, and hippodromes, along with masseuses, dancers, and other female entertainers (cf. Prokopios, *SH* 9.1–30). They also worked in inns and changing posts along the main highways, e.g., Helena, the mother of Constantine I, and the mother, aunt, and grandmother of THEODORE OF SYKEON. While laws forbade the exploitation of young girls as prostitutes (esp. Justinian I, nov.14 pr.) and the church regularly condemned prostitution (e.g., Council in Trullo, canon 86), both poor girls working for pimps (*pornoboskoi*) and more professional theatrical performers (*skenikai*) continued to provide sexual services. These circus artists and actresses, attired in silk and gold cloth, bejeweled, and liberally adorned with cosmetics and perfume, often became quite wealthy. Some prostitutes even worked at the imperial court, as during the reign of Andronikos I, who amused himself with courtesans and CONCUBINES (Nik.Chon. 321.20–322.41).

The Byz. had a charitable attitude toward repentant prostitutes, even providing "houses of reformation" for those who wished to change their way of life. Best known are the monastery of Metanoia (Repentance) established in the 6th C. by the empress THEODORA, herself a former actress and prostitute (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.9.1–10; *SH* 17.5–6), and the convent founded by Michael IV in the 11th C. Saints, esp. holy FOOLS, also endeavored to reform prostitutes on an individual basis (cf. vita of Symeon of Emesa, ed. Festugière, 79.11–14, 88.28–89.18). Some former prostitutes, for example, PELAGIA THE HARLOT and MARY OF EGYPT, even attained sanctity,

thus symbolizing the power of Christian redemption modeled on Mary Magdalene.

LIT. S. Leontsini, *Die Prostitution im frühen Byzanz* (Vienna 1989). J. Irmscher, "Die Bewertung der Prostitution im byzantinischen Recht," in *Gesellschaft und Recht im griechisch-römischen Altertum* (Berlin 1969) 77–94. Koukoules, *Bios* 2:117–62. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 270–74. –J.H.

PROTASEKRETIS (πρωτασηκρῆτις), head of the college of ASEKRETIS. The first certain mention of *proto a secreta* (*sic*) is in the LIBER PONTIFICALIS (*Lib.pont.* 1:452.12) under the year 756; later evidence of earlier *protasekretis*, including MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR under Herakleios (W. Lackner, *JÖB* 20 [1971] 63–65), may be anachronistic. Seals of the *protasekretis* are known only from the 9th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 3–4). As chief of the imperial chancery, the *protasekretis* enjoyed enormous influence, and important persons such as Photios held the post. One of the major functions of the *protasekretis* was the production of CHRYSOBULLS. Even though the college of *asekretis* seems to have disappeared after the 12th C., the office of *protasekretis* remained in existence and is mentioned in the 14th C. by pseudo-KODINOS. According to N. Oikonomides (*TM* 6 [1976] 131), after 1106 the *protasekretis* left the chancery to preside over one of the major judicial courts in Constantinople.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 97f. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 62–64. –A.K.

PROTATON (Πρωτᾶτον), the central administration of Mt. Athos, located at KARYES, in the center of the peninsula, and headed by the PROTOS. The term, first mentioned in 1153, is also used for the monastic community and for the church at the lavra of the Protaton. The central administration was in existence by 958, when assemblies there are first attested. Originally three annual assemblies called *synaxeis* (with epithets *katholikai*, *megalai*, etc.) were held, which all Athonite monks were entitled to attend; after the TRAGOS of between 970 and 972, attendance at *synaxeis* was limited to *hegoumenoi*, the heads of independent KELLIA, and a few independent hesychasts. The *hegoumenoi* of the most important monasteries were members of a council formed to advise the *protos*. Various officials, such as an *oikonomos* (first mentioned in 972), *epiteretes* (known from the mid-11th C.), *ekklesiarches* (from 972, but mostly in the 14th C.), and the "agent" (see DIKAIOS), assisted the *protos* in his administration of Athonite affairs. The main functions of the central administration were juridical and administrative; it also distributed to Athonite monks the annual pension instituted in the 10th C. by Romanos I.

The Byz. archives of the Protaton (13 documents ranging from 883 to 1406), such as the *typika* of John I Tzimiskes (*Tragos*) and Constantine IX Monomachos, differ from those of other Athonite monasteries in that they do not concern land transactions or property disputes, but are primarily regulations affecting all the monks on the Holy Mountain. The library contains 63 MSS of Byz. date (Lampros, *Athos* 1:1–10; Polites, *Katalogoi* 109–38).

The present church, fully restored in 1955–58, is of the early 14th C. and is supposed to reproduce the form of a chapel built by the brother of Nikephoros II Phokas. It is the only church on the Holy Mountain to be built of cut stone. Often described as a basilica, it is a longitudinal structure with a triple apse and cruciform plan. The interior contains frescoes of a Great Feast cycle and scenes from the Life and Passion of Christ that have been attributed to the Thessalonican artist Manuel PANSELINOS. The Protaton retains a pair of (12th C.?) wooden doors inlaid with bone marquetry (S. Pelekanides, *ArchEph* [1957] 63–67).

SOURCE. D. Papachryssanthou, *Actes du Prôtaton* (Paris 1975).

LIT. I. Djurić, "Pomenik svetogorskog protata s kraja XIV veka," *ZRVI* 20 (1981) 139–69. P.M. Mylonas, "Les étapes successives de construction du Protaton au Mont-Athos," *CahArch* 28 (1979) 143–60. *Treasures* 1:22–33, 389–91. –A.M.T., A.C.

PROTE. See PRINCES' ISLANDS.

PROTEKDIKOS (πρωτέκδικος), title first attested in the second half of the 7th C., bestowed on a cleric who presided over the *ekdikeion*, a tribunal composed of a varying number of priests (*ekdikoi*, *ekklesiekdikoi*), instituted as a group by Justinian I and attached to Hagia Sophia (G. Prinzing, *FM* 7 [1986] 14–17). References to the *protekdikos* are rare until the 12th C. A treatise by Theodore BALSAMON reflects a controversy in ecclesiastical circles in the second half of the 12th C. concerning the relative powers and rights of the *protekdikos* and CHARTOPHYLAX (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:530–41). In the last decade of the century, under Patr. George II Xiphilinos (1191–98), the *protekdikos* was awarded sixth rank among the EXOKATAKOILOI. Sources of the 12th–15th C. describe his function as protecting those who sought ASYLUM in Hagia Sophia, be they debtors, slaves, or people suspected justly or unjustly of murder. It is esp. with regard to the latter that the *protekdikos*'s activities are documented. In such cases he listened to the confession of the penitent, judged his innocence or guilt, and accordingly set the EPITIMIA in expiation of the sin, handing these to the penitent sinner in a document, the SEMEIOMA (A. Pavlov, *VizVrem* 4 [1897] 155–59; R. Macrides, *Speculum* 63 [1988] 509–38). From the 11th C. the *protekdikos* is also attested in the provinces, although not in connection with cases of asylum (*Lavra* 1, no.35.53 [a.1071]; Michael CHONIATES, ed. Lampros 2:313.14–21).

LIT. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 323–32. K.M. Rhalles, "Peri tou ekklesiastikou axiomatos tou protekdikou," *AkadAthPr* 11 (1936) 286–91. R. Macrides, "Justice under Manuel I Komnenos: Four Novels on Court Business and Murder," *FM* 6 (1984) 202f. Eadem, "Poetic Justice in the Patriarchate: Murder and Cannibalism in the Provinces," in *Cupido Legum* 156f, 164. –R.J.M.

PROTEUS, minor sea god living on the Egyptian island of Pharos, a wise old man who could transform himself into any imaginable shape. In Byz. literature he is most often a symbol of mutability, usually applied in a negative way (Psellos, *Chron.* 2:46 [bk.6, ch.152.11]). Less often Proteus is the wise prophet (Niketas CHONIATES, *Orationes* 164.30–31). Finally, some traces of allegorical interpretation seem to survive during Byz. times: Proteus in his mutability symbolizes the four elements (*Eust. Comm. Od.* 1:174f [1503.6–36]).

LIT. H. Herter, *RE* 23 (1957) 940–75. –P.A.A.

PROTHESIS (πρόθεσις, lit. "offering"), the offertory, the preparation of the bread and chalice in a separate liturgical rite before the beginning of the EUCHARIST. Before the 9th C. there was only the material preparation of the gifts by the deacons in the *skeuophylakion* (see PASTOPHORIA), after which the prothesis prayer was said by the priest or bishop. From the 9th C. the rite evolved into a plethora of local usages (Laurent, "Proscomidie" 116–42), and the eucharistic bread (PROSPHORA), interpreted in the liturgical COMMENTARIES as antitype of Christ's body, came to be related symbolically to the Old Testament AMNOS, the Lamb of God. As the liturgy, according to these commentaries, mirrors the stages of Jesus' earthly life, the bread prepared in the prothesis rite came to symbolize the Jesus of both Bethlehem and Golgotha. The 14th-C. *diataxis* of Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS prescribes the use of five loaves of bread: one for the excision of the *amnos*, representing Jesus, which will be consecrated in the ANAPHORA; the others for commemorative particles cut out with appropriate accompanying formulas in honor of the Theotokos, the saints, the living, and the dead. The term *prothesis* can also refer to the offering itself and to the table on which the prothesis rite is performed.

LIT. G. Descoeudres, *Die Pastophorien im syro-byzantinischen Osten* (Wiesbaden 1983) xiv–xvi, 91–96, 116–21, 150–59. –R.F.T.

PROTHESIS CHAMBER. See PASTOPHORIA.

PROTIKTORES (προτίκτωρες, Lat. *protectores*), a troop of the emperor's bodyguards created ca.250, sometimes called *protectores domestici*. They also served as members of the emperor's staff and fulfilled special assignments: the arrest and execution of political adversaries, levies and inspections, and supervision of the post and customs. After 400, *protiktores* shifted toward court service. According to R. Frank (*infra*), they were the predecessors of the SCHOLA PALATINA. Whether they survived beyond 600 is unclear; a seal of one is dated 550–650 (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.568). *Protiktores* reappear in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS as subaltern officers under the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON. The *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.* 11.20) mentions the "standards" (*skeue*) that *protiktores* and senators carried in ceremonial processions; Philotheos lists *protiktores* along with the bearers of *eutychia* (banners).

LIT. R. Frank, *Scholae palatinae* (Rome 1969) 33–45, 87–90, 179–84. G. Gigli, "I *protectores* e i *domestici* nel IV secolo," *Accademia dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di scienze morali* 4 (1949) 383–90. –A.K.

PROTIMESIS (προτίμησις, lit. "preference"), the right of preemption, or priority, in various property arrangements, usually purchases. The term

is most commonly found in 10th-C. legislation concerning the VILLAGE COMMUNITY. Although not explicitly employing the term *protimesis*, novel 114 of Leo VI implies that the right of NEIGHBORS to have first refusal on property sales was well-established in Byz.: a person could sell his property to anyone, but his neighbors had six months to object to the sale, reimburse the buyer, and themselves possess the property. Conflicts between traditional practices and more recent legislation led to a detailed clarification of this form of *protimesis* in a novel of Romanos I: there were to be no restrictions on the gratuitous alienation of property (i.e., as gifts, dowries, bequeathals), but properties sold, leased, or given as LEGATON had to be offered first to five hierarchical categories of privileged acquirers, from co-owning relatives down to simple neighbors (Zepos, *Jus* 1:203.6–11). That this right of *protimesis* was an obstacle to the aggrandizement of the DYNATOI is seen from a novel of Nikephoros II Phokas that forbade the POOR from exercising the right of *protimesis* when the property of a *dynatos* was on sale (Zepos, *Jus* 1:253–55).

While the decline of an independent peasantry and the rise of the *paroikia* during the 11th C. shows that peasants were ultimately unable to enforce their rights of *protimesis*, the principle seems to have persisted into the 14th C.: without explicitly employing the term *protimesis*, the 1319 chrysobull for Ioannina (MM 5:83.18–19) states that properties held by the city's inhabitants could not be sold to any ARCHON or STRATIOTES unless they were first offered to fellow inhabitants of the city. *Protimesis* was also used to denote other types of prior rights: for instance, a novel of Nikephoros II Phokas (Zepos, *Jus* 1:255f) orders that if a *stratiotes* had sold property not included within his STRATEIA, he could recover it *en protimesei* by paying a JUST PRICE; in 995 (*Ivir.* 1, no.9.57) the right of *protimesis* to complete construction of a mill was granted by a village community to a man whose father had begun the mill; and in 1384 (*Docheiar.*, no.49.42) *protimesis* was used to signify a widow's right to the first settlement in the disposition of her husband's estate.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 90–93, 101f, 157–60. G. Ostrogorsky, "The Peasant's Pre-Emption Right," *JRS* 37 (1947) 117–26. –M.B.

PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS, from the pre-Christian period of the Bulgarian state (681–864/5). A few brief inscriptions in runes resembling those used by the Orkhon Turks of Central Asia survive; though they cannot be read, no doubt they are in the Turkic language of the BULGARS and would have been unintelligible to their Greek and Slavic-speaking subjects. Therefore, for public communication the Bulgars adopted Greek, the lingua franca of the eastern Balkans, although this is often closer to spoken Greek than to the Byz. literary Greek language. Almost 100 Greek inscriptions of the 8th–9th C., some only fragmentary, have been discovered in the former territory of the First Bulgarian Empire, together with a few in the Bulgar language written in the Greek alphabet. The main types of Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions are *res gestae*; military inventories; triumphal, building, sepulchral, and commemorative inscriptions; treaties and boundary markers; graffiti; and inscriptions on seals and other portable objects. The earliest Proto-Bulgarian inscription (no.1 a–c), carved on a cliff at Madara beside the gigantic relief of a horseman, recounts early Bulgaro-Byz. relations and dates from shortly after 705. Several recount the exploits of KRUM. Another (no.40) sets out the terms of a peace treaty with Byz., probably ca.816–17. The best preserved is a building inscription of OMURTAG on a column now in a church in Tŭrnovo (no.55). These inscriptions throw light on the organization of the early Bulgarian state, on military and diplomatic relations with Byz., and on the history of the Greek language.

ED. V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften* (Berlin 1963). Idem, "Eine neue protobulgarische Gedenkinschrift," *BZ* 65 (1972) 394–99.

LIT. V. Beševliev, "Les inscriptions protobulgares et leur portée culturelle et historique," *BS* 32 (1971) 35–51. Idem, *Prabŭlgarski epigrafski pametnici* (Sofia 1981). Idem, "Die byzantinischen Elemente in den protobulgarischen Inschriften," *BBA* 52 (1985) 93–96. –R.B.

PROTOCOL. See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.

PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, conventional and incorrect title of a Christian apocryphal text produced probably at the very end of the 2nd C. in Egypt; at any rate, it did not originate in Palestine, since the situation there is presented in a confused form. The Protoevangelion survives in a 4th-C. papyrus (Pap. Bodmer V), several papyrus fragments, and numerous MSS from ca.900 onward. P. Bodmer gives the title *The Nativity of Mary (Gennesis Marias)*. The author, who presents himself as JAMES, the Lord's brother, relates the Virgin's biography, from her miraculous birth to a barren couple Ioakeim and Anna up to the birth of Christ, the arrival of the Magi, and Herod's wrath. The story was known to Origen under the name *The Book of James*, and probably to Clement of Alexandria; EUSTATHIOS OF ANTIOCH preserved a detailed résumé of it. The text was included in liturgical collections for the reading on 8 Sept. Syriac, Sahidic Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, and Latin versions are known.

Usage as an Iconographic Source. Rapidly and widely disseminated, the Protoevangelion fundamentally influenced the imagery of Mary, furnishing Byz. art from the 5th C. onward with numerous Marian images: the story of Mary's parents, Ioakeim and Anna, with Ioakeim's expulsion from the Temple for barrenness, his retreat into the wilderness, Anna's lament, the annunciation to both parents, and their joyful meeting before Anna's house (paralleled iconographically with the VISITATION, but often commemorated as the moment of Mary's conception); the BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN, her infancy, her blessing by the Temple priests, her PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE and nourishment by angels, and her selection as the one to weave the purple wool for the Temple veil; her betrothal to Joseph, the dual ANNUNCIATION at the well and then indoors, and the trial by bitter water; the account of the NATIVITY in a cave rather than a stable, with the doubting midwife, Salome, and the ADORATION OF THE MAGI; and the events befalling the Holy Family during the Massacre of the Innocents (the escape into the mountain of Mary's cousin, Elizabeth, with her son, John the Baptist; the murder of John's father, the priest Zacharias, and the election of Symeon to succeed him).

The Protoevangelion provided theophanic events for Early Christian cycles and human and emotional themes for art from the 12th to the 14th C. The two superbly illustrated 12th-C. editions of the homilies on the Virgin by JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS, which are based on the Protoevangelion, contain the most comprehensive Byz. Marian cycle. The Protoevangelion is also basic to the cycle of Mary's life at the CHORA.

ED. *Papyrus Bodmer V: Nativité de Marie*, ed. M. Testuz (Cologny-Genève 1958). E. Hennecke, W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia 1963) 370–88, with Eng. tr.

LIT. E. de Strycker, "Le Protévangile de Jacques: Problèmes critiques et exégétiques," *TU* 88 (1964) 339–59. Idem, "Die griechischen Handschriften des Protevangeliums Iacobi," in *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung* (Darmstadt 1980) 577–612. *Gli apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, ed. M. Erbetta, vol 1.2 (Casale 1981) 7–43. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:161–94. –A.W.C., A.K.

PROTOIERAKARIOS (*πρωτοιερακάριος*), the first falconer of the emperor, an office/title known in the 13th–14th C. Guilland is wrong in asserting that Anna Komnene "speaks of a *protoierakarios*"; in fact, she only mentions (An.Komn. 2:117.8–9) a certain Constantine in charge of the emperor's falcons. A 14th-C. historian (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1.41.13–14) relates that Theodore Mouzalon was appointed *prothierakarios*, whereas other sources call him PROTOKYNEGOS. The title had a relatively modest place in the hierarchy (after *logothetes tou stratiotikou*) and appears rarely in the sources. In 1344 two *protoierakarioi*—Iagoupes and Demetrios Komes—participated in a session of imperial OIKEIOI who endowed estates upon the monastery of Docheiariou (*Docheiar.*, no.23); thus there could be several *protoierakarioi* simultaneously. In the list of pseudo-Kodinos they stood below the *megas tzaousios* and *skouterios*. (See also HAWKING.)

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:600f. –A.K.

PROTOKARABOS (*πρωτοκάραβος*) is listed among the subordinates of STRATEGOI of maritime themes in the 9th–10th C. and refers to a ship's pilot or steersman, the rank immediately below a KENTARCHOS, who was the captain of a DROMON (Oikonomides, *Listes* 341). Imperial warships had two *protokaraboi* (the senior of the two was named *protos protokarabos*) handling the steering oars and commanding the rowers on either side of the ship. During the 10th C. the *protokarabos* of the imperial *dromon* customarily became PROTOSPATHARIOS TES PHIALES as well (*De adm. imp.* 51.188–91).

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 69. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:221f. –E.M.

PROTOKYNEGOS (*πρωτοκυνηγός*), the first hunter of the emperor, an office/title known from the 13th C. onward. According to pseudo-KODINOS, the *protokynegos* had hunters (*skyllomangoi*, probably guardians of hounds) under his command; his function was to hold the emperor's stirrup when the latter was mounting his horse. Despite

a relatively modest place in the hierarchy (after the *megas logariastes*), the title of *protokynegos* was granted to several important personages, such as Theodore Mouzalon under Theodore II Laskaris; Kontophre-Godefroi, governor of Mesothynia under Andronikos III; and John Vatatzes in the mid-14th C. The predecessor of the *protokynegos* was probably the *komes tou kynegiou* attested on an undated seal of the *protospatharios* John, who combined this function with that of HETAIREIARCHES (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.524).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:601–03. –A.K.

PROTO-MAIOLICA WARE, a type of pottery with a tin glaze and light-colored fabric found throughout the eastern Mediterranean in the 13th to 14th C. It was first thought to have been produced in the Crusader states of the Levant (F. Waagé, *Hesperia* 3 [1934] 129–39); a Byz. origin of the ware was later suggested (Morgan, *Pottery* 105–14), but it has now been established that the pottery was made in southern Italy, particularly in the area of Apulia. Small bowls, broad plates, and pitchers are typical forms. The ware is decorated with various colors of glaze, esp. blues, purples, and black; geometric designs as well as figural representations are common. The pottery was exported in considerable quantities and gained supremacy over many Byz. wares in Greece and Syria. The expansion of Proto-Maiolica demonstrates the growth of Western economic power vis-à-vis Byz. and also provides reasonably well-dated horizons in archaeological contexts.

LIT. D. Whitehouse, "Proto-Maiolica," *Faenza* 66 (1980) 77–87. D. Pringle, "Some More Proto-Maiolica from ʿAthlit (Pilgrims' Castle) and a Discussion of its Distribution in the Levant," *Levant* 14 (1982) 104–17. G. Sanders, "An Assemblage of Frankish Pottery at Corinth," *Hesperia* 56 (1987) 159–95. –T.E.G.

PROTOME (*προτομή*), the bust of a human or the front part of an animal, often paired on early Byz. textiles under Sasanian influence and in architectural sculpture. *Protome* CAPITALS, based on Roman and Hellenistic models ultimately of Persian origin, were often employed in 5th- and 6th-C. churches, particularly for CIBORIA and TRIBELA. They consist of a zone of acanthus leaves, often of the fine-toothed type, or a zone of stylized floral ornament, or a basket, surmounted by busts of griffins, rams, bulls, lions, or winged horses. Such capitals provided models for medieval revivals, esp. in S. Marco, VENICE.

LIT. E. Kitzinger, "The Horse and Lion Tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP* 3 (1946) 1–72. M. Panayotidi, "Byzantina kionokrana me anaglypha zoa," *DChAE*[4] 6 (1970–72) 82–129. J.-P. Sodini, "La sculpture architecturale à l'époque paléochrétienne en Illyricum," 10 *IntCongChrArch*, vol. 1 (Thessalonike 1984) 234–43. –L.Ph.B.

PROTONOTARIOS (*πρωτονοτάριος*), chief of the NOTARIES. Laurent (*Corpus* 2:77) distinguishes two kinds of *protonotarioi*: those of the emperor, also called "*proedroi* of the notaries of the *despotes*" (no.165) or PRIMIKERIOI of the notaries (no.177), and those of the SEKRETA. Among the other *protonotarioi* that of the DROMOS played an esp. important role, serving as deputy of the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU (Oikonomides, *Listes* 311); the *protonotarios* of the GENIKON (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 384–87) and other *logothesia* are known as well. The *protonotarioi* of the themes belonged to the department of the SAKELLION: they dealt with supply of the army and fleet (Ahrweiler, "Administration" 43). A 10th-C. seal was owned by the *ostiarios* Gregory who held the office of *protonotarios* of the "Augustiakos *oikos*" (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.923) that perhaps designates the "private" estate of the augusta. The office of *protonotarios* was probably created simultaneously with the system of the LOGOTHESIA; their seals belong mostly to the period of the 8th–11th C. Dölger (*Beiträge* 69) suggests that the *protonotarioi* of the themes disappeared after the 11th C.; the *protonotarios* of the *dromos* is known at least through ca.1185 (Nik.Chon. 335.21). Pseudo-Kodinos mentions only one secular *protonotarios* whom he places after the ORPHANOTROPHOS. N. Oikonomides (*REB* 43 [1985] 170–72) hypothesizes that in the 14th C. the *protonotarios* was the emperor's personal secretary; he also thinks that MAZARIS, when speaking of the imperial *grammateus*, meant the *protonotarios*.

The patriarchal *protonotarios* was an official of the second class, below the EXOKATAKOILOI (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 175).

LIT. R. Guilland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 38–40. –A.K.

PROTOS (*πρῶτος*, lit. "the first [monk]"), head of a group of scattered hermitages and monasteries, as at the HOLY MOUNTAINS of GANOS, LATROS, METEORA, and esp. ATHOS. The beginning of the institution is obscure; it is unclear whether the *protos* was a modified form of the supervisor of local monastic communities such as the ARCHIMANDRITE or EXARCH. The evidence of seals (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1135, 1272A) suggests that *protoi* may have been in existence at least as early as the 7th C.

Papachryssanthou argues that the first *protos* on Mt. Athos was a certain Andrew, "monk and first (*protos*) hesychast of the famous Mountain," who is mentioned in an act of Leo VI of 908 (*Prot.*, no.2.17–18). Her hypothesis is based on an ambiguous passage from the vita of St. Blasios (died ca.911/12), who is said to have met at the Stoudios monastery with the *protos* and chosen brethren; Papachryssanthou (*infra* 52, n.64) rejects the logical interpretation that the hagiographer meant the *protos* of Stoudios and connected the evidence instead with Athos. The next known *protos* of Athos was Stephen (ca.958/9), who is mentioned in the vita of Athanasios of Athos; Athanasios himself was *protos* in 972. The list of *protoi* of Athos established by Papachryssanthou contains 87 names up to 1452. The *protos* of the Holy Mountain, usually from one of the smaller Athonite monsteries, was elected by an assembly of monks at KARYES; the emperor himself invested him with the staff of authority. Originally the *protos* served for life, but since the persons elected were of honorable age, the duration of the office was usually no longer than five to ten years; exceptionally, the *protos* Isaac (I. Mamalakas, *EEBS* 36 [1968] 70–80) ruled the community for about 30 years (ca.1316–45). By the end of the 14th C. the system of annual elections was introduced. The institution of *protos* survived on Athos until the late 16th C.

It is difficult to determine the rights of the *protos* over the community of Athos: in 972 the TRAGOS of John I Tzimiskes ruled that the authority of the *protos* was limited by the assembly of *hegoumenoi* at the PROTATON. By the 11th C. the authority of the *protos* was eclipsed by that of the *hegoumenoi* of the three major monasteries of Great Lavra, Iveron, and Vatopedi. The *protos* served as representative from Athos to both civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Assisted by the *hegoumenoi*, he administered justice and had disciplinary powers over the monks of Athos. He also confirmed the election of *hegoumenoi* and handed them the staff of office in the name of the emperor. He was responsible for distributing to the Athonite monks the annual pension (*roga*) from the emperor.

Preservation of the independence of the community was the main political task of the *protos*. In the 10th C. he managed to limit the role of the bishop of Hierissos in the ordination of priests and deacons on Athos. In theory he was dependent only on the emperor, but he frequently had to deal with the patriarch's attempts to encroach upon Athonite independence: thus Patr. Nicholas III Grammatikos tried to exercise jurisdiction over Athos, imposing *epitimia* and excommunications; in the 13th C. the monks of Athos addressed patriarchs asking them to solve property cases on the Holy Mountain; Patr. Athanasios I insisted on the patriarchal investiture (benediction) of the *protos* together with that of the emperor. Andronikos II in 1312 introduced patriarchal investiture as a rule. Moreover, in 1368 the *protos* was subordinated to the bishop of Hierissos. At the same time Serbia established its influence over Athos: in the 1350s and 1360s the *Serboprotoi* (Serbian *protoi*) Antony, Dorotheos, and Sabbas signed their documents in Slavonic. Only Patr. Antony IV, from 1392 onward, began to restore the former independence of the *protos*.

LIT. Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton* 123–50. H. Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.VIII (1952), 359–69. Ch. Ktenas, "Ho protos tou Hagiou Orous Atho kai he 'Megale Mese' e 'Synaxis,'" *EEBS* 6 (1929) 233–81. J. Darrouzès, "Liste des prôtes de l'Athos," in *Mill. Mont-Athos* 1:406–47. –A.K., A.M.T.

PROTOSEBASTOS (*πρωτοσέβαστος*), a high title designating the first (*protos*) of the SEBASTOI (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2711). It is generally accepted that the title was created by Alexios I, although in a document of 1049 resolving a litigation Domenico Contarini, the doge of Venice, calls himself imperial *patrikios* and *protosebastos* (S. Romanin, *Studia documentata di Venezia* 1 [Venice 1853] 219f). Among Byz. nobles the first *protosebastos* was Michael TARONITES, husband of Alexios's sister; eventually he received the higher title of PANHYPERSEBASTOS. In the 12th C. the title of *protosebastos* was conferred on close relatives of the emperor, sometimes the sons of a SEBASTOKRATOR (L. Stiernon, *REB* 23 [1965] 224, n.17). In the 14th-C. list of pseudo-KODINOS the *protosebastos* ranks between the *megas logothetes* and *pinkernes*.

The title was granted to members of noble families such as the Palaiologoi, Tarchaneiotai, Raoul, and Metochitai.

LIT. Raybaud, *Gouvernement* 180f. –A.K.

PROTOSPATHARIOS (πρωτοσπαθάριος), the first SPATHARIOS, a dignity of the imperial hierarchy; this dignity usually conferred membership in the SENATE. The first reliable evidence is in 718 (Sergios, *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Sicily [Theoph. 398.7]), the last is in 1115 (*Lavra* 1, no.60.74), although the title was still known in the 14th C. to pseudo-KODINOS. Seibt (*Bleisiegel*, no.163) dates a seal of the *protospatharios* Basil Spondyles to the 13th C. Up to the 10th C. *protospatharios* was a high title granted mostly to commanders of THEMES; in the 11th C. it lost this significance. *Protospatharioi* of the 10th C. were divided into two groups, "bearded" and EUNUCHS. Some holders of this dignity had special court functions, such as the *protospatharioi* of CHRYSOTRIKLINOS and of LAUSIAKOS. The *protospatharios* of the BASILIKOI ANTHROPOI had military or paramilitary functions, while the PROTOSPATHARIOS TES PHIALES had judicial duties. The title was also granted to several foreign princes. The salary of a *protospatharios* was 72 nomismata a year. Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 50.235–56) tells the story of a wealthy cleric Ktenas who bought the title of *protospatharios* for 60 litras, a sum 60 times his annual *roga* (which he received for only two years since he was an old man), indicating that the honor that accrued to this title was more important than its monetary value.

The insigne of the bearded *protospatharios* was a golden collar with precious stones; bearded *protospatharioi* carried swords, while eunuchs were garbed in white robes and cloaks adorned with gold. In MS illustrations the depiction of the *protospatharios* varies over time. In the first half of the 10th C. Constantine the *protospatharios*, the brother of Leo Sakellarios, wears a red CHLAMYS edged in gold with a rinceau motif over a white CHITON, as well as his sword of office. The *protospatharios* Basil, who was the patron of a 12th-C. lectionary, is shown in a purple chiton under a red chlamys with gold border and TABLION, but without a sword (Spatharakis, *Portrait* 11, 84, 228, figs. 2, 4, 52, 164).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:99–131, corr. in Oikonomides, *Listes* 297. –A.K., A.C.

PROTOSPATHARIOS TES PHIALES (πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς Φιάλης), an enigmatic official appointed as judge of the imperial oarsmen, described in the DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO (51.46–191) but omitted in contemporary TAKTIKA. The meaning of *phiale* (lit. "drinking-bowl" or "basin") is also uncertain; probably it means a part of the harbor at Boukoleon (Guilland, *Topographie* 1:256). Until Romanos I only the oarsmen of the emperor's ships were within his jurisdiction, the barges of the augusta being under the control of her "master of the table" (EPI TES TRAPEZES); Romanos, however, gave the *protospatharios tes Phiales* authority over the barges of the augusta. Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 51.93–102) relates that a certain Podaron, first oarsman under Basil I, was made *protospatharios tes Phiales* and later *strategos* of Kibyrrhaiotai; since he was illiterate, a *krites* of the Hippodrome was appointed to help him judge the sailors.

LIT. A. Vogt, "Le protospathaire de la Phiale et la marine byzantine," *EO* 39 (1940–42) 328–32. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:113–15. –A.K.

PROTOSTRATOR (πρωτοστράτωρ), chief of imperial STRATORES. His major duty in the 9th and 10th C. was to accompany the emperor while on horseback. The first mention of the imperial *protostrator* refers to 765, when the *spatharios* and *protostrator* Constantine, son of the *patrikios* Bardanes, was among the victims of Iconoclast persecution; in the account of Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 438.15–16) he is almost at the bottom of the list of victims. The TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. place *protostratores* on a relatively low rung of the hierarchical ladder. The post, however, seems to have been a good starting place for many careers: the general MANUEL began as *protostrator* of Michael I, and at least two *protostratores* of the 9th C., Michael (II) and Basil (I), became emperor. A 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:412.4–5) defined the *protostrator* as one of the highest officials; ca.1200 Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 600.48) equated him with the Western *mariscaldus* (marshal).

During the Palaiologan period the *protostrator* was one of the highest functionaries; he had ceremonial duties and commanded troops. There was one *protostrator* in the 12th C., but several from the end of the 13th C. onward. Among the renowned *protostratores* of the Palaiologan period were Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS and Theodore SYNADENOS. The last *protostrator*, a certain Palaiologos, perished during the siege of Constantinople in 1453. From the 13th C. onward the distinction between the functions of *protostrator* and MEGAS DOUX gradually became blurred.

The staff of the *protostrator* in the 9th–10th C. included grooms, supervisors of stables, and *armophylakes* (officials in charge of weapons, according to Bury [*Adm. System* 118], but responsible for chariots according to Oikonomides [*Listes* 338]). Besides imperial *protostratores* there were *protostratores* of some high functionaries, both in the provinces (the *protostrator* of Opsikion [Theoph. 383.11]) and possibly in central departments, if Laurent's reading of a seal, "*protostrator* of the KOMES TOU STAULOU" (*Corpus* 2, no.931) is correct.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:478–97. Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 111–17. –A.K.

PROTOTHRONOS (πρωτόθρονος), a term derived from *thronos*, a synonym for the episcopal see, and designating the chief or preeminent bishop occupying the first see. Hence its usage by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS to denote Rome's honorary PRIMACY—the *prima sedes* within the PENTARCHY (PG 99:1332B). Ordinarily, however, the title was used for the senior ranked metropolitan in a patriarchate. Thus the *protothronos* of ANTIOCH, next to the patriarch of the city of Antioch itself, was usually the metropolitan of Tyre. His counterpart in Constantinople was the metropolitan of CAESAREA, who alone carried the title in the patriarchate of CONSTANTINOPLE. Since the term was connected with the *taxis prokathedrias* (order of precedence), the highest ranking suffragan bishop of an ecclesiastical province was likewise called *protothronos* of his *metropolis* or province. Indeed, a new autocephalous archbishop was often *protothronos* of his metropolis prior to his elevation.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 73. –A.P.

PROTOVESTIARIOS (πρωτοβεστιάριος), post for a palace eunuch, second to that of PARAKOIMOMENOS. The *protovestiarios* is considered to be the successor to the *comes sacrae vestis*, keeper of the emperor's wardrobe; he is first recorded in 412 (Jones, *LRE* 1:567) and presided over the emperor's private VESTIARION, which differed from the state *vestiarion*. The early evidence about *protovestiarioi* is very scarce. Several seals of *protovestiarioi* of the 8th–9th C. survive (Laurent, *Méd. Vat.*, no.25; Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1410, 1634, 1781); none, however, mentions the *protovestiarios* in association with another title or office. Of the TAKTIKA from the 9th and 10th C., only the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS lists the *protovestiarios* of the *despotes* (emperor), but it gives no evidence of his functions. The first *protovestiarios* mentioned in narrative sources is Leo Chamaidrakon (*TheophCont* 791.1–3), whom Emp. Theophilos dispatched to bring (to the palace?) a candelabrum broken at the time of Leo V's murder. Neither this assignment nor other cases presented in the texts have anything to do with the imperial wardrobe: in the 9th–11th C. *protovestiarioi* commanded armies, conducted peace negotiations, investigated conspiracies, and so on. Sometimes, as in the career of SAMONAS, an individual was appointed first *protovestiarios* and later *parakoimomenos*, whose aide the *protovestiarios* seems to have been.

The role of the *protovestiarios* increased in the 11th C. when the *protovestiarios* Symeon was at the same time the *domestikos ton scholon* under Romanos III; the *protovestiarios* CONSTANTINE (III) LEICHOUDES, the future patriarch, administered the government of Constantine IX. *Protovestiarios* became an honorific title, and it was conferred on bearded nobles, such as Andronikos DOUKAS, the son of Caesar John. From the 12th C. onward, many aristocrats and high-ranking dignitaries were granted the title, including some future emperors (Alexios V, John III Vatatzes) and other important politicians (George MOUZALON). In the 14th C. it was one of the highest titles: a Palaiologan ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 135f) relates that Michael VIII appointed his nephew Michael TARCHANEIOTES as *protovestiarios*, placed him above the *megas domestikos*, and gave him the exclusive right to the "green garments." The last renowned *protovestiarios* was Alexios ASAN in the mid-14th C.

In the late 9th C. Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 97.4) mentions the *protovestiaria* of the augusta as the first of the empress's female servants; *protovestiariai* are also known in the 11th–15th C. (e.g., An.Komn. 1:80.23; MM 2:456.20–34). *Protovestiarioi* of private persons are attested as well: Lykastos, *protovestiarios* of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, had to carry his master's purse and distribute money among the poor (vita, ed. Fourmy, Leroy, 149.11–15). The term should not be confused with that of PROTOVESTIARITES.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:216–36. Bury, *Adm. System* 125. –A.K.

PROTOVESTIARITES (*πρωτοβεστιαρίτης*), chief of the VESTIARITAI or imperial bodyguard. The position probably existed from the 13th C. onward. –A.K.

PROTO-_____. See also under latter part of term.

PROUSA (*Προῦσα*, now Bursa), city of BITHYNIA. Rarely mentioned before the 12th C., Prousa appears as a military base in the time of Justinian I, and as the site of a renowned hot spring frequently visited by Byz. emperors. During the Iconoclastic period, Prousa was the regional center for the monks of the neighboring Mt. OLYMPOS. The city gained in importance under the Komnenoi, when it was exposed to Turkish attack. In 1184 it revolted against Andronikos I, who took it in spite of its powerful fortifications. The city, described as built on a hill and surrounded by strong walls (Nik.Chon. 602.8–603.23), was besieged in vain by the Latins in 1204–5. Prousa was threatened by OSMAN in 1302 and bought peace after a siege in 1304. According to Turkish sources Osman surrounded it with blockading fortresses in 1315; it was finally forced to surrender on 6 Apr. 1326 and to pay a tribute of 30,000 gold pieces.

Prousa was a suffragan bishopric of NIKOMEDEIA; it briefly assumed the name Theopolis in the 7th C. and was made a metropolis by Isaac II Komnenos.

LIT. J. Sölch, "Historisch-geographische Studien über bithynische Siedlungen," *BNJbb* 1 (1920) 292–95. H. Inalcik, *EI*^{2} 1:1333–86. –C.F.

PROVERB (*παροιμία*), a rhetorical device very like a GNOME, though not necessarily taken from a literary source. Its general familiarity made it a favored mode of stylistic ornament for writers of the SECOND SOPHISTIC and subject of collections from the Hellenistic period onward. Proverbs played a role in Byz. literature at both a learned and a popular level. Three main versions of the Hellenistic collections circulated in the Byz. period: that of Zenobios (1st C., an abbreviated alphabetic form of the collections of Didymos and Lucillus Tyrrhaeus), the *Proverbs of Plutarch used by the Alexandrians* (drawn from Seleukos of Alexandria), and an alphabetical list of *Popular Proverbs* (1st C., based on Diogenianos). These gave rise to the late Byz. collections of GREGORY II OF CYPRUS, the *Rhodonia* of Metr. Makarios CHRYSOKEPHALOS of Philadelphia, and the *Ionia* of Michael APOSTOLES. Simultaneously, proverbial expressions, many derived from those in the learned tradition, flourished in everyday speech, as may be seen from quoted examples (e.g., by EUSTATHIOS in his account of the fall of Thessalonike or Michael GLYKAS in his verses from prison). A small collection of these popular proverbs is attributed to Michael PSELLOS; other larger anonymous collections also survive (complete with theological interpretations). Maximos PLANOUDES made the fullest such collection, preserved in several MSS.

ED. *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, ed. E.L. Leutsch, F.G. Schneidewin, 2 vols. (Göttingen 1839–51; rp. Hildesheim 1958). *Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter*, ed. K. Krumbacher (Munich 1893; rp. Hildesheim 1969).

LIT. K. Rupprecht, *RE* 18 (1949) 1707–78. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 206f. –E.M.J.

PROVINCE (*provincia, ἐπαρχία*), the primary administrative district in the Roman Empire. Since provincial governors acquired dangerous independence in the 3rd C., Diocletian tried to decrease their power. First, the provinces were subdivided (Lactant., *De mort. pers.* 7.4), with 120 provinces recorded in the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM. Second, in some provinces military power was separated from civil administration: the *dux* (see DOUX) commanded the troops, and the *praeses* performed fiscal and judicial functions. Third, the DIOCESE was introduced as an intermediary unit between the province and the praetorian PREFECTURE. All this created a competition for power, as stressed in Justinian I's novel 24.1. In 535–36 Justinian attempted to restrict this competition and to increase the power of provincial officials: some dioceses (Asia, Pontica) were abolished and the functions of their VICARS transferred to provincial governors called *comites* (see COMES); in several provinces the posts of military commander and civil administrator were combined in the office of PRAETOR. This tendency was further developed by the creation of EXARCHATES and eventually THEMES, the word *eparchia* being applied to the theme. Personifications of provinces are among the commonest figures on coins, silver, and MSS such as the *Notitia dignitatum*, often assuming, like cities, the form of a TYCHE.

LIT. G. Wesenberg, *RE* 23 (1957) 1014–17. Jones, *LRE* 1:42–46, 280f. –A.K., A.C.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION of the late Roman Empire had the tendency to lessen the independence of the PROVINCES, partly by decreasing their size, partly by dividing authority between military and civil administration. The reverse policy cautiously started by Justinian I found its realization in the creation of EXARCHATES and eventually of large THEMES. By the beginning of the 8th C. the powerful STRATEGOI of the themes temporarily gained control over Constantinople, but the power of the themes was slowly diminished in the 9th–10th C. At the same time, several themes could be united under the command of a single administrator, and larger units such as DOUKATON and KATEPANATE were created (Ahrweiler, "Administration" 82–91). The emperors of Nicaea managed to subdue the independence of provincial *doukes* by introducing strong administrators within the framework of greater local districts (Angold, *Byz. Government* 257). In the last centuries the empire presented a network of fragmented units, called *themata*, EPARCHIAI, or *katepanikia*, which were administered by the KEPHALE and APOGRAPHEUS; these units usually consisted of a town with its hinterland. Simultaneously the larger APPANAGES developed, sometimes under the command of a DESPOTES, which imitated on a smaller scale the court of Constantinople.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 1–109. L. Maksimović, *The Byzantine Provincial Administration under the Palaeologoi* (Amsterdam 1988). –A.K.

PROXIMOS (*πρόξιμος, προέξημος*, Lat. *proximus*), in the late Roman Empire a civil official in various *scrinia* (bureaus). He reappears in the 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij and *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS; in the latter he is on the staff of the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON, i.e., a military officer. In the vita of STEPHEN THE YOUNGER (PG 100:1169C-1172A) the *proximos* is described as a man armed with a sword who performed police functions. The *proximos* could bear the high title of *patrikios* (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.691).

In the 11th C. the term was employed to designate teachers in some schools in Constantinople (Lemerle, *Cinq études* 228f); one of them was NIKETAS OF HERAKLEIA. A letter by Psellos (*Scripta min.* 2:30f) is addressed to a *proximos* and teacher Isaias.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 23 (1957) 1035–37. –A.K.

PRUDENTIUS, more fully Aurelius Clemens Prudentius, government official and Latin poet; born Saragossa 348, died after 405. Prudentius enjoyed a successful secular career, progressing from rhetoric and law to two provincial governorships and a palace position under HONORIUS. After retiring in 405, he gave the rest of his life, perhaps spent in an ascetic Christian community, to devotional poetry. His works, equipped with biographically informative preface and epilogue, span several genres. Two lyrical collections are the *Kathemerinon* (hymns for specific times of the day) and *Peristephanon* (in praise of individual Western martyrs). Didactic poems include the hexametric *Apotheosis* (on the Trinity), *Hamartigenia* (against Dualist views of the nature of sin), and *Psychomachia*, an allegory on virtues and vices vying for the soul. Prudentius's *Dittochaeon*, hexameter quatrains on 24 Old Testament and 24 New Testament subjects, apparently intended as *tituli* for images on the facing walls of a basilica, is the classic document of the typological system of CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION. Two books of hexameters against SYMMACHUS and paganism (S. Döpp, *JbAChr* 23 [1980] 65–81), datable to 402, probably reflect a final summary of Christian victory rather than his own participation in the ALTAR OF VICTORY controversy of the 380s. No great theologian and not formally a hymnographer, Prudentius is best seen as the first major Christian Latin poet, reshaping Horatian lyric and Lucretian didactic epic to the new purposes. Full-scale poetic use of allegory was his greatest innovation and legacy.

ED. *Carmina*, ed. M.P. Cunningham (Turnhout 1966). *Prudentius*, ed. H.J. Thomson, 2 vols. (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1949–53), with Eng. tr.

LIT. B. Peebles, *The Poet Prudentius* (New York 1951). C. Witke, *Numen litterarum* (Leiden-Cologne 1971) 102–44. T.D. Barnes, "The Historical Setting of Prudentius's *Contra Symmachum*," *AJPh* 97 (1976) 373–86. L. Padovese, *La Cristologia di Aurelio Clemente Prudenzio* (Rome 1980). R.J. Deferrari, J.M. Campbell, *A Concordance of Prudentius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932). J.-L. Charlet, *La création poétique dans le Cathemerinon de Prudence* (Paris 1982). M.A. Malamud, *A*

Poetics of Transformation: Prudentius and Classical Mythology (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989). –B.B., A.C.

PSALMODY (ψαλμῳδία), the use of the 150 Psalms of the Bible in worship. The Psalms were initially combined with nonbiblical compositions; later, to avoid the inclusion of heretical hymns, psalmody was restricted to the Psalms alone, until the introduction of ANTIPHONS in the 4th C. Psalmody for the Eucharist (antiphons, *prokeimena*, alleluia, KOINONIKON) is found in a LECTIONARY, that for the liturgical HOURS in the Psalter.

Psalmody is either "monastic" or "cathedral." Monastic psalmody is continuous, that is, it follows the biblical sequence of Psalms and is chanted straight through, either "directly," as one piece, by a soloist or all the monks together, or "alternatively," with the monks in two choirs alternating verses. The monastic Psalter, or *psalterion*, Palestinian in origin, was divided into 20 sections called KATHISMATA; each *kathisma* comprised three *doxai* of (ideally) three psalms each, or nine psalms in all. The *psalterion* also included ten biblical canticles grouped into nine ODES as well as fixed chants such as the PHOS HILARON and the Great DOXOLOGY used in the monastic hours; its earliest surviving MS is Leningrad, Publ. Lib. 216, dated 862. In the psalmody used in the Stoudite monasteries in Constantinople in the period between Iconoclasm and the Fourth Crusade (see STOUDITE TYPIKA), the singing of the Psalter was spread over three weeks during the summer, but it was sung once every week in winter and twice a week in Lent. The later usage (see SABAITIC TYPIKA) supplanted the mitigated summer system with the heavier weekly winter schedule. The Palestinian all-night *agrypnia* (see VIGIL) included the entire Psalter with canticles.

In cathedral psalmody, individual psalms were selected on the basis of their suitability to the service and executed responsorially or antiphonally. The Psalter used for the cathedral rite of Constantinople (see ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA) was called an *antiphonarion*, since it grouped the psalms into ANTIPHONS, 74 or 76 depending on the MS. To these were added 15 odes (Taft, "Mount Athos" 181 n.19). The earliest extant Psalter of this type, the illustrated Khludov Psalter (see section on illustration under PSALTER), already shows signs of Palestinian monastic influence common in Constantinopolitan monasteries from the 9th C. onward.

LIT. Taft, "Mount Athos" 181f, 187–90. J. Mateos, "La psalmodie variable dans l'office byzantin," *Societas Academica Dacoromana, Acta Philosophica et Theologica*, vol. 2 (Rome 1964) 327–39. Mateos, *La parole* 7–26. –R.F.T.

PSALTER (ψαλτήριον, lit. "a stringed instrument, harp"), a liturgical book containing the 150 psalms attributed to King DAVID, accompanied by the odes (canticles). Of all the OLD TESTAMENT books the Psalms were the most popular with the Byz. As Athanasios of Alexandria says (PG 27:12C), "Like a garden, the book of Psalms contains, and puts in musical form, everything that is to be found in other books, and shows, in addition, its own particular qualities." From the 3rd C. onward, the Psalter became the Christian prayer book par excellence, used during the liturgy in an ANTIPHONAL dialogue between the deacon and choir; the themes of individual psalms then served for the development of TROPARIA. Of all scriptural books the Psalter was considered the most powerful weapon against demons (John Moschos, PG 87:3020A). It also was the main textbook of elementary education, was memorized by children, and was the most frequently quoted book of the Old Testament: thus, in Niketas Choniates it provides more than 40 percent of all Old Testament citations.

The excellence of the Psalter was seen in the force of its religious expression: beside the direct expression of human hope the Psalter was interpreted as Christ's prayers to the Father (and in this case the church was thought to pray with him) or as prayers addressed to the Lord (in this case the faithful were thought to pray to him). EXEGESIS of the Psalms had a double goal: typological or allegorical analysis based on Christocentric interpretation and the prosopological method (i.e., concern with the identity of the speaker). Since this person was often interpreted as Christ, the distinction between the humanity and divinity of Christ became the focus of exegesis. Among the commentators on the Psalms (preserved only partially in CATENAE) were Origen, Eusebios of Caesarea, pseudo-Athanasios, Didymos the Blind, Diodoros of Tarsos, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Hesychios of Jerusalem as well as Latin church fathers—Ambrose, Augustine, and others. Much later, Nikephoros

PSALTER. Page from a marginal Psalter (Athos, Pantokrator gr. 61, fol.115v); 9th C. Pantokrator monastery, Mt. Athos. The illustration depicts the death by impaling of the Midianite kings.

Blemmydes wrote a commentary on the book of Psalms; the monk JOB commented on the first 15 Psalms. Old Slavonic commentators drew upon Byz. tradition.

Psalter Illustration. This developed from the Psalter's special place in both the public liturgical and private spiritual life of Byz. Eighty-five illustrated MSS survive (Lowden, *infra*), the earliest dating from the 9th C. They have been conventionally divided into two groups on the basis of their illustration: the "marginal" (sometimes tendentiously termed "monastic" or "theological") and the "aristocratic."

Marginal Psalters. This closely related family of MSS includes the three earliest illustrated Byz. Psalters (Athos, Pantok. 61; Paris, B.N. gr. 20; Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 129D [the "Khludov Psalter"]), all usually attributed to the second half of the 9th C. The illustration takes the form of numerous small figures and narrative scenes placed in the broad outer margins of the pages and usually linked to the relevant Psalter text by a system of sigla. Various interpretative methods underlie the pictures; single words or phrases from the title or the text itself may be represented literally or subjected to a Christian allegorical interpretation. In the 9th-C. MSS a further layer of meaning is supplied by images displaying vigorous anti-Iconoclastic propaganda. Thus in the Khludov Psalter the reference to vinegar and gall in Psalm 68:21 is glossed visually first by an image of the Crucifixion and then by a parallel in which the Iconoclast emperor Theophilos and Patr. JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS whitewash an icon of Christ (see ICONOCLASM). The few Psalms that lend themselves to narrative treatment (e.g., the Exodus account in Ps 77) are supplied with particularly detailed illustration. Marginal Psalters continued to be made in Byz. into the 14th C. (Baltimore, Walters 733) and after ca.1300 pictorially related examples were produced in culturally related centers (Greco-Latin, Bulgarian, Serbian, and Russian: e.g., Berlin, Kupferstichkab. 78.A.9, the "Hamilton Psalter"; Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. slav. 4, the "Serbian Psalter").

Aristocratic Psalters. These form a less easily defined group. Their chief exemplar is the magnificent 10th-C. PARIS PSALTER, a truly aristocratic book. Recent research, by emphasizing the large number of these MSS, has also drawn attention to the wide disparities among them and called into question the terminology and grouping. Their illustration is "nonmarginal" and usually consists of one or more frontispiece pictures and major illustrations to Psalms 50, 77, and 151 and the ODES, but there are many exceptions. Some of these images are full-page miniatures. In contrast to the sometimes learned and usually specific images of the marginal type, these are for the most part generalized, isolated, and iconlike.

Other illustrated Psalters (such as Vat. gr. 752 and 1927 and Oxford, Bodl. Canon. gr. 62) stand completely apart in the nature of their commentary-based illustration.

The precise relationships among most of the surviving Psalters and the nature of their debt to sources, esp. from the period before Iconoclasm, are complex and controversial. Recent research suggests that the very nature of the marginal arrangement of the 9th-C. MSS excludes the creation of a book of this type much before 800 (Corrigan, *infra*). The DAVID PLATES, closely related in some instances to the Paris Psalter, emphasize the existence before Iconoclasm of icon-

ographic compositions, which could be taken to presuppose illustrated Psalters of nonmarginal type. Important questions, such as the liturgical (or other) use of these books, still await systematic investigation.

LIT. J.A. Lamb, *The Psalms in Christian Worship* (London 1962). F. von Lilienfeld, "Psalmengebet und christliche Dichtung in der kirchlichen und monastischen Praxis des Ostens," *Liturgie und Dichtung*, vol. 1 (St. Ottilien 1983) 465–507. M.J. Rondeau, *Les Commentaires patristiques du Psautier*, 2 vols. (Rome 1982–85). G. Mercati, *Osservazioni a proemi del Salterio* (Vatican 1948). G. Dorival, "Aperçu sur l'histoire des chaînes exégétiques grecques sur le psautier," *StP* 15 (1984) 146–69. M. Simonetti, "La tecnica esegetica di Teodoreto nel *Commento ai Salmi*," *VetChr* 23 (1986) 81–116. Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*. J. Lowden, "Observations on Illustrated Byzantine Psalters," *ArtB* 70 (1988) 242–60. K.A. Corrigan, "The Ninth Century Byzantine Marginal Psalters" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of California, Los Angeles, 1984). –J.I., A.K., J.H.L.

PSALTIKON (*ψαλτικόν*), a music book containing special CHANTS and verses in a highly ornate idiom to be sung by a soloist (usually the *protopsaltes*; see SINGERS). While it differs in repertory, style, and function from the ASMATIKON, the two books are nonetheless complementary: together they allow the proper conduct of the musical part of the service. The known copies of the *Psaltikon*, all from the 12th to 13th C. and most of southern Italian origin, appear to be derived from a single archetype, for they contain the same pieces, arranged in the same order and belonging to the same melodic tradition. Originally these two compilations, the *Psaltikon* and the *Asmatikon*, were kept separate, but scribes at the monastery of S. Salvatore in MESSINA consolidated the contents of the two books ca.1225, combining them with other material to form a new compilation.

ED. C. Høeg, *Contacarium Ashburnhamense* (Copenhagen 1956).
LIT. Strunk, *Essays* 45–54. –D.E.C.

PSAMATHIA (*Ψαμάθια*, *Ψωμάθια*, etc., possibly from *psamathos*, "sand"; Turk. Samatya), quarter in the southwestern corner of Constantinople between the Constantinian and Theodosian Walls. In the 4th–5th C. the area was occupied by aristocratic mansions, which were gradually replaced by monasteries. The three most famous of these were the STOUDIOS, the monastery of Patr. EUTHYMIOS, and the PERIBLEPTOS (built 1030–34), the last represented by the Armenian church of Sulu Manastır in whose *hagiasma* ("holy fountain") several pieces of Byz. sculpture (now in Berlin) were found in 1897. The best known of these reliefs represents Christ between two apostles (Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl.73) and imitates the style of the Sidamara sarcophagi.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 418. V. Tiftixoglu, "Die Helenianai," in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. H.-G. Beck (Munich 1973) 49–120. C. Mango in *La civiltà bizantina dal IV al IX secolo* (Bari 1977) 307–15. –C.M.

PSELLOS, MICHAEL, intellectual and writer; baptismal name, Constantine; born Constantinople 1018, died after 1081?. Born to a family of modest position, Psellos (*Ψελλός*) received an outstanding education (one of his professors being John MAUROPOUS) and made a career in civil administration. He belonged to a group of young and energetic intellectuals (JOHN [VIII] XIPHILINOS, CONSTANTINE [III] LEICHOUDES) who had hopes of exercising real power under CONSTANTINE IX but had to resign in 1054. Psellos was forced to take the monastic habit at Mt. Olympos. Soon he returned to Constantinople and participated in political life. However, his claim of having played a crucial role under Constantine X, Romanos IV, and Michael VII seems exaggerated; he was rather a court philosopher, holding the title of HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON. It is possible that Psellos left the capital under Michael VII, lived in relative poverty, and died forgotten by the new generation. The date of his death is under discussion: an arbitrary identification with a certain Michael of Nikomedeia dates Psellos's death to 1078 (P. Gautier, *REB* 24 [1966] 159–64), whereas an attribution to Psellos of the introduction to the *Dioptra* of PHILIP MONOTROPOS would suggest 1095 as a *terminus post quem* for his death. In any case it seems that some of his works were written after 1081 (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 53–55). Psellos is shown as a white-bearded monk in a miniature in the late 12th-C. MS, Athos, Pantok. 234 (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.174) that accompanies one of his poems addressed to Michael VII.

Psellos was a polymath whose enormous oeuvre encompasses historical, philosophical, rhetorical, theological, and legal texts as well as a collection of letters; several works attributed to him are spurious, e.g., the so-called *De Daemonibus* (P. Gautier, *REB* 38 [1980] 105–94). As a philosopher Psellos emphasized the role of NATURE or *physis*, which, created as it was by God, functions according to its immanent laws, leaving a very limited place for the miraculous. The *Chronography* of Psellos, which was probably preceded by a very traditional short chronicle (K. Snipes, *JÖB* 32.3 [1982] 53–61), describes the years 976–1078 primarily on the basis of personal observations; Psellos presents events as the result of strong personal conflicts, emotions, and intrigues, leaving no room for divine Providence. As a writer Psellos developed the trends typical of Mauropous and CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE, but reached a much higher level. Consistently individualistic in his approach, he viewed the world from his own vantage point, sometimes seriously, sometimes ironically. His presentation of himself as actively involved in major affairs is a distortion of historical reality. It even appears that he rewrote the Life of St. AUXENTIOS, modeling it on his own biography.

Psellos rejected the conventional aesthetic of black-and-white judgment, even though he applied this method to his panegyrical portraits of Constantine X and Michael VII. He tried to conjure up complex and contradictory images, such as Constantine IX in his *Chronography* or the monk Elias in his letters; Psellos realized their shortcomings but appreciated both men's vitality and enjoyment of life. His psychological characterizations are rich and varied; he did not even avoid the theme of sexual desire. With rare exceptions, however, his physical descriptions remained conventional and consisted of longer or shorter lists of individual elements (eyes, lips, breasts, etc.). Even the past was perceived by Psellos not as a stream of events, but as a series of images, first of emperors and empresses, but also of their favorites and lovers. Psellos praised friendship (F. Tinnefeld, *JÖB* 22 [1973] 151–68) and was a trustworthy friend, even though he knew that the realities of Byz. life often required submissiveness and compromises with one's conscience. He clearly understood the force of the written word and in a letter to Machetarios, *droungarios tes viglas* (Sathas, *MB* 5:352.25–27), used a promise to include Machetarios in his story as a means to influence his former friend's behavior.

ED. *Chronographie*, ed. E. Renauld, 2 vols. (Paris 1926–28), with Fr. tr.; Eng. tr. by E.R.A. Sewter (London 1953). *Imperatori di Bisanzio*, ed. S. Impellizzeri, 2 vols. (Venice 1984), with Ital. tr. by S. Ronchey. Russ. tr. by Ja. Ljubarskij (Moscow 1978). *Historia syntomos*, ed. W. J. Aerts (Berlin–New York 1990), with Eng. tr. *Scripta minora*, ed. E. Kurtz, F. Drexl, 2 vols. (Milan 1936–41). Sathas, *MB*, vols. 4–5. *De omnifaria doctrina*, ed. L.G. Westerink (Utrecht 1948). See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 677–80.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:372–82. Ja.N. Ljubarskij, *Michail Psell. Ličnost' i tvorčestvo* (Moscow 1978). G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich 1973). L. Benakis, "Michael Psellos' Kritik an Aristoteles," *BZ* 56 (1963) 213–27. P. Gautier, "Collections inconnues ou peu connues de textes pselliens," *RSBS* 1 (1981) 39–69. Idem, "Quelques lettres de Psellos inédites ou déjà éditées," *REB* 44 (1986) 111–97. C. Chamberlain, "The Theory and Practice of Imperial Panegyric in Michael Psellus," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 16–27. –A.K.

PSEUDO-_____. See under latter part of name.

PSOMOZEMIA (*ψωμοζημία*, lit. "a fine or penalty of bread"), a kind of EPEREIA mentioned in imperial chrysobulls from the end of the 11th C. onward (*Lavra* 1, no.48.46; *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.6.62) and not the mid-12th C. (thus Mutafčiev, *infra*); it probably survived until the 15th C. (*Esphig.*, no.31.10). It was one of the most important SECONDARY TAXES, listed usually after the ANGAREIA and in some cases even before it (e.g., *Xerop.*, no.8.17–18; *Koutloum.*, no.10.61–62). THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid, in a letter of 1092/3 (ep.19.4–7), mentions the priests of Polog (Bulgaria) who had been exempted by a chrysobull from *munera sordida* and *psomozemia*, but were ordered to fulfill the obligation of *psomozemia*. The precise meaning of this *epereia*, however, is not elucidated by the scanty evidence of lists of exemption; the etymology implies that the word denoted provisioning [of the army?] with bread.

LIT. D. Xanalatos, *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Makedoniens* (Munich 1937) 49f. P. Mutafčiev, *Izbrani proizvedenija*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1973) 599f, rev. F. Dölger, *BZ* 26 (1926) 112. –A.K.

PSYCHOMACHIA (*ψυχομαχία*, "struggle for the soul"), the term usually applied in patristic literature to the fight for life on the deathbed. Some church fathers raised the question why some righteous people struggled desperately for life while sinners could pass away quietly (pseudo-Athanasios, PG 28:661D; Anastasios of Sinai, PG 89:741B). In modern scholarship the term has been transferred to the contest for the SOUL between angels and demons: thus Basil the Great (PG 31:432AB) admonishes the faithful to accept death without

anxiety—angels and demons will determine the destiny of a soul "as if it were weighed on a pair of scales." The vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER describes at length a struggle between angels and demons for the soul of a righteous woman during her ascent to heaven.

In art, the contest for the soul of the deceased entered into the iconography of the LAST JUDGMENT, although by no means do all such images include the balance scales. The earliest surviving example is at Hagios Stephanos in KASTORIA, the best-known at TORCELLO. Sometimes scrolls, presumably recording the deeds of the candidate for salvation, are thrown onto the scales (Omont, *Evangiles*, pl.81); in a striking variation in Athos, Dion. 65 (Stichel, *infra*), the struggle is for the soul of a living monk.

LIT. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung* 100f. R. Stichel, *Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild spät- und nachbyzantinischer Vergänglichkeitsdarstellungen* (Vienna 1971) 33f, 70–75. –A.K., A.C.

PTERYGES. See ARMOR.

PTOCHOLEON (Ἱστορία Πτωχολέοντος), or "Poor Leo," a tale drawing on the traditional story of the wise man able to detect excellence in jewels, horses, and women, a motif found throughout Europe and the Middle East from the 12th C. onward. Written in unrhymed octosyllables, the *Ptocholeon* survives in four versions (most in more than one MS), which vary in length and style. The earliest form is to be dated to the beginning of the 14th C.

ED. *Kritike ekdose tes historias Ptocholeontos*, ed. G. Kechagioglou (Thessalonike 1978).
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 148–50. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

PTOCHOPRODROMOS (lit. "the poor Prodromos"), name assumed by the author of four vernacular poems ascribed in the MS tradition to Theodore PRODROMOS. Doubts concerning Prodromos's authorship were expressed by G. Chadzidakis (*VizVrem* 4 [1897] 101–27) and S. Papadimitriu (*VizVrem* 5 [1898] 91–130), and the poems were attributed to a certain Hilarion Prodromos; the critical edition clarified that the name of Hilarion is a later insertion. On the other hand, it has been shown that Theodore Prodromos did write, albeit rarely, in the vernacular mode (E. Legrand, *REGr* 4 [1891] 72f; A. Maiuri, *BZ* 23 [1914–19] 397–407). The only remaining objections to the attribution of the Ptochoprodromic verses to Theodore Prodromos derive from the content of the poems, which allegedly contain autobiographical data contradicting Theodore Prodromos's biography; however, heroes of Ptochoprodromos's satirical scenes (a young monk envying his superiors, a henpecked husband, etc.) are invented, although the poet speaks in the first person. Thus no serious argument prevents identification of Ptochoprodromos with Theodore Prodromos. It is quite plausible that Prodromos contributed much to the transformation of the VERNACULAR into the language of written poetry in accordance with the fashion at the Komnenian court.

ED. D.C. Hesseling, H. Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire* (Amsterdam 1910).
LIT. M.J. Kyriakis, "Poor Poets and Starving Literati in Twelfth Century Byzantium," *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 290–309. H. Kapessowa [sic], "Biedaczyna Prodromos—człowiek 'niepotrzebny,'" *Meander* 12 (1957) 269–82. M. Alexiou, "The Poverty of Ecriture and the Craft of Writing: Towards a Reappraisal of the Prodromic Poems," *BMGS* 10 (1986) 1–40. –A.K.

PTOCHOTROPHEION (πτωχοτροφεῖον), or *ptocheion*, "poorhouse," institution that provided HOSPITALITY and shelter for the POOR and sick (including those suffering from LEPROSY). Like GEROKOMEIA and XENODOCHEIA, *ptochotropheia* were organized by emperors, patriarchs, bishops, or private persons in accordance with the principle of PHILANTHROPY. Among the best documented institutions are the *ptochotropheia* established by Michael ATTALEIATES in Rhaidestos and Constantinople. In theory admittance to poorhouses was strictly determined by age and health; those poor who were able to support themselves were not accepted. The system of ADELPHATON, however, allowed some relatively well-off people to be admitted to privileged refuges for the elderly. A seal of a 7th-C. *ptochotrophos* (i.e., the head of a poorhouse) is preserved (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1062). *Ptochotrophoi* seem to have been influential officials. At least two were promoted to the post of patriarch. Whether they were state or ecclesiastical functionaries is unclear.

LIT. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 257–69. –A.K.

PTOLEMY, ancient astronomer, astrologer, and mathematician; fl. Alexandria ca.130–75. The greatest authority on ASTRONOMY and ASTROLOGY in late antiquity, Ptolemy continued to be regarded as such in Byz. until the Palaiologan period, when some astronomers, beginning with Gregory CHIONIADES, were persuaded to prefer new parameters and methods of computation derived from Islamic sources. Ptolemy's most impressive work, in which he presented the astronomical system named after him, was the *Mathematical Composition* (*Syntaxis mathematike*), better known as the *Almagest*. Besides numerous Byz. MSS (including two of the 9th C.), two early commentaries—by PAPPOS and by THEON—and the *Prolegomena*—probably by EUTOKIOS—attest to its popularity. There were also two 14th-C. commentators, Theodore METOCHITES and Nicholas KABASILAS (bk.3 only).

Of Ptolemy's other astronomical works, only the *Phases of the Fixed Stars* and the *Canobic Inscription* survive complete in Greek. The canons to the *Handy Tables* are preserved, though the tables themselves were known only in Theon's version; and of the *Planetary Hypotheses*, only the major portion of book 1 survives in Greek.

Ptolemy's astrological work, the *Astrological Effects* (*Apotelesmatika*), was known to Byz. both in its original form and in the *Treatment* (*Metacheiresis*) ascribed to Proklos. An anonymous commentary on it seems to be of the 3rd C. rather than Byz. The *Fruit* (*Karpos*) is not a work by Ptolemy but was translated into Greek from the original Arabic ca.1000.

The *Geography* was apparently little read in Byz. until its rediscovery in the 1290s by Maximos PLANOUDES, who may be the source of the extant maps accompanying the text (A. Diller, *TAPA* 71 [1940] 62–67). Scholia on the *Geography* were written by Nikephoros GREGORAS. This renewed interest is epitomized in the detailed polychrome maps illustrating the *Geography* in the early 14th-C. Venice, Marc. gr. 516 (Furlan, *Marciana* 4:31–34). These show latitudes and longitudes, indicate rivers, lakes and seas; and employ crenellated emblems for cities. Ptolemy's *Harmonics* was also read by scholars of the Palaiologan period—most importantly, George PACHYMERES, Gregoras, and Isaac ARGYROS. The works of Ptolemy were translated into Arabic beginning in the 9th C. and into Latin by such scholars as WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE and EUGENIOS OF PALERMO.

ED. *Opera quae exstant omnia*, ed. J.L. Heiberg et al., 3 vols. (Leipzig 1898–1954). *Geographia*, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1843–45; rp. Hildesheim 1966). *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae codex Urbinas Graecus 82*, ed J. Fischer, 2 vols. in 4 pts. (Leiden-Leipzig 1932). I. Düring, *Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios* (Göteborg 1930).
LIT. O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* (New York 1975) 1:21–261, 2:917–41. G.J. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest* (London 1984). P. Kunitzsch, *Der Sternkatalog des Almagest: Die arabisch-mittelalterliche Tradition* (Wiesbaden 1986). –D.P., A.C.

PULCHERIA (Πουλχερία), augusta (from 4 July 414), sister of Theodosios II, saint; born Constantinople 19 Jan. 399, died Constantinople July 453; feastday 10 Sept. or 11 July. Orphaned after the death of her father Arkadios, Pulcheria was 15 when she assumed power. She replaced the praetorian prefect ANTHEMIOS with Aurelianos and exercised influence on her younger brother Theodosios. Pulcheria was ardently religious: she took a public vow of virginity and urged her sisters to follow her example. She was later (PG 86:165A) credited with having requested from Jerusalem the image of the Virgin supposedly painted by the apostle Luke. Supported by Patr. ATTIKOS, she transformed the court into a conventlike community and supervised the education of the young emperor. Pulcheria was Western oriented. She restored the bust of Honorius in the senate of Constantinople and rejected the pro-Persian policy of Anthemios, thus provoking hostilities with Persia ca.420 (K. Holum, *GRBS* 18 [1977] 162). Pulcheria's influence was challenged by her sister-in-law ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA and then by Patr. NESTORIOS, who denied Pulcheria's right to enter the Holy of Holies (probably 15 Apr. 428). Allied with CYRIL of Alexandria, Pulcheria was victorious at the Council of EPHESUS in 431, demoting and exiling Nestorios. After the return of Athenais from her trip to Jerusalem (439) and her promotion of the eunuch Chrysaphios, Pulcheria fell from power (441). Her interests were defeated at the "Robber" Council of Ephesus in 449. She thereafter sought alliance with Pope Leo I. The unexpected death of Theodosios in 450 brought Pulcheria again to the forefront. Despite her vow of virginity she married MARCIAN (the marriage was regarded as nominal) and with his

help and the support of Rome restored Orthodoxy at the Council of Chalcedon, where she made a personal appearance.

LIT. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* 79–111, 147–228.
–T.E.G., A.C.

PULPIT. See AMBO.

PUN (*παρονομασία*, *παρήχησις*), a figure of speech, discussed by antique rhetorical theory; a play on words, involving the juxtaposition—either obvious or more subtle—of two or more words with similar meaning, or two words similar in form but with different meanings. The punning effect might be achieved by a slight change of the word's form so that the similarity remained recognizable—by the addition or removal of several letters, by using the same root in different grammatical categories (noun, adjective, etc.), or the same word in different grammatical cases. Church fathers, with their concern for explaining the great RIDDLE of the cosmos, took puns seriously: thus JOHN OF DAMASCUS (*Exp.fidei.* 12.2–3, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:35), developing pseudo-Dionysios's statement (*De divinis nominibus* 1.3; PG 3:589B-C) that God is "the cause, beginning, existence, and life" introduced a series of puns: "the life of the living, the existence of the existent, etc." A typical form of Byz. puns was the interpretation of the hidden significance of names (Irene as peace, Eusebios as pious, etc.), sometimes by opposition ("Eusebios but truly impious"). Manuel I Komnenos, as a sort of reified Christological pun, placed the image of Christ Emmanuel on his coins.

In addition to using the pun as a tool of interpretation, Byz. authors resorted to it as a device of invective or playful entertainment: an unpopular or false patriarch might be called "phratiarch" (leader of a faction); under the guise of pious fasting (*nesteia*) Eustathios discovers robbery (*lesteia*) (Escorial Y II 10, fol.39v); hypocrisy, he says (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 73.40–41), is a delightful-looking (*charopon*) beast concealing his jagged (*karcharon*) teeth. A gullible collector of relics was jeered by CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE for buying bones of sheep (*probata*) instead of those of St. Probos. "What spell or melodies of the *Sirens*," exclaims Choniates (Nik.Chon. 393.11), "could have lured them toward peace (*pros eirenen* [pronounced "*prosirinin*"])?" He also relates (p.441f) an obscene joke about Isaac II Angelos, who asked at dinner for some salt (*halas*), but was deliberately misunderstood by a jester to have asked to try "other (*allas*) women."

LIT. Martin, *Rhetorik* 304f. Lausberg, *Handbuch* 1:322–25.
–A.K.

PUNISHMENT. See PENALTIES; TORTURE.

PURCHASE DEEDS. See SALE.

PURCHASES, CONFIRMATION OF, is rarely mentioned in Byz. documents. In 1301 a group of peasants, one of whom is named the *anthropos* and others the *paroikoi* of Amnon, sold a *chorafion* to the Esphigmenou monastery; the charter (*Esphig.*, no.10.4–5) formulated expressly that they did it "with the volition and permission of the lord (*kyrios*) Alexios Amnon." In 1331 a certain Doukopoulos confirmed a donation of his *paroikoi* to a monastery (*Docheiar.*, no.11.1–4). More complex is a case of 1193 when two inhabitants of the *chorion* of Sillamon or Sillamos on Crete sold two parcels of vineyard to the notary Leo Krestes; the social status of the sellers is not defined in the document but it states that they notified their lord (*authentes*) the *logariastes* Michael Chrysoberges (MM 6:125.18–22) about the purchase; they were probably dependent peasants. Even free individuals and institutions needed (always or in certain cases?) a confirmation of their land purchases from the authorities: monasteries regularly asked new emperors for the confirmation of their former acquisitions with the result that imperial chrysobulls often repeated identical lists of purchases and donations. The vita of Cyril Phileotes by Nicholas KATASKEPENOS (ch.47.8) shows that Alexios I considered the lands acquired by Cyril and his brother for a monastery as STATE PROPERTY until the government announced its grant to the monastery, that is, confirmed the acquisition.
–A.K.

PURGATORY (*καθαρτήριον*, *πουργατόριον*), a place of purification and temporal punishment where souls of those who have died without mortal sin can expiate their venial sins by temporary suffering before entering PARADISE; it is thus a

third locality "between" heaven and HELL. The doctrine of purgatory, rejected by the Eastern church during the theological debates of the 12th C., paradoxically can be traced back in its essential features to Greek patristic theology. The view that punishment serves to improve, which can be found already in Plato, is augmented by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Strom.* 6.6) in the argument that when the soul is liberated from the body it is open to a gradual increase in knowledge. Origen frequently speaks of a "purifying fire"; by this term, however, he means the inner torment of the soul, which follows from his presupposition of the *apokatastasis panton*, the restoration of all spiritual beings, and so does not imply the existence of a "third place." Already in the Cappadocian Fathers the expression "purificatory fire" is found.

The idea of a purifying, atoning punishment for the redemption of those who have died was consistent with the simultaneous admonition to the living to offer intercessory prayer. In the year 1231, after a debate between George BARDANES and the Franciscan Bartholomaeus in Otranto, the question was forced on Byz. theology from a scholastic view. At the Union Councils of Lyons in 1274 and Ferrara-Florence in 1439 (J. Jorgenson, *SVThQ* 30 [1986] 309–34), the question concerning a "third place" was likewise ignored, that is to say, it remained open. The relevant documents speak only of the essential content of Western doctrine, i.e., of the "*poenae purgatoriae* (or *cathartariae*)." The opposition between Byz. and the West was more a matter of different mentality (systematic theology in the West versus rhetorical use of Scripture and the church fathers in the East) than of a dogmatic gap.

LIT. A. Michel, *DTC* 13 (1936) 1198–212, 1244–64. A. Stawrowsky, "Le purgatoire," *Euntes Docete* 28 (1975) 160–83. G.R. Edwards, "Purgatory: 'Birth' or Evolution?" *JEH* 36 (1985) 634–46. G. Dagron, "La perception d'une différence: les débuts de la 'Querelle du purgatoire,'" 15 *CEB*, vol. 4 (Athens 1976) 84–92. R. Ombres, "Latins and Greeks in Debate over Purgatory, 1230–1439," *JEH* 35 (1984) 1–14.
–G.P.

PURIFICATION, FEAST OF. See HYPAPANTE.

PURPLE (*πορφύρα*, *ἀλουργίς*, *βλάττα*, *ὀξύς*) in Byz. usage covered a range of red-blue hues, prized for their status value and intimately connected with the imperial office. By extension, esp. in monumental painting and book illustration, purple was frequently used for the tunic of Christ and the MAPHORION of the Virgin Mary. Purple pervaded the symbols of imperial power, from the emperor's COSTUME—where it allowed spectators to spot the key figure in a procession (M. McCormick, *JÖB* 35 [1985] 1–20)—to the purple ribbons marking confiscated property (Agath. 5.4.2), not to mention the PORPHYRY disks (*omphalia*, *rotae*) on which the emperor stood during ceremonies, the SARCOPHAGI, and the emperor's signature in purple INK (*Cod.Just.* I 23.6). In the 4th C., *adorare purpuram* designated an audience in which the beneficiary enjoyed the privilege of kissing the emperor's purple garment (W.T. Avery, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 17 [1940] 66–80). In later centuries children born to emperors were called PORPHYROGENNETOI, purple parchment is attested for letters to foreign princes, and purple silk cords held the SEALS hung from imperial documents.

Production of Purple Dye. The highest quality purple dye was obtained from the mollusk called murex, found in the region of Tyre, but also in the waters off the Peloponnesos and adjacent islands. The production of shell-based purple dye continued at least to the 13th C. Its manufacture was very laborious, up to 12,000 shells being needed to produce enough dye for the decoration of a single garment (D.J. Reese, *AJA* 90 [1986] 183). This best quality of purple was reserved for imperial use (e.g., *Cod.Just.* IV 40.1; XI 9.3–5), although lesser qualities and imitations circulated freely and abundantly. Diocletian's PRICE EDICT cites 12 kinds of purple textile, whose unit price ranged from 10,000 denarii (for red wool) to 150,000 denarii (for purple silk). In the late Roman period the state workshops of dyers were based at TYRE, where the weaving also took place; workshops and private guilds existed in Heliopolis and Laodikeia, and in the west in Otranto (6th C.). After the 7th C. purple dyeing seems to have been concentrated in Constantinople.

Control of Purple Textiles. The manufacture and export of high-quality textiles remained tightly controlled. Some purple textiles, the BLATTIA, *oxyblatta*, and *hyakintha*, were reserved for the emperor and his family, whereas cheaper sorts were available (mostly as strips or bands) to others. Faction members at one time wore garments resembling imperial raiment and adorned with *blat-*

tion oxy, but, according to a later source, Emp. Tiberios I limited them to a purple hem of two-fingers width (Cedr. 1:688.19–689.1). Leo VI liberalized the sale of purple remnants (nov.80), but relaxations of this sort were limited. When Isaac II allowed his maternal uncle, Theodore Kastamonites, to use a purple cloak and horse trappings and even to sign documents in purple ink, it aroused the indignation of his contemporaries (Nik.Chon. 438.38–45). (See also COLOR.)

LIT. K. Schneider, *RE* 23 (1959) 2000–2020. M. Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (Brussels 1970), with rev. F. Kolb, *Gnomon* 45 (1973) 56f. H. Gipper, "Purpur: Weg und Leistung eines umstrittenen Farbworts," *Glotta* 42 (1964) 39–69. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 259–62. Hunger, *Reich* 84–89. –M.McC., A.K., A.C.

PUTEAL (*περιστόμιον*), a stone or wooden wellhead, sometimes furnished with a basin and a wheel for drawing water. Puteals usually took the form of a column base, cubical or cylindrical, and were sometimes made of reused antique altars or column drums. Polygonal, cruciform, or quatrefoil versions appear in representations of Christ healing the Paralytic and with the Samaritan Woman (Orlandos, *Patmos*, pls. 8, 33). An elaborate puteal in Constantinople is decorated with a pair of dragons flanking a human mask, a theme inspired by the so-called Dan amulets (L. Bouras, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 323–26), while a Cretan example of the late 12th or the early 13th C. is decorated with a foliate cross, a bicorporate lion, a griffin, and a hunting scene (A. Orlandos, *ArchDelt* 9 [1924–25] 188–91). The puteal of the Holy Well is recorded among the relics of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:315–17. –L.Ph.B.

PYLAI (Πύλαι, now Yalova), port on the Sea of Marmara. Pylai derived its name, "the Gates [of Asia]," from its position at the head of one of the main routes into Asia Minor. Herakleios set forth from here against the Persians in 622; in the 9th C. emperors regularly landed at Pylai, where they were met by the *domestikos* of the OPTIMATOI. The importance of Pylai was also reflected in the BEACON above the town that brought news from the frontier and the imperial *xenodocheion* established in it. Pylai was a port for shipment of food to the capital: LEO OF SYNADA described it as a wretched village filled with pigs, horses, donkeys, cattle, and sheep waiting to be shipped to Constantinople. In 1071 Romanos IV Diogenes set out from this town on his fatal campaign; the Turks ravaged the district after Mantzikert. Pylai recovered under the Komnenoi and in 1147 received a colony of Greek refugees from Phrygia. By 1199, Pylai, together with Pythia, formed an *episkepsis*, where Venetian traders received privileges, and by 1204 constituted a separate province (D. Zakythenos, *EEBS* 19 [1949] 4; 25 [1955] 139f). The Laskarids maintained Pylai against the Latins; it was their main port for Nicaea. In 1302, however, Turkish attacks were so serious that much of the population took refuge in the PRINCES' ISLANDS. It apparently fell to the Turks soon after. Pylai was never a bishopric. Byz. remains survive not in the town but in the nearby hot springs of Pythia Therma, a Byz. resort in all periods.

LIT. T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai* (Bonn 1987). A.M. Mansel, *Yalova und Umgebung* (Istanbul 1936). –C.F.

PYRGOS (*πύργος*), a fortification tower; other uses of the term are, however, also known (variations are discussed by D. Vagiakakos in *Pyrgoi kai kastra, infra* 47–49). A *pyrgos* could be used as a fortified country residence (e.g., St. Basil on Lake Koronia near Thessalonike) or as a fortified residence within an urbanized setting (e.g., at Galatista on Chalkidike—I.A. Papangelos, *Chronika Chalkidikes* 33–34 [1978] 70). Most commonly a *pyrgos* formed an integral part of monastic fortification walls, as on Mt. Athos (Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.* 134–38). It could serve as a belfry (ibid. 127–34) or as a platform for an elevated chapel (D. Piguet-Panayotova, *Byzantion* 49 [1979] 363–84). Most *pyrgoi* are characterized by a square plan and smooth exterior faces. A distinctive type appears in the Balkans around 1300: characterized by multiple projecting spur walls on all four faces, it seems to be related to a type of French medieval donjon, though the links between these two developments have been insufficiently studied.

Literary References to *Pyrgoi*. There are only infrequent references to *pyrgoi* in monastic documents before the 14th C.; those that are mentioned are primarily "ancient *pyrgoi*" (e.g., *Ivir.* nos. 4.49, 29.11) that were used as landmarks. In the 14th and 15th C., in contrast, the lands of the monasteries of Mt. Athos were dotted with *pyrgoi* having a double function. They were both fortifications (which sometimes suffered from hostile attacks but were rebuilt to be even "more beautiful and strong"; see *Pantel.*, no.13.3–7) and centers of monastic estates. A *praktikon* of 1338 speaks of a METOCHION around the *pyrgos* (*Xenoph.*, no.25.15), and an inventory of 1409 lists the *pyrgos* of Perigardikeia and half of the *pyrgos* of Ermeleia among the "*metochia* and *ktemata*" of Docheiariou. The *pyrgoi*, like *choria*, are described as inhabited by peasants (*Docheiar.*, no.53.2–16) and as such are almost indistinguishable from *metochia*.

LIT. M. Živojinović, *Svetogorske kelije i pirgovi u srednjem veku* (Belgrade 1972). *Pyrgoi kai kastra*, ed. N.K. Moutsopoulos (Thessalonike 1980). S. Ćurčić, "Pyrgos—Stl'p—Donjon: A Western Fortification Concept on Mount Athos and Its Sources," 7 *BSC Abstracts* (1981) 21f. X. Chvostova, "Vzaimootnošenija Chilandarskogo monastyrja i nekotorych ego metochov v XIV v.," *VizVrem* 18 (1961) 34–47. –S.Ć., A.K.

PYRRHON (Πύρρων) of Elis, ancient Greek philosopher, founder of Skepticism; born ca.365/360, died 275/270 B.C. Kedrenos (Cedr. 1:283f) included the followers of Pyrrhon and Sextus Empiricus (2nd C.) as the last school in his list of ancient philosophers; he considered *akatalepsia* "imperturbability of mind" as the major point of Pyrrhonian tenets. Pyrrhon's ideas were rejected by many Byz. theologians, esp. Gregory Palamas, since they contradicted the concept of absolute truth; Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.212) is an exception, treating Pyrrhon neutrally or even positively. The term *akatalepsia*, however, was appropriated by Christian theologians. Thus BASIL THE GREAT (ed. Courtonne, ep.234: 2.12–14) acknowledges the "feeling of *akatalepsia*" as far as the divine substance is concerned—"we know that the substance exists but not what it is."

LIT. G. Podskalsky, "Nikolaos von Methone und die Proklosrenaissance in Byzanz," *OrChrP* 42 (1976) 512f. –A.K.

PYRRHOS (Πύρρος), patriarch of Constantinople (20 Dec. 638–29 Sept. 641; 8/9 Jan.–1 June 654); died Constantinople. A favorite of Herakleios (he was godson of the emperor's sister) and Patr. SERGIOS I, Pyrrhos was *hegoumenos* of the monastery of Chrysopolis before becoming patriarch. He supported the Monothelite program of Sergios and immediately confirmed the EKTHESIS (*RegPatr*, fasc. 1, no.294). He found himself in a difficult position, however, because of Orthodox opposition directed by Stephen of Dor in Palestine and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR and because the new pope John IV (640–42) rejected the *Ekthesis*. The conflict in the exarchate of Africa was exacerbated by the arrival of Monothelite refugees from Egypt, esp. the activity of Monothelite nuns. The death of Herakleios stirred up the rivalry of two court parties: Pyrrhos supported MARTINA and ended up on the losing side. Consequently he laid his episcopal attire on the altar of Hagia Sophia and left for Carthage, without having been canonically deposed.

His successor, Paul II (641–53), was a Monothelite who supported Constans II and could not achieve a compromise with Popes Theodore I (642–49) and MARTIN I. The exarch of Carthage GREGORY decided to use the conflict to attract the support of Pyrrhos, who still had not been canonically deposed; in 645 Gregory organized a disputation between Pyrrhos and Maximos (PG 91:287–354) as a result of which Pyrrhos converted to Orthodoxy and accompanied Maximos to Rome. Gregory's death in the war against the Arabs ruined Pyrrhos's hopes of regaining the patriarchal throne through a military insurrection; on the other hand, the TYPOS OF CONSTANS II brought no peace with Rome. After the death of Paul II, Pyrrhos recanted once more, claiming that he had been forced to renounce MONOTHELETISM by starvation and torture. Finally Constans accepted him, but Pyrrhos's second patriarchate (654) lasted only a few months. Together with Sergios I he was condemned by the Council of 680.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 294–98. Dieten, *Patriarchen* 57–105. Stratos, *Studies*, pt.VIII (1976), 11–19. W. Peitz, "Martin I. und Maximus Confessor," *HistJb* 38 (1917) 213–36, 429–58. –A.K.

PYTHIA. See PYLAI.

PYXIS, modern conventional term (from Greek *πυξίς*, "box") for a circular or elliptical container cut from a section of elephant tusk. Most are attributed on stylistic grounds to the 5th–7th C.

Pyxis. The Moggio pyxis; ivory, late 5th–6th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. The pyxis is decorated with Old Testament scenes (Moses receives the Law, the Israelites express their awe).

and to North Africa, Gaul, or Syria-Palestine, although the provenance of only two is known. Normally, pyxides do not exceed 9 cm in height, although two examples with Orphic scenes are exceptionally tall (16 cm). Elaborately carved, about 20 examples with pagan iconography and more than 40 with Old and New Testament subjects or, more rarely, scenes of martyrdom, are preserved. The diversity of subject matter represented on the outside provides a few clues as to their function. It has been argued that pyxides with scenes of Christ healing may have been used for medications and that others with the Myrrophoroi contained the Eucharistic wine (A. St. Clair, *Gesta* 18 [1979] 127–35) or eulogiai; Volbach (*infra*) suggested that some were containers for incense, as prescribed by the Council of Narbonne (589). Some Christian specimens had locks (now usually missing) or seals; pagan pyxides lacked these precautions. The decoration of many is sufficiently alike to suggest that, rather than being unique creations, pyxides were produced in series. One 10th- or 11th-C. example is known (W.D. Wixom, *Gesta* 20 [1981] 43–49). This is possibly a deliberate archaism since its shape differs from the gilded rectangular boxes held by deacons and angels in monumental painting of the period.

Lit. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten,* nos. 89–106, 161–201a. J. Duffy, G. Vikan, "A Small Box in John Moschus," *GRBS* 24 (1983) 93–99.

–A.C.

Q

QĀḌĪ AL-NUᶜMĀN, AL-, more fully ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥayyūn al-Tamīmī al-Qādī al-Nuᶜmān, Arab jurist and historian of the Fāṭimids; born Tunisia ca.904, died Cairo 974. He served this dynasty's first four caliphs as palace librarian, chief judge, and adviser. Of over 50 works attributed to him, 20 have survived. The chief exponent of early Ismāᶜīlī jurisprudence and Fāṭimid propaganda, two of his historical works are important for the Byzantinist.

His *Opening of the Mission and Beginning of the State,* completed in 957, is a contemporary history of the early Fāṭimids, rich in firsthand reports, including information on Fāṭimid expeditions against Byz. Calabria. The *Councils and Outings,* written between 959 and 970, is a semiofficial compilation based on the author's intimate knowledge—including detailed minutes—of councils, statements, and decisions of the caliph al-Muᶜizz (953–75). Propagandistic in tone and somewhat hagiographic in approach, it sheds important light on Fāṭimid foreign policy, inter-Arab rivalries, and Byz.-Arab relations, for example, naval collaboration between Byz. and the Umayyads of Spain against the Fāṭimids (956–57), the reception of a Byz. ambassador at the Fāṭimid court (S.M. Stern, *Byzantion* 20 [1950] 239–58), the Byz.-Fāṭimid truce of 957, al-Muᶜizz's refusal to send envoys to Constantinople and his correspondence with both Constantine VII and Romanos II, the Byz. expedition against Crete in 960–61 (F. Dachraoui, *Cahiers de Tunisie* 26–27 [1959] 307–18), and the role of Byz. artisans in Fāṭimid industry.

Ed. *Opening of the Mission—Iftitāḥ al-Daᶜwa,* ed. W. Qadi (Beirut 1971). *Councils and Outings—al-Majālis wa-l-Musāyarāt,* ed. H. Faqi et al. (Tunis 1978).

Lit. I.K. Poonawala, *Bibliography of Ismāᶜīlī Literature* (Malibu, Calif., 1977) 48–68.

–A.Sh.

QALᶜAT SEMᶜĀN (Τελάνισσος), in Syria northeast of Antioch, the site of a pilgrimage complex built ca.476–90 around the column of Symeon the Stylite the Elder in the limestone massif beside the road running north to Cyrrhus from the Antioch-Chalkis highway. Prominently situated, the complex was approached through a triumphal arch. After Symeon's death in 459, his body was escorted to Antioch, where a large *martyrion* was built in his honor, perhaps before 467 (Malal. 369.10–16). The patron and the building dates of the Telanissos shrine remain matters of conjecture, but imperial patronage has been suggested on account of its large scale and lavish decoration. The shrine was cruciform in plan, with four basilical wings fanning out from an octagon surrounding the Stylite's column. It is uncertain whether or not the octagon, whose span is about 20 m, was originally roofed (with a wooden dome?), but by the 590s it was said by Evagrios Scholastikos to be open to the sky. The capitals of the shrine are of a finely cut wind-blown acanthus type distinctive of northern Syria; marble champlevé-carved revetment plaques, similar to those found at Antioch and Seleukeia Pieria, decorated the walls. An octagonal baptistery was erected a short distance west of the shrine, and a monastery was built in the vicinity. Relatively little is recorded of the site after the 6th C., at the time when Symeon the Stylite the Younger was gaining popularity on the Wondrous Mountain.

The monastery at Qalᶜat Semᶜān was refounded in the 10th C., before the Byz. reconquest of Antioch in 969. Situated at that period on the Byz.-Arab frontier of northern Syria, the shrine itself was fortified reusing some of its ashlar stone, and the church area was reduced to the eastern basilical arm, where a Greek-Syriac pavement inscription dated 979 records this work. (For ill., see next page.)

Lit. Tchalenko, *Villages* 1:205–76; 3:124. F. Deichmann, "Qalb Löze und Qalᶜat Semᶜān," *SBAW* (1982), no.6, 3–40. J.-L. Biscop, J.-P. Sodini, "Travaux à Qalᶜat Semᶜan," 11 *IntCongChrArch* (Rome 1989) 1675–93.

–M.M.M.

QALB LAWZAH, in Syria, site of large 5th-C. basilical church in the province of Syria I between Antioch and Berroia (Aleppo); ancient name unknown. While its function is unclear (pilgrimage

QALʿAT SEMʿĀN. General view of the pilgrimage shrine.

or village church?), the ashlar limestone church is distinguished architecturally by several typically northern Syrian features: the façade incorporates two symmetrical towers; the nave and side aisles open into each other through an arcade supported by three widely spaced masonry piers instead of the more usual numerous and closely spaced piers or columns; the timber roof was supported by a corbel table; the exterior of the apse was ringed by an engaged colonnade. Equally characteristic is a large sanctuary room to the southeast, which is entered through a wide arch that allowed the public veneration of relics; the sculptural decoration includes continuous ornamented moldings both inside and out, those around the window terminating in volutes.

LIT. Mango, *Byz.Arch.* 140–45, 151. F. Deichmann, "Qalb Löze und Qalʿat Semʿān," *SBAW* (1982) no.6, 3–40. –M.M.M.

QAṢR IBN WARDĀN, in Syria, northeast of Ḥamāh; complex of palace, church, and barracks, dated 561–64 and situated in the province of Syria II in the desert LIMES; ancient name unknown. It was probably the residence of a military commander (perhaps named George) whose monogram decorates one capital. The large barracks is now largely destroyed, but both palace and church are well preserved. The church is a domed basilica with inscribed apse; the dome is unusual by Constantinopolitan standards for it rests on an octagonal drum, its pendentives are pierced by windows springing within it, and its supporting arches are nearly pointed. The two-story palace had a quatrefoil audience hall similar to that of other Syrian palaces (e.g., at BOSTRA). In contrast to the ashlar typical of rural Syrian buildings, masonry at Qaṣr ibn Wardān is composed of three bands of stone alternating with bands of brick, reminiscent of masonry used in western Asia Minor and Constantinople. The site's builder was probably a Syrian knowledgeable about the architecture of Constantinople.

LIT. Mango, *Byz.Arch.* 146–58. C. Strube, "Die Kapitelle von Qasr ibn Wardan," *JbAChr* 26 (1983) 59–106. –M.M.M.

QAYS (Καϊσός), Arab PHYLARCH; died ca.536. He is frequently confused (e.g., Stein, *Histoire* 2:298f) with the pre-Islamic poet Imru' al-Qays, about whom fantastic stories are repeated by later Arabic sources (e.g., that he was aided by Justinian I but later killed with a magic cloak sent by the emperor because he had seduced his daughter). Qays was probably grandson of Arethas of KINDA, phylarch in the 520s. After the death of Arethas in 528, Justinian dispatched three embassies to Qays, reports of which are extant (see NONNOSOS). Prokopios (*Wars* 1.20.9–13) describes Qays as a murderer and fugitive from his own land. In fact, in the context of war with Persia, Justinian seems to have persuaded Qays to leave Arabia and come to Palestine, where he was given "hegemony" over Palestina I and II ca.532.

LIT. I. Kawar, "Byzantium and Kinda," *BZ* 53 (1960) 57–73. Idem, "Procopius and Kinda," *BZ* 53 (1960) 74–78. N. Pigulevskaja, *Araby u granic Vizantii i Irana v IV–VI vv.* (Moscow-Leningrad 1964) 162–64, 168–72. –T.E.G.

QAZWĪNĪ, AL-, more fully Zakariyyā' ibn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, author of Arabic works on cosmography and geography; born Qazwīn (Iran) ca.1203, died 1283. Often overestimated, he is essentially a compiler, vulgarizer, and plagiarizer (sometimes inaccurate) of earlier Arabic works on geography, travel, and natural history; his fondness for *mirabilia* should be noted. The fame of his frequently illustrated *Cosmography*, or *Marvels of Creation* (*ʿAjai'b al-Makhlūqāt*), apparently reached 16th-C. Russia. His *Geography*, or *Monuments of Countries* (*Āthar al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-ʿIbād*), arranged alphabetically within each of the seven climates, contains extracts on churches and statues of Constantinople, popular views of Byz. society and monasticism, Rome, Byz.'s northern neighbors, and life in Seljuk Asia Minor, all taken from al-HARAWĪ, ibn al-Fakih, ibn Saʿīd, YĀQŪT, and other known Arab authors.

ED. *Zakarija ben Muhammed ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 2 vols. (Göttingen 1848–49; rp. Wiesbaden 1967, also vol 1. rp. Beirut [n.d.] and vol. 2 Cairo 1966).

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 358–66. M. Kowalska, "The Sources of al-Qazwīnī's Āthār al-Bilād," *Folia Orientalia* 8 (1966) 41–88. T. Lewicki, *EI*² 4:865–67. –A.Sh.

QENNESHRIN. See CHALKIS.

QENNESHRIN MONASTERY. See EUROPOS.

QUADRIVIUM, or "mathematical quartet" (*ἡ τῆς μαθηματικῆς τετρακτύς*), term applied to four disciplines (arithmetic, geometry [see MATHEMATICS], MUSIC, and ASTRONOMY) that formed a group complementary to the main CURRICULUM of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic (philosophy). The word *tetraktys* was used by the Byz. (e.g., in Ignatios the Deacon's vita of Patr. Nikephoros I), but the quadrivium never acquired an independent place in Byz. EDUCATION, even though some textbooks treated the subject. One, written in 1007/8, was later falsely attributed to Psellos (A. Diller, *Isis* 36 [1946] 132); more elaborate is the *Tetrabiblos* of George PACHYMERES.

LIT. V. Laurent in P. Tannery, *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère* (Vatican 1940) xvii–xxxiii. –A.K.

QUAESTOR (*κυαίστωρ* or *κοιαίστωρ*) of the sacred palace (Lat. *quaestor sacri palatii*), high-ranking official of the late Roman Empire, an office created by Constantine I. The quaestor was originally responsible for drafting imperial laws and, together with several other functionaries, dealt with petitions addressed to the emperor. His judicial rights were relatively insignificant, but as the emperor's closest adviser in legal questions he acquired enormous influence. The importance of the quaestor increased concurrently with that of the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM. TRIBONIAN was probably the most significant holder of the office. In 539 Justinian I introduced another office called *quaesitor* (called also simply quaestor), involving police and judicial power in Constantinople, esp. control over newcomers settling in the capital. After Justinian some quaestors served as imperial envoys: Troianos in 574, Kosmas in 617.

By the 8th/9th C. the quaestor had lost his earlier prestige, some of his functions having been transferred to the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU, the EPI TON DEESEON, and others; in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the quaestor occupies 34th place in the hierarchy. He was considered one of the JUDGES and his duties were those of the *quaesitor* rather than of *quaestor sacri palatii*—supervision of visitors and beggars in Constantinople, conflicts between tenants and landlords, and so on. While the quaestor in the late Roman Empire did not have his own staff, in the 9th C.

he commanded a large and varied group of officials (ANTIGRAPHEIS, scribes, etc.). The quaestor survived at least until the 14th C., when he occupied 45th place in the hierarchy, but this was only an honorary position.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 73–77. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XXIII (1971), 78–104. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:605–24. J. Harries, "The Roman Imperial Quaestor from Constantine to Theodosius II," *JRS* 78 (1988) 148–72. S. Faro, "Il questore imperiale: luci ed ombre su natura e funzione," *Koinonia* 8 (1984) 133–59. G. Kolias, "Metra tou Ioustinianou enantion tes astyphilias kai ho thesmos tou koiaisitoros," *Tomos Konstantinou Harmenopoulou* (Thessalonike 1952) 39–77. –A.K.

QUARRIES. Until the 5th C. the late antique taste for colored MARBLES was satisfied from the same sources ancient Rome had exploited. No later than 393, private exploitation was forbidden in order to protect the marble monopoly of the state, whose quarries included those of Dokimion and Alexandria in Bithynia (Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain" 101f). MASONS used picks, wooden mallets, metal chisels, and wedges to quarry stone, and methods of cutting, splitting, and dressing stone varied little from those of antiquity; even the sophisticated ancient device of a water MILL is attested at a quarry in Simitthu (Tunisia). Mango (*Byz.Arch.* 24) suggested that antique quarries, not least those of PROKONNESOS, were abandoned by the late 6th–7th C., in part because of a decline in the available labor force. Thereafter, virtually all stone used for construction seems either to have been SPOLIA or locally produced. A hagiographical topos of the 11th–12th C. involves monks miraculously saved from being crushed by stones that they rolled down mountains (PG 127:484A). Some quarrying did continue, as indicated by the words of Psellos on Romanos III's Church of the Peribleptos in Constantinople: "He hollowed all the mountains." Despite the testimony of the literary sources on the construction of the Nea Mone on Chios, which state that marble was brought from afar, much of the polychrome stone used was in fact from quarries on the island (Ch. Bouras, *Nea Moni* 148f). Elsewhere, as, for example, in Cyprus, fieldstone was widely used. In the provinces, some ancient quarries were reused while new, neighboring sources were found: both contributed to the fortress at PĂCUIUL LUI SOARE, where P. Diaconu and E. Zah (*Dacia* 15 [1971] 289–306) found 15 different types of stone issuing from possibly 20 to 25 quarries. In Constantinople, the carved ornament of the Pantokrator and Chora monasteries suggests that local colored marbles were still produced for decorative use. (See also MARBLE TRADE.)

LIT. N. Asgari, "Roman and Early Byzantine Marble Quarries of Proconnesus," 10 *IntCongClassArch* (Ankara 1978) 1:467–80. J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Quarries and Stoneworking in the Early Middle Ages," *SettStu* 18 (1971) 525–44. A. Dworakowska, *Quarries in Roman Provinces* (Wroclaw 1983). –A.C.

QUḌĀʿĪ, AL-, Arab jurist, diplomat, and writer; died Fusṭāṭ, Egypt, Nov. 1062. Al-Quḍāʿī studied law and Islamic traditions (*ḥadīth*) in Baghdad and later became a judge in Egypt. He also performed important diplomatic services for the FĀṬIMID regime. In 1055 he was sent as a Fāṭimid envoy to Constantinople on an abortive mission to resolve the breach of truce (M. Canard, *EI*^{2} 2:855). His two major works are a universal history, *The Sources of Knowledge and the Methods of the History of the Caliphs*, extending to the year 1031; and a topographical work, *Selected Accounts on Topography and History*. His books were highly esteemed by later historians of Egypt, particularly by al-MAQRĪZĪ.

LIT. Brockelmann, *Litteratur* 1:418f, supp. 1:584f. C. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens* (Strassburg 1902) 19–21. C. Cahen, "La diplomatie orientale de Byzance face à la poussée seldjukide," *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 13. –A.S.E.

QUDĀMA IBN JAʿFAR, author of works in Arabic, best known for his *Book of Revenues*, which includes valuable information on Byz.; born Baṣra? ca.873, died Baghdad between ca.932 and 948. Of Aramaean Christian background, he converted to Islam ca.905 while a state secretary and achieved high rank in the department of revenues in Baghdad. Of his 15 books, only an essay titled *Poetics* and the *Book of Revenues and the Art of the Secretary* have survived. The latter, written after 928, is an extensive manual for officials; geographical and statistical details occupy only a small portion therein. Four of eight sections survive: on the army; the land of Islam, its revenues and neighbors; revenues in general; politics.

Qudāma's information pertaining to Byz. includes the topography, revenue, and expenditure of the Islamic frontiers facing Byz., with valuable historical references; details on the Byz. army, including military hierarchy and the THEMES; and brief remarks on a typical Arab raid into Asia Minor. Based on official records and the reports of al-JARMĪ, his account gives details on the numerical strength of Byz. army corps and precisely delineates the territory of each theme and the points of contact between Arab and Byz. territories.

ED. *Book of Revenues—Kitāb al-Kharāj wa Ṣināʿat al-Kitāba*, partial ed. M. de Goeje [*BGA* 6 (1889)], with Fr. tr.

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 160–62. Miquel, *Géographie* 1:xxviii, 95–101. Gelzer, *Themen* 17–19, 81–100. S.A. Bonebakker, *EI*^{2} 5 (1980) 318–22. –A.Sh.

QUEDLINBURG ITALA. See KINGS, BOOKS OF.

QUINCUNX. See CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

QUINISEXTUM. See TRULLO, COUNCIL IN.

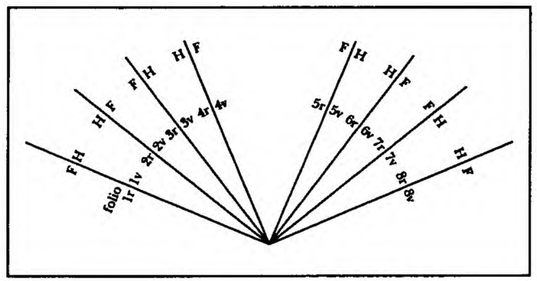
QUINTUS OF SMYRNA, poet of uncertain history and date (anywhere from late 3rd to early 5th C.). Quintus (Κόϊντος) predates NONNOS in metrical technique, but the latter's date is also problematic. No external evidence exists; Quintus himself says only that he was a shepherd and lived at SMYRNA. The first detail may be only a Hesiodic conceit; the second is generally accepted, though Quintus might have manufactured it as a geographical link between himself and Homer. Quintus's extant work is the epic *Posthomerica*, 14 books of (as he hoped) Homeric hexameters, bridging the dramatic gap between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Almost universally, modern critics deride Quintus for his wooden hexameters, scant vocabulary, and poor imagination, but some passages are vivid, for example, Achilles and the dead Penthesilea. Quintus's seeming knowledge of VERGIL, perhaps OVID as well, is relevant to the general and important issue of Eastern acquaintance with Latin literature. Earlier speculation that he or his son wrote a Christian poem, *The Vision of Dorotheos* (see DOROTHEOS, VISION OF), has now been rejected (A. Hurst, *Actes du Xe Congrès de l'Association Guillaume Budé* [Paris 1980] 131).

ED. *Kointou ta meth'Homeron*, ed. A. Koechly (Amsterdam 1968). *Quintus de Smyrne: La Suite d'Homère*, ed. F. Vian, 3 vols. (Paris 1963–69), with Fr. tr. *The Fall of Troy*, ed. A.S. Way (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1914), with Eng. tr.

LIT. F. Vian, *Recherches sur les Posthomerica de Quintus de Smyrne* (Paris 1959). F. Vian, E. Battegay, *Lexique de Quintus de Smyrne* (Paris 1984). M. Campbell, *A Commentary on Quintus Smyrnaeus, Posthomerica XII* (Leiden 1981). –B.B.

QUIRE, the basic unit of the CODEX, consisting of one or more folded sheets (*bifolia* or *diphylla*). The quire is called a *bifolium* (or *unio*), *binio*, *ternio*, *quaternio*, *quinio*, etc., according to the number of folded sheets that compose it. The most frequent form is the *quaternio* (Gr. *tetradion*) made of four *bifolia*, that is, eight FOLIA or 16 pages; thus "tetradion" became a synonym for quire. In PARCHMENT MSS, to ensure that any two facing pages were of the same color and surface texture, the sheets were arranged before folding, alternately hair side upward and flesh side upward. In Greek MSS the first and last pages and the two middle pages of each quire are usually flesh side; this system is sometimes reversed in MSS produced in areas under Western influence, such as southern Italy and Cyprus. Quires of mixed materials can be found in late antique PAPYRUS codices and in paper codices from the 13th C. onward, leaves of papyrus or paper being reinforced by stronger parchment leaves, for example, in Vat. gr. 644 of 1279/80, where parchment is used for the exterior *bifolium* and sometimes also for the middle *bifolium*. Before copying the text, the SCRIBE ruled guide lines with a blunt lead stylus according to a predetermined RULING PATTERN. After copying the text he numbered each quire on the first page, and sometimes also on the last, with a Greek numeral, or wrote catchwords to enable the bookbinder to assemble the quires in correct sequence. Mistakes occurring in bookbinding include arranging quires, or sheets within a quire, in the wrong order, and reversing single sheets or entire

QUIRE. Diagram of a typical quire. F = flesh side; H = hair side; r = recto; v = verso.



quires. Each of these mistakes results in a different type of disturbance of the text.

LIT. Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 9, 20f. J. Irigoin, "Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins," *Scriptorium* 12 (1958) 220–23. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 50f. J. Leroy, "La description codicologique des manuscrits grecs de parchemin," in *PGEB* 27–44. L. Gilissen, *Prolégomènes à la codicologie* (Ghent 1977) 14–41. –E.G., R.B.

QUR'ĀN, the Islamic scripture, recited (610–32) by MUḤAMMAD and preserved since ca.650 as a fixed Arabic text of 114 chapters (*sūras*) of unequal length. A few loan words from Byz. usage and allusions to the story of the SEVEN SLEEPERS and ALEXANDER ROMANCE (Qur'ān 18:9–26, 84–98) may indicate aspects of Byz. impact upon Arabia on the eve of Islam.

A Qur'ānic allusion to potential adversaries (48:16) was taken by some commentators to include Byz., but the typically referential and apocalyptic opening of *sūra* 30 on al-Rūm (see RŪM) documents the interest and affinity of the early Muslims towards Byz. during the last Byz.-Persian war: "The Byz. have been defeated in the nearer land, and after their defeat they shall be victorious in a few years; on that day the believers shall rejoice in God's victory . . ." (30:1–6). These and other verses sympathetic to Christians (e.g., 5:85; 57:27), with extensive historical exegesis, modified the otherwise negative image of Byz. in Arab eyes; they were often evoked in later official letters to Byz.

Refutation of the Qur'ān preoccupied Byz. theologians in their polemic against Islam (see ISLAM, POLEMIC AGAINST). JOHN OF DAMASCUS already showed some knowledge of the Qur'ānic text in the 8th C., and NIKETAS BYZANTIOS composed a systematic, if pedantic, *Refutation* (*Anatrope*) against it, comparing it unfavorably with the Bible; this tradition continued to the end of Byz. and influenced Europe's anti-Islamic polemic.

TR. *The Koran Interpreted*, tr. A.J. Arberry (New York 1955).

LIT. W.M. Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān* (Edinburgh 1970). A. Welch, R. Paret, J. Pearson, *EI*^{2} 5:400–32. A.-T. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam (VIIIe-XIIIe S.)* (Louvain-Paris 1969). Idem, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam (VIIIe-XIIIe S.)* (Leiden 1972) 143–218. A. Nour, *To Koranion kai to Byzantion* (Athens 1970). –A.Sh.

R

RABBULA, bishop of Edessa (from 412), Syrian churchman and translator; born Qenneshrin (Chalkis), near Berroia in Syria, died Edessa 7 Aug. 436. According to his anonymous Syrian biographer, Rabbula was a son of a pagan priest and Christian mother and converted to Christianity as an adult. During the Council of Ephesus (431), at first he supported the party of JOHN OF ANTIOCH, but even before that, in 428, he delivered a speech against THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA and attacked Nestorios as a "new Jew." In the course of the council or a little later Rabbula joined John's adversary, CYRIL of Alexandria, whose ally he remained for the rest of his career, translating Cyril's *On the Correct Faith* into Syriac. Rabbula's hagiographer presents him as a reformer of church life in Edessa who introduced austerity for the clergy and ordered that the silver dishes being used by clerics should be sold for the benefit of the poor and replaced with ceramic wares. The hagiographer's affirmation that Rabbula was responsible for the translation of the New Testament part of the *Peshitta*, the Syriac Bible, has been questioned by A. Vööbus and other scholars, who demonstrated that Rabbula's quotations of the Bible do not coincide with the *Peshitta*. Of his oeuvre, three treatises on the ecclesiastical organization of Edessa have survived as well as a few sermons. His hagiographer mentions 46 letters in Greek sent by Rabbula to priests, princes, nobles, and monks; some of these letters—mostly in fragments—are known, including his correspondence with Cyril.

ED. *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae episcopi Edesseni, Balaei aliorumque opera selecta*, ed. J.J. Overbeck (Oxford 1865) 159–248, 362–78. *Canons* in A. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents* (Stockholm 1960) 24–50, with Eng. tr.

LIT. G.G. Blum, *Rabbula von Edessa: Der Christ, der Bischof, der Theologe* (Louvain 1969). A. Vööbus, *Investigations into the Text of the New Testament Used by Rabbula of Edessa* (Pinneberg 1947). P. Peeters, "La vie de Rabboula, évêque d'Edesse," *RechScRel* 18 (1928) 170–204. –A.K., B.B.

RABBULA GOSPELS (Florence, Laur. Plut. I, 56), a Syriac MS completed on 6 Feb. 586 by the calligrapher Rabbula at the monastery of Beth Mar John of Beth Zagba, located north of Apameia (M. Mango in *Okeanos* 405–30). Rabbula, not to be confused with RABBULA OF EDESSA, may have been the head of the scriptorium, for, according to the colophon, others worked on the MS. The decoration is clustered at the beginning of the MS (fols. 1–14) in and around its extensive CANON TABLES. Accompanying the tables are prophets, evangelists, various plants and animals, and a New Testament cycle. Three full-page miniatures precede the tables and four follow. Miniatures of the Virgin and Child and of Christ with four unidentified figures have analogies in later Greek Gospel books. More unusual is the attention paid to the scenes of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, and Election of Matthias.

LIT. J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures* (Paris 1964) 139–97. D.H. Wright, "The Date and Arrangement of the Illustrations in the Rabbula Gospels," *DOP* 27 (1973) 197–208. –R.S.N.

RADOLIBOS (Ῥαδολίβους, Slav. Radoljubo, mod. Rodolibos), Macedonian village northwest of Mt. Pangaion in the katepanate of Zabaltia that in the 14th C. belonged to the theme of BOLERON, Mosynopolis, Serres, and Strymon. Archaeological findings indicate the existence here of a modest late Roman village, the name of which remains unknown; nothing is known about Radolibos in the 7th–10th C. The area evidently was settled by Slavs, who gave their own name to the site, and many peasants in the later Radolibos bore Slavic names. At the end of the 11th C. the *proasteion* of Radolibos was in the hands of the Pakourianos family (G. Litavrin in *VizOč* [Moscow 1971] 158, 165); Lefort distinguishes it from the *koinotes* (community) of the *chorion* of Radolibos. In 1098 the nun Maria, widow of the *kouropalates* Symbatios Pakourianos, conferred the *proasteion* on the Athonite monastery of IVERON.

PRAKTIKA of 1103, 1316, and 1341 make possible a reconstruction of the character and history of Radolibos. The village possessed arable lands

located not far from its nucleus and abundant vineyards (about 126 hectares, according to Lefort); it was surrounded by pastures and forests. Its population grew significantly—from 122 households in 1103 to 226 in 1316; by 1341, however, the economic situation in Radolibos had deteriorated: total income from the village fell from 350 nomismata in 1316 to 270 in 1341; the *praktika* record decreases in the number of oxen and vineyards as well. Wars and the plague probably accelerated economic and demographic decline: in 1464/5 Radolibos contained only 146 households. In 1346 STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN exempted Iveron from the tax imposed on Radolibos (which, by this time, had grown to 400 nomismata), and both John VI (in 1351) and John V (in 1357) confirmed this privilege.

LIT. J. Lefort, "Radolibos: Population et paysage," *TM* 9 (1985) 195–234. Idem, "Le cadastre de Radolibos (1103)," *TM* 8 (1981) 269–313. G. Ostrogorsky, *Sabrana dela* 4 (Belgrade 1970) 197–215. H. Lowry, "Changes in 15th-C. Ottoman Peasant Taxation: The Case Study of Radolifo," in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham 1986) 23–37. –A.K.

RADULF OF CAEN, Norman Crusader and writer; born ca.1080?, died after 1131. Radulf joined the contingent of BOHEMUND and later entered the service of TANCRED OF LECCE. He mixed prose and verse in the *Gesta Tancredi* (Deeds of Tancred), a highly rhetorical and uncritical glorification of his master, which he dedicated to Arnulf, his teacher in Normandy who had become Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1112–18); the text breaks off after the capture of Apameia. Radulf is hostile to the treacherous, cowardly, and corrupt Byz. (J.-C. Payen in *Images et signes de l'Orient dans l'Occident médiéval* [Marseille 1982] 269–80), who appear frequently in his account, for example in his descriptions of Tancred's battle at the Vardar (pp. 607–10), Alexios I's splendid tent (pp. 619f), relations between Alexios and Bohemund (pp. 612–15, including a version of Alexios's letter of Feb. 1097), the siege of Nicaea (pp. 615–18), Alexios's failure to relieve Antioch (pp. 658f), the destruction of the city's churches (p.661), and the Byz. garrison at Laodikeia (pp. 649, 706–09).

ED. RHC *Occid.* vol. 3 (1866) 603–716.
LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Salier* 2:786f, 3:210. J.-C. Payen, "Une légende épique en gestation: les 'Gesta Tancredi' de Raoul de Caen," in *La chanson de geste et le mythe carolingien: Mélanges René Louis*, vol. 2 (Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay 1982) 1051–62. –M.McC.

RAETIA, a Roman province in the middle and eastern Alps, west of NORICUM. At the beginning of the 4th C., it was divided into Raetia I (capital, Curia or Chur) and Raetia II (capital, Augusta Vindelicorum); civil administration was in the hands of two *praesides*, but the military command was entrusted to one officer, the *dux* of both Raetias. The economic situation of Raetia in the 4th C. can be studied only on the basis of archaeological data: Overbeck (*infra*) emphasizes the impoverishment of the province, systematically plundered by barbarians, esp. Alemanni; Henning (*infra*) gives a more complicated picture—villas continued to exist, sometimes far from any fortified refuge, and luxury objects (even from Africa) were imported; urban life continued although some ancient cities (such as Chur) underwent ruralization. After 389 the northern flatland was ceded to the Alemanni; temporarily recovered ca.430, it was lost after the death of the *magister militum* AETIUS. Some loose links, however, connected Raetia with Ostrogothic Italy as late as the beginning of the 6th C.; for example, CASSIODORUS (*Variae* 1.4) mentions a *dux Rhetiarum* as a subordinate of Theodoric. The episcopal seat of Chur is known from 451 onward.

LIT. R. Heuberger, *Rätien im Altertum und Mittelalter* (Innsbruck 1932; rp. Aalen 1971). B. Overbeck, *Geschichte des Alpenrheintals im römischen Zeit*, vol. 1 (Munich 1982). J. Henning, "Ökonomie und Gesellschaft Rätiens zwischen Antike und Mittelalter," *Klio* 67 (1985) 625–29. –A.K.

RAGUSA. See DUBROVNIK.

RAITHOU, monastic site on the southwestern coast of the SINAI peninsula (identified with El Tor or possibly Abu Zenima: I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 20 [1966] 255f, n.2), first inhabited in the 4th–5th C. by *anachoretai*, who were harassed by nomad raids and either martyred or dispersed to Palestine and Egypt. Some, however, survived to send a representative to the Synod of Jerusalem in 536, prompting Justinian I to rebuild their lavra. Its late 6th-C. abbot, Daniel of Raithou, wrote the biography of his friend JOHN KLIMAX. THEODORE OF RAITHOU was a Chalcedonian theologian of the early 7th C. The Arab governor of Egypt is recorded as having requisitioned supplies from Raithou in the early 8th C. (*P. Lond.* IV 1433.16, 92, 276).

The martyrdom of the 33 monks of Raithou was celebrated annually on 14 Jan. SYMEON METAPHRASTES assumed the account by NEILOS OF ANKYRA into his *menologion*, and several illustrated MSS of this text contain scenes of their beheading. This text, as incorporated into the "imperial" MENOLOGION (F. Halkin in *Mémorial A.-J. Festugière: Antiquité païenne et chrétienne*, eds. E. Lucchesi, H.D. Saffrey [Geneva 1984] 267–73), is accompanied in a MS in Baltimore (Walters 521, fol.92v) by an unusually brutal image of the slaughter: the head of a seated monk has been split in two by the axe of a dark-skinned attacker. The image derives from that in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.317), where, however, the miniature has been overpainted as a monk with two heads.

LIT. R. Devreesse, "Le christianisme dans la péninsule sinaïtique des origines à l'arrivée des musulmans," *RevBibl* 49 (1940) 205–23. B. Kötting, *LThK* 8:981. –L.S.B.MacC., N.P.Š.

RALLES. See RAOUL.

RAOUL (Ῥαούλ, fem. Ῥαουλαίνα), from the 14th C. also Ralles, an aristocratic family of Norman origin; perhaps founded by Rudolfus Peel de Lan (called Raoul by Anna Komnene), Norman ambassador to Nikephoros III, who later fled from ROBERT GUISCARD to BOHEMUND; no source, however, mentions Rudolfus's shift to Byz. Even less valid is the hypothesis that Raoul was brother of Roger, Dagobert's son, another Norman ambassador; Albert of Aix, who describes this embassy (PL 166:415C), does not refer to the envoys as brothers and calls Roger alone *filium Dagoberti*. In 1108 Humbert, Graoul's (Raoul's) son and Alexios I's councilor, signed the treaty of Devol. Fassoulakis's hypothesis that Leo, the scribe of two MSS of 1139, was Humbert's brother cannot be proved.

Despite scanty evidence for the Raoul family in the 12th C., its members probably belonged to the social elite: they possessed large estates in Thrace (A. Carile, *StVen* 7 [1965] 219), and the *sebastos* Constantine Raoul actively supported Alexios III's usurpation (1195). The *protovestiarios* Alexios Raoul was influential at John III's court and his sons supported Michael VIII Palaiologos: John was appointed *protovestiarios* and Manuel *pinkernes*. Manuel and another brother, Isaac, sided with the ARSENITES; they lost imperial favor, however, and were arrested and blinded. The family recovered under Andronikos II, when another Alexios Raoul was *megas domestikos* and one of his sons *megas stratopedarches*. The Raouls married into the families of PALAIOLOGOS, KANTAKOUZENOS, SYNADENOS, ASAN, and others. Yet another Alexios was *megas domestikos* after 1333 and later emigrated to Serres. Thereafter the Raouls lost significance, except for the Peloponnesian branch of the family, which played an important role in resisting the Turks. The family also produced such literati as Theodora RAOULAINA and Manuel Raoul (see RAOUL, MANUEL). Some Raouls accompanied Sophia Palaiologina to Moscow, where they served as diplomats.

LIT. S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es* (Athens 1973), corr. and add. R. Walther, *JÖB* 25 (1976) 314–19. G. Ostrogorsky, "Alexios Raul, Grossdomestikos von Serbien," in *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm*, ed. P. Classen, P. Scheibert, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden 1964) 340–52. E.Č. Skržinskaja, "Kto byli Ralevy, posly Ivana III v Italiju," *Problemy istorii meždunarodnych otnošenij* (Leningrad 1972) 267–81. –A.K.

RAOUL, MANUEL, also known as Manuel Rhales, writer; born Mistra?, fl. ca.1355–ca.1369. Educated in Thessalonike, he spent at least part of his life in the Morea during the reign of *despotes* MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS (1349–80). He evidently held a bureaucratic position as *grammatikos*, until forced to resign by failing eyesight. Three of his 12 surviving letters are addressed to the former emperor, JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, the others to government officials, literati, and an abbot. He makes frequent allusions to classical literature as well as to Scripture. Most of the letters are quite conventional in subject matter, but they do provide some prosopographical data and interesting details of everyday life in the 14th-C. Peloponnesos, including the plague of 1361–62, the capture of a friend by bandits, and a fall from a horse that made him lame and prevented him from paying his respects to the emperor.

ED. R.-J. Loenertz, "Emmanuelis Raul Epistulae XII," *EEBS* 26 (1956) 130–63.
LIT. S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es* (Athens 1973) 51f. –A.M.T.

RAOULAINA, THEODORA, more fully Theodora Palaiologina Kantakouzene Raoulaina, anti-Unionist and bibliophile; born ca.1240, died Constantinople 1300. Niece of Michael VIII Palaiologos and third daughter of Irene-Eulogia and John KANTAKOUZENOS, she married George MOUZALON in 1256 and John Raoul Petraliphas, the *protovestiarios,* in 1261. Widowed a second time in 1274, Raoulaina actively opposed her uncle's Unionist policies and was exiled with her mother. During her imprisonment she wrote a vita of the Iconoclast confessors, Sts. THEODORE GRAPTOS and THEOPHANES GRAPTOS. After Michael VIII's death, she restored the Constantinopolitan convent of St. Andrew in Krisei, where she took monastic vows. A staunch supporter of the ARSENITES, she arranged for the transfer of the relics of Patr. ARSENIOS from Hagia Sophia to this convent. She also built the small monastery of Aristine to house Patr. GREGORY II OF CYPRUS following his resignation.

Raoulaina was well read in classical literature and possessed an important library. She herself copied a MS of the *Orations* of Ailios ARISTEIDES (Vat. gr. 1899). Her literary circle included Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, Maximos PLANOUDES, and the patriarch Gregory. Buchthal and Belting (*infra*) suggested that she may have commissioned a group of 15 deluxe liturgical codices, which they assigned to an "atelier of the Palaiologina."

ED. Vita of Graptoi—ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:185–223, 5:397–99.

LIT. A.-M. Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," in *Okeanos* 604–18. Buchthal-Belting, *Patronage* 100–21, rev. G. Vikan, *ArtB* 63 (1981) 325–28. –A.M.T.

RAOUL OF CAEN. See RADULF OF CAEN.

RAPE (*βιασμός*, Lat. *raptus*) was conceived in Roman law as the abduction of a woman against the will of her parents (A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* [Philadelphia 1953] 667). Legislators of the 4th and 5th C. did not draw a clear line between rape and ADULTERY, and Constantine I in 320 esp. underscored that the consent of the girl should be of no advantage to the rapist (*Cod.Theod.* IX 24.1 pr.). The punishment of the *raptor* (and of the girl if she consented) was death by burning; if she did not consent the girl was nevertheless disinherited. Justinian I introduced a major distinction (*Cod.Just.* IX 13.1), retaining execution as the penalty for the *raptor* whereas the violated girl was no longer subject to a fine. Justinian's ruling was developed in novels 143 and 150, which emphasized that marriage after abduction was not considered as an amelioration of the crime, a position that remained typical of canon law. *Ecloga* 17.30 punished the ravisher with a milder penalty, cutting off his nose. Leo VI, in novel 35, drew a distinction between armed rape (*harpage*) of a woman and unarmed violence; the first case required capital punishment, the second mutilation (the loss of a hand or arm). Michael Psellos, in commenting on novel 35, introduced a new principle—the violated girl should be compensated by the entire property of the rapist (G. Weiss, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 91)—an opinion probably based on *Basil.* 60.58.1.

The theme of rape appears in literature and art: the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès,* fol.208) depicts a woman killing a Varangian rapist; John Moschos (PG 87:2892AC) tells the story of a monk incited by the devil—he tried to rape the daughter of a peasant, but she deterred him by saying that "for the sake of a brief pleasure" he would negate all his monastic achievements and drive her to SUICIDE. Digenes Akritas's rape of the daughter of Haplorrabdes was followed by no penalty except his remorse.

Byz. law distinguished the deflowering (*phthora*) of a girl from rape/abduction; the penalty for *phthora* depended on the girl's consent or lack thereof and on the age of the virgin (before 13 or after); in such cases marriage was recommended. Fines for *phthora* were probably transformed into PARTHENOPHTHORIA.

LIT. M. Tourtoglou, *Parthenophthoria kai heuresis thesaurou* (Athens 1963) 15–92. J. Beaucamp, "La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance," *CahCM* 20 (1977) 153f. O. Efer, *RE* 2.R. 1 (1920) 250f. –J.H., A.K.

RAPHAEL. See ARCHANGEL.

RAŠKA, the name of the main part of the territory of medieval SERBIA. In Latin sources, beginning with Ansbert (see HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI), Rassia or Raxia was a designation of Serbia, and in Slavic documents of the 13th C. the expression "the land of Raška" was used, but it disappeared after STEFAN UROŠ I. Greek texts avoided this term. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, however (*De adm. imp.* 32.53), mentions a site (a town?) called Rase between Serbia and Bulgaria; by 1020 a bishopric of Ras (a town on the river Raška) was established as a suffragan of Ohrid. The stronghold (*phrourion*) Rason of the 12th C. appears in Kinnamos (Kinn. 12.10, cf. 103.8).

LIT. K. Jireček, J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba*^{2}, vol. 2 (Belgrade 1978) 3. M. Dinić, *Srpske zemlje u srednjem veku* (Belgrade 1978) 37–41. J. Kalić, "La région du ras à l'époque byzantine," *Géographie historique du monde Méditerranéen* (Paris 1988) 127–40. –A.K.

RASTISLAV, prince of MORAVIA (846–70); died Bavaria after Nov. 870. Rastislav became ruler with help from the king of the Eastern Franks, Louis the German (843–76), but thereafter resisted Frankish encroachments, esp. in the ecclesiastical sphere. He broke with the archbishop of Passau in the late 850s and sought Italian and Byz. clergy for his subjects. Failing to receive a bishop from Pope NICHOLAS I, in 862 Rastislav asked Michael III for clerics to organize an independent church using the local Slavic language rather than Latin; he may also have been seeking to counteract an impending Frankish-Bulgarian alliance. Michael sent CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS, who arrived in Moravia in 863 with their disciples (including KLIMENT OF OHRID). It may have been at Rastislav's request that Constantine and Methodios journeyed to Rome in 867 to seek papal approval for ordinations and use of the Church Slavonic liturgy in Moravia. Dethroned by his nephew Svjatopluk in Nov. 870, Rastislav was condemned to death at an imperial diet in Regensburg, blinded, and imprisoned in a Bavarian monastery, where he died.

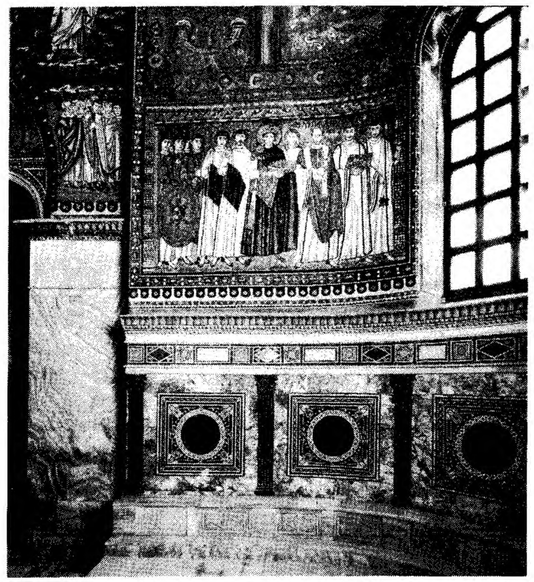
LIT. Z.R. Dittrich, *Christianity in Great-Moravia* (Groningen 1962) 82–108, 174–92. –P.A.H.

RATS. See MICE.

RAVENNA (*Ῥάβεννα*), with its harbor suburb of Classe, a cosmopolitan naval and commercial center; capital of the Italian province of Flaminia et Picenum in the 4th C. HONORIUS moved the imperial court there from MILAN in 402 because of its secure position (surrounded by marsh) and its easy access by river channels to the Adriatic Sea and the River Po. As capital of the Western Empire and residence of the praetorian prefect of Italy, it expanded in size in the 5th C. and saw the building of palaces and churches, esp. during the reign of Valentinian III. Its cathedral was built at the end of the 4th C. by Bp. Ursus, possibly replacing one in Classe, and during the episcopate of Peter Chrysologus (ca.432–50) six sees in Emilia were transferred to Ravenna from the jurisdiction of Milan.

Ravenna's importance declined in the confused last years of the Western Empire (455–76), but it recovered the role of capital of Italy under ODOACER and the OSTROGOTH kings. The court attracted senators and scholars, such as BOETHIUS and CASSIODORUS, and Ravenna emerged as an important center of MS copying and literary production. Its church became increasingly rich, with patrimonies as distant as Sicily, and its bishops influential spokesmen for the Roman population. In addition to restoring aqueducts and building a new palace, THEODORIC THE GREAT undertook construction of several Arian churches (e.g., S. Apollinare Nuovo). Few catholic churches were built in his reign, but several major ones were begun by his successors.

Justinian I's general, BELISARIOS, took control of Ravenna in 540 and throughout the Gothic War it served as a bridgehead for Byz. forces as well as capital of Italy. Bp. MAXIMIAN (546–56), well known because of his mosaic portrait at S. Vitale and his ivory throne, was an energetic scholar-prelate appointed by Justinian I to promote his ecclesiastical policies in the West; he was also the first bishop of Ravenna to receive the title of archbishop. The see supported the imperial position in the THREE CHAPTERS affair against Milan and AQUILEIA, for which Archbp. Agnellus (557–70) was rewarded with the buildings and property of the Arian church. After the late 6th C. Ravenna remained a center for luxury manufacture and trade, esp. with the Lombard kingdom. Latin literary activity continued in fields such as liturgy, geography, medicine, and hagiography (e.g., the *Passio* of its legendary patron St. Apollinaris), but the Greek monastic presence was small and no Greek works survive. The 6th–7th-C. RAVENNA PAPYRI reveal the increasing importance of soldiers and officials, many of Eastern origin. In response to the eclipse of the civilian hierarchy following the Lombard invasion of Italy in 568 the EXARCHATE of Ravenna was created



RAVENNA. Mosaic panel in the Church of San Vitale, north wall of the apse, above a dado of *opus sectile*. The central figure is the emperor Justinian I; to his right, members of his court and palace guard; to his left, Maximian, archbishop of Ravenna, and members of the clergy.

(first recorded in 584). A major social role was played by its garrison (*exercitus*), which gradually merged with local Latin elements. Ravenna's culture and outlook became more exclusively Latin and local, as reflected in the work of its historian AGNELLUS.

Close ties between the Byz. administration and the church of Ravenna were reinforced by privileges. One, a grant of autocephaly by Constans II in 666, was soon revoked by Constantine IV, but the increased claims and independent-mindedness of its archbishops led to a deterioration of relations with the papacy. The see's links with members of the military elite were cemented by granting them lands throughout the exarchate and PENTAPOLIS, which were rented back to officials in EMPHYTEUSIS.

The increasingly local interests of the officials were at the root of several obscure revolts in the 7th–8th C., although the immediate causes were Byz. religious and fiscal policies. Some exarchs were murdered (e.g., John I in 616, John Rizokopos in 710, and Paul in 726), while others attempted usurpations (e.g., Eleutherios in 619, Olympios ca.651–52). Separatist feeling became esp. strong from the late 7th C. (opposition to the arrest of Pope Sergius in 693, resistance to the exarch Theophylaktos ca.701) and led to the brutal punishment of leading citizens by Justinian II ca.709. This provoked the establishment of a citizen militia and the election of an independent duke. In the 720s renewed Lombard expansions, increased taxation, and the beginnings of Iconoclasm in Constantinople under Leo III caused further discontent, leading Ravenna to participate in the general Italian revolt of 727. In 732 Ravenna was captured by the Lombard king Liutprande, but was soon recovered for the Byz. by the Venetians. Lombard pressure on the exarchate continued, and Ravenna fell to the Lombard King Aistulf in 751. It was shortly thereafter incorporated in the papal patrimony and its commercial role declined with the silting up of its harbor and the rise of VENICE; it remained important, however, as the seat of a powerful archbishop and its society retained features distinct from those of Lombard and Frankish Italy for centuries.

Monuments of Ravenna. Ravenna's monuments of the late antique and Byz. period can be divided into three epochs—Late Roman (402–76), Gothic (493–540), and Byz. (to the end of the exarchate)—with a resurgence in the early 12th C. The late Roman buildings include the Baptistery of the Orthodox, with spectacular figural mosaics of ca.450, and the so-called Mausoleum of GALLA PLACIDIA, a cruciform oratory probably founded by the empress, who almost certainly was buried not there, but in Rome.

Sixth-century buildings include S. Vitale, S. Apollinare in Classe, and the destroyed Church of S. Michele in Africisco (orig. *ad Frigiscus*), the apse of which is preserved (much restored) in Berlin. S. Vitale is octagonal, with a dome on eight masonry piers that are connected by two-storied curved colonnades. In design it is the nearest known relative of Sts. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS in Constantinople; nevertheless, Krautheimer and Deichmann (*infra*) suggest that the architect was Italian. Mosaics in the apse depict Bp. Ecclesius (522–32) as donor in the conch and Justinian I (see ill. above) and Theodora on the lower wall (for ill., see THEODORA). Archbp. Maximian consecrated S. Vitale in 547.

S. Apollinare in Classe, erected on or near the tomb of Ravenna's first bishop, Apollinaris, was consecrated by the same Maximian in 549. It is a longitudinal basilica with colonnades of imported Greek and Prokonnesian marbles; the unusual apse mosaic shows a symbolic Transfiguration attended by St. Apollinaris. On the wall below are two panels inserted in the 7th C. to commemorate a privilege granted by Constantine IV, whose portrait appears. The mosaic program of the Arian Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo, with its long procession of saints down the nave, was partially redesigned ca.550 when the church came into Orthodox hands.

In the absence of surviving monumental imagery from 6th-C. Constantinople, scholars have taken the mosaics of Ravenna as paradigms of Justinianic style, even attributing them to Constantinopolitan craftsmen (Kitzinger, *infra*). Inscriptions attest that S. Vitale and S. Apollinare in Classe were paid for by JULIANUS "ARGENTARIUS," who also contributed to S. Michele in Africisco.

Ravenna enjoyed an artistic resurgence in the 11th and 12th C. In 1112 the apse of the cathedral (Basilica Ursiana) was redecorated with mosaics by a master who, according to Demus (*infra*), also worked in the apse of S. Marco in VENICE. Only fragments of this mosaic survive, as the Basilica Ursiana was demolished in 1733.

LIT. T.S. Brown, "The Interplay between Roman and Byzantine Traditions and Local Sentiment in the Exarchate of Ravenna," *SettStu* (1988) 127–60. Idem, "The Aristocracy of Ravenna from Justinian to Charlemagne," *CorsiRav* 33 (1986) 135–49. A. Guillou, "Ravenna e Giustiniano," *CorsiRav* 30 (1983) 333–43. R.A. Markus, "Ravenna and Rome, 554–604," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 566–78. F.W. Deichmann, *Ravenna* 2.2 (Wiesbaden 1976). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 176–78, 181–87, 232–37, 277f. Kitzinger, *Making* 81–107. Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco* 1.1:281f.

–T.S.B., D.K.

RAVENNA PAPYRI, a general designation for the Latin nonliterary archival material originating in the archiepiscopal chancery of RAVENNA or sent there from other chanceries of Italy (Rome, Syracuse) in late antiquity. Since they were written in Latin and, unusually, on papyrus, they attracted the attention of early humanists and palaeographers. The documents' contents relate to church privileges and the management of ecclesiastical estates, wills, and donations benefiting churches and monasteries, and heritable leases and sales pertaining to the landed properties of the see of Ravenna. The earlier group of them (about 60 pieces) is dated between 445 and 700, the last certain date being 642/3 or 665/6; then after a gap come the papyri of the 9th–10th C. These later papyri have been less well studied. The Ravenna, or better, Italian papyri are of great importance as sources for legal procedure in late antique society, esp. in dealings with the church, and as illustrating Latin linguistic evolutions in their later stages. They also illustrate the development of the late Roman cursive script as it was used for writing Latin in the West.

ED. J.-O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, 2 vols. (Lund-Stockholm 1955–82).

–L.S.B.MacC.

RAYMOND OF AGUILERS, Crusader historian; fl. ca.1100. Canon of Le Puy and chaplain of Count RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE, Raymond participated in the First Crusade and composed a *Liber* [or *Historia*] *Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* (History of the Franks Who Captured Jerusalem) addressed to the bishop of Viviers; he began writing the book with Pons of Balazun, who was killed at ʿArqah. His perspective on events from 1095 to 1099 reflects his relations with the count Raymond and Ademar, bishop of Le Puy. Raymond describes his Provençal contingent's crossing of the Byz. Empire and their difficulties with the PECHENEGS (ed. Hill et al., pp. 36–47). Raymond complains about Alexios I's duplicity (p.41) and reports Byz. ships' victualing of the Crusaders (p.108) and the Crusaders' later relations with Alexios (pp. 125f).

ED. *Le "Liber,"* ed. J. Hill et al. (Paris 1969). *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, Eng. tr. J.H. Hill, L.L. Hill (Philadelphia 1968).

LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Salier* 2:792. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:415f. C. Klein, *Raymund von Aguilers* (Berlin 1892) Zaborov, *Krest. poch.* 64–66.

–M.McC.

RAYMOND OF POITIERS (Πετεβῖνος), prince of Antioch; born ca.1098 or 1099, died near Inab (southeast of Antioch) 29 June 1149. Younger son of the count of Poitiers, Raymond became prince by marrying Constance, heiress of Antioch, in 1136. John II, who had hoped to fulfill the Komnenian goal of regaining Antioch by marrying Constance to the future Manuel I, attacked

Raymond in Aug. 1137, then made peace on condition that Raymond become his vassal. A joint Byz.-Antiochene expedition in Apr.–May 1138 took Buzāʿah, Maʿarat al-Nuʿmān, and Kafarṭāb in northern Syria, but failed at Shayzar. When John entered Antioch and demanded the citadel, rioting townsmen forced him to withdraw. In 1142 John again threatened Antioch, but his death prevented an attack. Manuel's forces ravaged the region in 1144. The danger to Antioch caused by the fall of Edessa compelled Raymond to visit Constantinople (ca.1145), humiliate himself at John II's tomb, and become Manuel's vassal, but he gained little direct aid. Because his daughter MARIA OF ANTIOCH subsequently wed Manuel, Raymond was very favorably treated by the historian John KINNAMOS.

LIT. C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la Principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris 1940) 357–84. –C.M.B.

RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE, called Raymond of Saint-Gilles (hence Ἰσαγγέλης in Anna Komnene); born ca.1041/2, died Mont-Pèlerin near Tripoli ca.28 Feb. 1105. Leading the Provençal contingent of the First Crusade, Raymond reached Constantinople on 21 Apr. 1097. While declining to become vassal to Alexios I, he swore to uphold Alexios's rights, respect his territories, and aid him against opponents (J.H. Hill, L.L. Hill, *AHR* 58 [1952–53] 322–27). At the capture of Antioch (June 1098), he gained possession of a gate and a portion of the city. Until dispossessed by BOHEMUND (Jan. 1099), he asserted the emperor's right to the city as a means of safeguarding his own position (J. France, *Byzantion* 40 [1970] 291f). Following the capture of Jerusalem, Raymond sailed to Constantinople (May/June 1100). With Alexios's support, he joined the Crusade of 1101. When it was destroyed in Anatolia, he escaped with the survivors to Constantinople. Returning to Syria in early 1102, he devoted himself to capturing towns near TRIPOLI, although the latter remained unconquered at his death. Anna Komnene praises his high character in comparison with the greed and treachery of other crusading leaders.

LIT. J.H. & L.L. Hill, *Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse* (Syracuse 1962). –C.M.B.

REBELLION (ἐπανάστασις) was considered in Roman law as a grave crime (T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* [Leipzig 1899; rp. Graz 1955] 554f), to be punished by execution unless a special agreement was reached by both parties. The church usually assumed a neutral position toward USURPATION, but tended to attribute the success of a rebellion to the emperor's fall from God's grace (S. Elbern, *RQ* 81 [1986] 31–35). A negative attitude toward insurrection pervades Byz. literature: KEKAUMENOS, although he was surely aware of the defeat of numerous emperors by usurpers, emphasized that the ruler of Constantinople always would prevail; he gave his readers advice about how to remain safe during a rebellion and recommended supporting (openly or clandestinely) the legitimate emperor. Niketas Choniates accused his contemporaries of frequent rebellions, contrasting them with Westerners who remained loyal to their kings.

The driving force behind insurrection could be the urban masses (e.g., circus FACTIONS in the 6th C.), a mutinous army, the population of a certain province (esp. in the frontier areas), or a dissident religious group. A usurper might be motivated not only by his desire for power, but also by fear of punishment; foreign alliances and support offered by neighboring tribes or rulers played a substantial role. The goal of a rebellion could be USURPATION of the throne, defense of an emperor and the concept of dynastic legitimacy, political secession, the removal of an unpopular official, satisfaction of economic demands (alleviation of taxation, grain supply), or religious convictions. The term *epanastasis* could also be applied to enemy attacks on the empire. –A.K.

RECENSION THEORY, conventional term for an art historical method that seeks to identify genealogical affinities among disparate narrative picture CYCLES ultimately derived from the same text. Corresponding iconographic episodes are analyzed with the aim of determining which shows greater fidelity to the text and therefore may be assumed to be the more "original." The goal is to establish stemmatic relationships among all extant witnesses (including all artistic media) and to reconstruct from them as full and accurate an archetype as possible. Ultimately based on 19th-C. text-critical practice, this approach was modified and adapted to the analysis of narrative picture cycles by Weitzmann. He distinguished, for example, four distinct recensional traditions for the illustration of GENESIS. They are identified by their most famous surviving representatives: the Cotton Genesis, the Vienna Genesis, the illustrated OCTATEUCHS, and the Joseph page (fol.69v) in the PARIS GREGORY.

LIT. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*[2] (Princeton 1970). J. Białostocki, "Problem oryginalności i kryteria wartościowania w studiach nad ikonografią starochrześcijańskiego malarstwa miniaturowego," in *Interpretacija dzieła sztuki* (Warsaw 1978) 5–22. –G.V.

RECIPES survive mainly in treatises describing the nutritious properties of food (see DIET) and the monthly regimen necessary for good health. Some of these recipe collections were produced by known writers, such as Symeon SETH or Nicholas MYREPSOS; some were by anonymous or obscure persons whose identification is hardly possible, for example, the treatise of the 11th–14th C. (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 249–301) that was falsely ascribed to empress ZOE. The content of recipes is varied, including formulas for cooking, COSMETICS, PHARMACOLOGY, or even MAGIC. The advice ranges from sound observations to fantastic qualities ascribed to real products. Thus, Seth (*De alim. fac.* 26f) says that beef, in comparison with mutton, is "cold" and brings forth blood like black bile; therefore it can be recommended only to those who have a "warm" stomach and exercise continually. Pseudo-Zoe's treatise distinguishes eight kinds of food: sweet, bitter, salty, fat, sour, scalding, astringent, and neutral, and in accordance with this scale recommends them before or after the main course or to people of differing temperament or to the sick. It also provides recipes for growing hair and relieving headaches, and advises writing words on bay leaves to avoid insomnia. –A.K., Ap.K.

RECLUSE. See ENKLEISTOS.

RECORDS (sing. θέσις or παρασημείωσις) of outgoing (and, eventually, incoming) ACTS were kept by most CHANCERIES. The sources mention the imperial record (*thesis*), in which the PROTONOTARIOS copied all documents signed by the emperor (14th–15th C.). Actual records (Vienna, ÖNB hist. gr. 47 and 48) survive for the patriarchate (14th C.), which always possessed archives kept by the CHARTOPHYLAX. Similar records (*hypomnemata, codices, tomaria, chartia, thesis*) were kept by the central and provincial administration, which also registered pertinent documents (*katastrosis*). In the later Roman Empire, private deeds underwent registration (*insinuatio*) by the city authorities, but this practice had disappeared well before the end of the 9th C. In later centuries evidence for the existence of recognized notarial minutes or drafts is very scarce and uncertain (cf. *Peira* 38 and the "notarial minutes" of Vat. gr. 952 in G. Ferrari, *SBN* 4 [1935] 249–67). Records were usually kept in roughly chronological order (this is partly true for CADASTERS).

LIT. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 187. J. Darrouzès, *Le registre synodal du patriarcat byzantin au XIVe siècle* (Paris 1971). Hunger-Kresten, *PatrKP*. H. Saradi-Mendelovici, "Le notariat byzantin du IXe au XVe siècle" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Montreal, 1985). –N.O.

RECRUITMENT was both voluntary and compulsory throughout the Byz. period. Volunteers, Byz. and foreign, were attracted to the imperial units (TAGMATA) by cash bounties, salaries, and the prospect of advancement offered by a military career; the state issued their equipment and rations or allowances for their purchase. By contrast, a system of hereditary conscription, the STRATEIA, supplied the manpower for the provincial armies (*themata*); these soldiers (STRATIOTAI) equipped themselves but were eligible for salaries (ROGA) and state-supplied provisions (OPSONION) when their forces were mobilized for campaigns. Following the fiscalization of the *strateia* after the 11th C., the state issued grants of land (fiscal PRONOIA) in return for military service. The hiring of MERCENARIES and the settlement of warlike foreign peoples in Byz. territory were also common means of recruitment.

Men were eligible for army service between the ages of 18 and 40 with length of service spanning 30 years. The STRATEGIKA specify youth, size, and strength as the qualities required of soldiers; various nationalities were recommended for particular roles, such as Armenians for heavy infantry

and Rus' as skirmishers in the 10th C. (Oikonomides, *Listes* 336).

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 614–19. J.F. Haldon, *Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Army c.550–950* (Vienna 1979). N. Oikonomides, "Middle-Byzantine Provincial Recruits: Salary and Armament," in *Gonimos* 121–36. –E.M.

REDEMPTION (λύτρωσις, from *lytron*, "ransom"), the mystery of Christ's death, which was instrumental for the SALVATION of mankind. In the Old Testament the concept of redemption, or liberation, had a political tinge—the liberation of the chosen people from the Egyptian captivity. Christianity ascribed to it a cosmic character; although the church fathers considered Christ as typified by Moses, the deliverer from Egypt (e.g., pseudo-MAKARIOS/SYMEON, hom.11.6, ed. H. Dörries, 99.82–83), he was more often contrasted with ADAM—Christ's death was to redeem mankind from the state of sin created by Adam's fall.

Patristic doctrine did not evolve a systematic concept of redemption. The creed of both the First Council of Nicaea and the First Council of Constantinople is limited to the statement that Christ was crucified "for us," "for our salvation." The implication is that redemption is both a preconceived act of God the Father who sacrificed his Son because of his love for mankind, and a free act of the Son who underwent the CRUCIFIXION to destroy the power of SATAN over the world and, in so doing, became the "new Adam," leading humanity to eternal life. Maximos the Confessor, while emphasizing the existence of human will in Christ, stressed in fact the personal and free commitment of every man in the search for salvation: human persons are called to participate in the human nature of the incarnate Logos, and thus share in deification (THEOSIS). (See also SOTERIOLOGY.)

LIT. H.E.W. Turner, *The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption* (London 1952). J. Rivière, *DTC* 13 (1937) 1912–2004. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 159–65. Kelly, *Doctrines* 163–88. –A.K.

RED SEA. See CROSSING OF THE RED SEA; PERIPLOUS.

REFECTORY. See TRAPEZA.

REFERENDARIOS (ῥεφερενδάριος, from Lat. *referendarius*), term used to denote both a state and an ecclesiastical official.

1. The ***secular referendarios***, an office created by Julian, was the emperor's secretary. Under Justinian I the *referendarios* acquired considerable importance; the number of active *referendarioi* decreased from 14 to 2 (plus one for the empress). The major duty of the *referendarios* was to transmit the emperor's orders to the MAGISTROI and to submit the petitions and complaints of subjects to the emperor. General scholarly opinion holds that the *referendarios* disappeared after 600; however, both Laurent (*Corpus* 2, no.1174) and Zacos and Veglery (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2051) date the seal of John, "the imperial *referendarios* and *dioiketes* of provinces," to the 8th C. Two other seals of 8th-C. imperial *referendarioi* were published by Seibt (*Bleisiegel*, nos. 83–84).

2. The ***ecclesiastical referendarios*** was a cleric, normally a DEACON, who acted as the liaison officer of the patriarch of Constantinople with the imperial court; one of his major functions was to transmit patriarchal documents to the palace. He also played a key role in all ceremonial occasions involving both emperor and patriarch and was responsible for presenting newly appointed metropolitans and *hegoumenoi* to the emperor. Herakleios's novel of 612 fixed at 12 the number of *referendarioi* on the staff of the Great Church (ed. I. Konidaris, *FM* 5 [1982] 70.111–12); as in the case of the SKEUOPHYLAX, however, later sources mention only one incumbent, and it is doubtful whether his subordinates—if he had any—continued to hold the same title. This development may have been connected with the appointment of *referendarioi* in provincial sees, which is well attested by the 13th C., and, by the 15th C., seems to have extended to the humblest of bishoprics (see, e.g., N.A. Bees, *Byzantis* 2 [1911] 52.26).

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:4f (with add. in Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 418, 533, 1048A). Guilland, *Institutions* 2:92–98. Beck, *Kirche* 103. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 119, 373f. –A.K., P.M.

REGALIA. See INSIGNIA.

REGENCY, a political arrangement intended to ensure a family's hold on the throne when a senior emperor was precluded from exercising his office. Regency usually arose when a senior emperor died leaving a minor co-emperor. It took two main forms: formal co-rulership by an EMPRESS, whether mother (e.g., Martina, Theodora [wife of Theophilos], Anna of Savoy) or older sister (e.g., Pulcheria), or the appointment of one or more guardians (*epitropoi*). Both options might be combined; in fact, multimember regencies predominated after Martina and Irene, such as during the minority of Michael III or Constantine VII. Co-ruling regents were officially acknowledged on coins, in acclamations, and dating formulas, although empresses usually yielded precedence to the young emperor: Anna of Savoy was an exception (Dölger, *Paraspora* 208–11).

The makeup of a regency reflected the contemporary POLITICAL STRUCTURE, for example, STILICHO, *magister militum*, as regent for Honorius or Patr. NICHOLAS I as one of Constantine VII's regents. The precise arrangement might be spelled out in an emperor's will (e.g., *Reg* 1, no.216) or a decree (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.1120). The regent empress's ability to remarry and thereby upset the arrangement could be limited by her oath (e.g., Eudokia [1067]) or nunhood (e.g., Maria of Antioch [1171: N. Oikonomides, *REB* 21 (1963) 101–28]). Other circumstances led to *de facto* regency: for example, Justin II's mental illness resulted in the actual exercise of power by Sophia and Tiberios Caesar (the future Tiberios I). Similarly, the senior emperor's long absence on campaign explains, for example, the role of Bonos (or Bonosos) the *patrikios* and Patr. Sergios I under Herakleios or the decree of Alexios I granting administrative power to Anna Dalassene (*Reg* 2, no.1073).

Regencies generally spawned political tensions and conflict involving competing regents (e.g., Theoktistos's murder with the connivance of Bardas during Theodora and Thekla's regency for Michael III) or contenders for the throne, such as Romanos I or John VI Kantakouzenos. When the young emperor reached majority—usually at age 16—he sometimes found it difficult to dislodge the empress (e.g., Constantine VI and Irene) or effective regent (e.g., BASIL II and BASIL THE NOTHOS).

LIT. Aik. Christophilopoulou, "He antibasileia eis to Byzantion," *Symmeikta* 2 (1970) 1–144. –M.McC.

REGGIO-CALABRIA (Ῥήγιον), a port city at the southwestern tip of Italy, the administrative and ecclesiastical center of CALABRIA. Calabria was considered part of ILLYRICUM and during the Iconoclast controversy remained under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople. The metropolitan see of Reggio was created probably soon after 800, since archbishops of Calabria are known from the 7th and 8th C. Reggio was captured by Robert Guiscard in 1060. The last Greek metropolitan of Reggio, Basil, was deposed in 1078 (F. Russo, *BollBadGr* 7 [1953] 163–78).

LIT. F. Russo, *Storia della archidiocesi di Reggio-Calabria*, vol. 1 (Naples 1961). Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:709–16, 3:146. –A.K.

RELATIONSHIP, DEGREES OF. The closeness of relationship between two individuals is designated by the term *bathmos* (degree, corresponding to the Lat. *gradus*). The degree of relationship is determined by the number of intermediate generations or births ("quot generationes, tot gradus"). For example, father and son are related to one another in the first degree, grandfather and grandson in the second, great-grandfather and great-grandson in the third, that is, in a "direct line" in which the one person (descendant, *kation*) is directly descended from the other (ascendant, *anion*). Two people who are related to one another collaterally (*ek plagiou*) go back to a common progenitor, starting from whom the degrees are calculated; for example, sisters are related in the second degree, an aunt and a niece in the third, cousins in the fourth. The degrees of relationship were of legal importance esp. in the area of inheritance law where those who had a more distant degree of relationship were excluded from inheriting by those who had a less distant degree of relationship to the deceased (see INTESTATE SUCCESSION) and in the area of marriage law, which forbade marriage between certain persons closely related in degree (see MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS).

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 217–23. –A.S.

RELICS (τὰ λείψανα), the mortal remains of holy persons, or objects sanctified by contact with them. The first relics venerated by Christians were those of the MARTYRS. After persecution ended in 312,

RELICS. Translation of the relics of John Chrysostom. Miniature in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p.353). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The relics were translated to the Church of the Holy Apostles, Constantinople, in 438. At the right, Emp. Theodosios II.

this veneration was extended to those of CONFESSORS, great bishops, "the Fathers," ascetics, etc. Veneration quickly went beyond "primary relics" or mortal remains to "secondary relics," such as the instruments of the martyr's passion, and, with the discovery of the holy places in Jerusalem (see LOCUS SANCTUS), to instruments of Jesus' Passion, articles of the Virgin's clothing, etc.

Primary relics were venerated as signs of the victory of Christ's sacrifice repeated in his saints. MARTYRIA with ALTARS on which the sacrament of that sacrifice (see EUCHARIST) was renewed were built over martyrs' graves, and relics were actually enclosed inside the altars. Secondary relics, first opposed, were eventually accepted as instruments through which God had chosen to work. Especially significant was the role of relics in HEALING.

From the 4th C. onward, holy bodies were exhumed, dismembered, and distributed by solemn "translation" to various local churches, esp. Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople. Constantinople, a newcomer with few native martyrs' remains from the pre-Constantinian persecutions, worked hard at gathering relics, esp. the instruments of the Passion (two pieces of the TRUE CROSS, one brought from Apameia; the pillar on which Jesus was scourged; the crown of thorns; the sponge and Sacred Lance used to pierce Christ's side). Other relics in Constantinople included the Virgin's robe, girdle, and shroud (M. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge* [Vatican 1944] 688–707) and other spurious New Testament relics such as one of the several reputed heads of John the Baptist, the remains of the Holy Innocents and of St. Stephen the protomartyr, plus other miracle-working objects (icons, the columns of Hagia Sophia, etc.). Many of these relics were kept in the Great Palace. They figure predominantly in descriptions of Constantinople and travelers' accounts and were a major attraction for pilgrims (K.N. Ciggaar, *REB* 34 [1976] 245f).

According to O. Meinardus (*OrChr* 54 [1970] 130–33), about 3,600 relics of 476 Greek saints are recorded as having reposed in 427 Byz. churches and monasteries and 37 non-Byz. institutions; this figure represents only 12.5 percent of all known saints. Five saints (Charalampos, PANTELEEMON, Tryphon, PARASKEVE THE ELDER, and GEORGE) left more than 100 relics each, or 24.1 percent of all recorded relics.

The translation of relics was sumptuously celebrated and gave birth to a special literary genre: the sermon on translation. Constantine VII wrote one on the translation of the MANDYLION to Constantinople, Theodore DAPHNOPATES delivered another in 957 on the translation of the hand of John the Baptist to Constantinople from Antioch, and KOSMAS VESTITOR dedicated at least five to the translation of the relics of John Chrysostom. The translation itself often became a FEAST that found its way into the church CALENDAR and was marked by annual processions (LITE) to the appropriate shrine (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 48 [1982] 159–70).

The attitude of the Iconoclasts toward relics is still under discussion. It is possible that they rejected the veneration of icons and relics alike (Gero, *Constantine V* 152–65). Their opponents accused them of hating relics, and John of Damascus found himself compelled to provide a justification for the cult of relics. J. Wortley (*ByzF* 8 [1982] 253–79) has questioned, however, the idea of Constantine V being an active persecutor of relics.

The collection of relics became fashionable and increasingly competitive. Sermons on translations often emphasize how strongly the population resisted the removal of relics, so that supernatural signs were often necessary to reconcile the people to the loss of their holy protector. Trade in stolen relics flourished (P.J. Geary, *Furta Sacra* [Princeton 1978]). The most notorious thefts were those of the bodies of St. MARK, taken from Alexandria to Venice in 827 (to replace the "Byz." patron of the city, St. Theodore), and of St. NICHOLAS, taken from Myra to Bari in 1087. The excesses that characterized relic collection were upbraided by CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (no.114), who ridiculed a naive monk Andrew who had collected 10 hands of Prokopios, 15 jaws of Theodore, 8 legs of Nestor, and even the beards of the Holy Innocents murdered in Bethlehem.

During the Crusades, Latin armies despoiled Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Edessa of their relics and the RELIQUARIES that housed them and shipped them home to the West. ROBERT DE CLARI gives a list of those seized in Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade.

LIT. S.G. Mercati, "Santuari e reliquie Costantinopolitane," *Rendiconti: Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 12 (1937) 133–56. P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient* (Paris 1985). Walter, *Art & Ritual* 144–58.

–R.F.T., A.K.

RELIEF (*ἀναγλυφή*), the carving of materials in such a way that depicted phenomena appear in successive zones of SPACE AND DEPTH between the surface plane and the background. Notably on SARCOPHAGI and imperial monuments of the 4th and 5th C., relief SCULPTURE is largely figural, even when displaying the anticlassical rigidity and repetitiveness of the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE in Rome and much carving in PORPHYRY. By the end of the 4th C., as on the OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS I in the Hippodrome at Constantinople and numerous IVORIES, official art displayed an interest in idealized human form in a style sometimes described as that of the "Theodosian Renaissance" (Kitzinger, *Making* 32–34). From the 6th C. onward, relief was increasingly limited to an architectural role. Already in use in the Church of St. POLYEUKTOS, relief in Justinianic monuments established a new *koine* characterized by antiplastic techniques and a preference for stylized floral ornament.

After the end of Iconoclasm, the sculpture of the Church of the Panagia at Skripou (873–74) still displayed a nonfigurative repertory carved in two-dimensional low relief (A. Megaw, *BSA* 61 [1966] 25–27). Greater technical ability is evident in the mélange of revived Late Antique themes

and orientalizing floral ornament in the sculptures of the church of Constantine LIPS (908) in Constantinople, where preserved reliefs still exhibit traces of gilding and polychrome. The same church marks the appearance of a new type of sculpture, the relief icon. Stone and esp. ivory icons of the 10th C. widely employed relief to represent saints and the Great Feasts; thereafter the technique was applied to enrich the content of sculpture with ORNAMENT, heraldic imagery (see COATS OF ARMS), ANIMAL COMBATS, and mythological subjects. These are accompanied by a rising interest in PLASTICITY and carving virtuosity. The last phase of relief sculpture, in Palaiologan Constantinople (H. Belting, *MünchJb*^{3} 23 [1972] 63–100), shows a return to concern with representations of the human figure.

LIT. A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople (IV^e–X^e siècle)* (Paris 1963). Idem, *Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge, II (XI^e–XIV^e siècle)* (Paris 1976). T. Ulbert, *Studien zur dekorativen Reliefplastik des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes* (Munich 1969). R. Lange, *Die byzantinische Reliefikone* (Recklinghausen 1964). –L.Ph.B.

RELIQUARY (λάρναξ, κιβωτίδιον, θήκη), a receptacle for RELICS. The rise of the cult of MARTYRS led to the division and distribution of the supposed earthly residue of the saints, a multiplication which, in turn, necessitated the manufacture of containers for these relics' protection and display. From the 4th C. onward, such vessels were placed within or under ALTARS; their proximity to sacred remains suggested that reliquaries be made of precious materials—above all, gold, silver, and ivory—a sentiment abetted by the desire to honor relics; Leo I placed a garment said to have belonged to the Virgin in a gem-encrusted reliquary casket called a SOROS. Lavish containers were also requisite when relics were sent as diplomatic gifts: Alexios I is described as having sent such a box, with the respective saints identified by labels, to Henry IV of Germany (An.Komn. 1:135.23–25). At the same time some containers, esp. for souvenirs of a holy site (LOCUS SANCTUS), might be made of humbler materials: the painted wood of the SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY or the lead pilgrimage AMPULLAE. Relics could be enclosed in ENKOLPIA or inserted into much larger receptacles like the 6th-C. throne-reliquary known as the "sedia di S. Marco" (*Treasury S. Marco*, no.7).

While never attaining the variety of shapes known in the medieval West, Byz. examples included skull-reliquaries (Rückert, *infra*, figs. 1–7) and containers in the form of ciboria, like one in Moscow bearing the portraits of Constantine X and Eudokia (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 2, no.547). This last may have been a receptacle for a relic of St. Demetrios, a genre that is characterized by esp. intricate and often diminutive constructions, decorated with ENAMEL, that include images of the bodies and tombs of Demetrios and his companions (A. Grabar, *DOP* 5 [1950] 1–28). These are, however, exceptions to a fairly straightforward pattern of development from simple metal CASKETS AND BOXES to ever more elaborate types. Their size varied not as a function of time but of these reliquaries' contents—from the small gabled box depicted in the hands of a bishop on an ivory plaque in Trier (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.143)—itself perhaps part of such a container—to the coffinlike chests, requiring at least two men to carry them, that are represented in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (pp. 344, 353). Such caskets had locks and their presence in monastic treasuries is regularly signaled in INVENTORIES. (Most texts refer, nonetheless, to the contents rather than to the container).

Among the preserved reliquaries, examples down to the 10th C. often reproduce the form of SARCOPHAGI. Some have donor portraits and a precious few, such as the Brescia LIPSANOTHEK (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.107), represent miracles of Christ and typologically related Old Testament scenes. Toward the end of this period a special type, the so-called *staurotheke*, was developed for fragments of the TRUE CROSS; more than 1,000 relics of this sort are known (Frolow, *infra*). Normally these involved an inner receptacle, with a cruciform compartment housing the holy particle, inserted into a rectangular, often jeweled casing inscribed with the donor's name (LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY). The uses of such *staurothekai* are suggested by inscriptions on the back of a cross-reliquary at Cortona (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, no.77); these inscriptions describe the ivory as having been presented by a *skeuophylax* named Stephen to the monastery where he was raised and note its (later) role as a victory token carried into battle by an emperor named Nikephoros. Customarily such reliquaries bear the images of Constantine I and Helena.

Both functionally and formally, by the 12th C. some reliquaries had coalesced with icons. A diptych containing the relics of saints as well as their portraits is mentioned in the Patmos inventory of 1200. Just such an object—with the portraits of 28 saints and slots for their remains—is preserved in a diptych of THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ. In the case of the BESSARION RELIQUARY, a *staurotheke* is actually incorporated into the icon.

LIT. R. Rückert, "Zur Form der byzantinischen Reliquiare," *MünchJb*^{3} 8 (1957) 7–36. A. Frolow, *Les Reliquaires de la Vraie Croix* (Paris 1965). –M.E.F., A.C.

REMARRIAGE (διγαμία) was accepted by the early church, but reluctantly; while the NOVATIANISTS condemned it, METHODIOS of Olympos (*Symposium* 3.12, ed. N. Bonwetsch [Leipzig 1917] 41.7–8), quoting St. Paul, stated that *digamia* was not a good action, but preferable to "sexual burning" (*ekpyrosis*). EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (*Panarion* 59.6) granted a widow the right to remarry as many times as she lost her husband; opinion differs as to whether he permitted remarriage after a divorce resulting from ADULTERY or serious crime (P. Nautin, *VigChr* 37 [1983] 157–73, rejected by H. Crouzel, *VigChr* 38 [1984] 271–80). Justinian I permitted remarriage with provision for the protection of surviving children and their inheritance (*Cod.Just.* V 9.9). Canon law recognized the legality of *digamia* for widowers and widows, prescribing a year or two of penance as punishment (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:106–30); *digamia* after a DIVORCE was not completely prohibited but condemned by rigorists, as indicated by the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY provoked by the second marriage of Constantine VI. The negative attitude of Byz. moralists toward second marriages is reflected, for example, in Kekaumenos's advice to avoid marrying a WIDOW; he held that tensions with a stepmother were a major problem in remarriage.

The third and fourth marriage of widowers was hotly debated. Irene legislated against a third marriage; Basil I and Leo VI against a fourth. After the dispute over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, the TOMOS OF UNION (920) recognized the lawfulness of second marriages, but restricted third and prohibited fourth marriages; canonists recommended a five-year *epitimion* for the third marriage. Basil the Great (canon 50) branded a third marriage as *porneia* (prostitution or fornication), but 12th-C. canonists referred to civil law, which permitted the third marriage (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:203–05). Balsamon (ibid. 481.14–18) emphasized that childlessness could justify remarriage. The empress EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA in 1067, just before the death of Constantine X, vowed not to remarry in order to protect the rights of her children and assure the continuity of the Doukas dynasty (N. Oikonomides, *REB* 21 [1963] 101–28), but then changed her mind. Widowers might circumvent MATRIMONIAL LEGISLATION by taking CONCUBINES, a socially valid way of avoiding prohibited unions, but some widows allegedly resorted to murdering their children in order to remarry (John Moschos, PG 87:2929BC).

LIT. Ritzer, *Mariage* 209–11. J. Beaucamp, "La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance," *CahCM* 20 (1977) 159–61. A. Laiou, "Consensus facit nuptias—et non," *RJ* 4 (1985) 189–201. –J.H., A.K.

RENAISSANCE. The existence of a genuine renaissance in Byz. was denied by A. Heisenberg (*HistZ* 133 [1926] 393–412), but since then the concept has become popular, esp. with art historians. Some scholars argue that the following renaissances are properly so termed: Macedonian, Komnenian, and Late or Palaiologan. P. Speck (*Poikila Byzantina* 4 [Bonn 1984] 175–210) introduced the idea of a pre-Macedonian renaissance, and sometimes the terms "Late Roman" (or Theodosian) renaissance and a "renaissance of Justinian" are used. Thus, the label "renaissance" has been applied to practically the entire Byz. millennium, with very insignificant exceptions (we still have no renaissance of the 7th C.). The concept of a perpetual renaissance is contradictory in itself, since a substantial gap is necessary for a renaissance to occur; Heisenberg used this argument of cultural continuity for rejecting a Byz. renaissance. Furthermore, there is always a danger of confusing a simple interest in antiquity (whether we call it continuity or revival) with renaissance.

However one understands this phenomenon of renaissance (the "autumn of the Middle Ages" or the beginning of a new era), one would presuppose in it some cardinal changes that go beyond the mere imitation of ancient models. A genuine renaissance requires a particular intellectual milieu, and it is debatable whether such a Florentine-

style milieu existed in Constantinople or Mistra. A genuine renaissance requires a radical shift in both the social position and self-estimation of the master (painter, architect, writer, or scientist) and, again, it is questionable whether such a shift ever took place in Byz. Finally, a genuine renaissance "divinizes" man in his practical activity and in his practical goals, whereas Byz. did not go far beyond the traditional perception of man as a pawn in the hands of God or Fate. It might be more appropriate to apply the term "prerenaissance" to the period of the 11th–12th C., when some significant cultural innovations emerged (A. Kazhdan, *Bisanzio e la sua civiltà* [Rome-Bari 1983] 161–81), while recognizing that these innovations were not followed by full-fledged renaissance phenomena similar to those in Italy.

LIT. W. Treadgold, I. Ševčenko, in *Renaissances before the Renaissance* (Stanford, Calif., 1984) 1–22, 75–98, 144–76. S. Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance* (Cambridge 1970). I. Medvedev, *Vizantijskij gumanizm XIV–XV vv.* (Leningrad 1976). P. Schreiner, "'Renaissance' in Byzanz?" in *Kontinuität und Transformation der Antike im Mittelalter*, ed. W. Erzgräber (Sigmaringen 1989) 389f. –A.K.

RENIER OF MONTFERRAT, youngest son of William, marquis of Montferrat; born ca.1163, died Constantinople ca.1182/early 1183. William chose Renier as bridegroom for Maria Komnene, Manuel's daughter, to confirm an alliance between the Montferrats and Manuel against FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA. Renier reached Constantinople in Aug./Sept. 1179, and the wedding took place in Feb. 1180. In accordance with Byz. custom, Renier was renamed "John" and given the title CAESAR. He joined his wife (see KOMNENE, MARIA) in her conspiracy against the regents for ALEXIOS II. Renier and his Italian supporters distinguished themselves in the defense of Hagia Sophia (Mar.–May 1181). Renier returned to the palace with Maria, and they were executed by Andronikos (I) Komnenos.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 34–37. K.N. Juzbašjan, *Klassovaja bor'ba v Vizantii v 1180–1204 gg. i Četvertyj krestovyj pochod* (Erevan 1957) 11–17. –C.M.B.

RENT. In common usage, rent is a periodic payment to a landlord or owner for use of land, buildings, etc. A varied terminology (e.g., PAKTON, MORTE, EMPHYTEUSIS) attests to manifold forms of renting, most of which are still somewhat obscure. For agricultural land, rent was paid in the form of cash or as a portion of the harvest. As for rates of rent, while the Farmer's Law (par.10) states that the owner received 1/10 of the harvest, numerous documents from the 11th–14th C. state, with few exceptions, that the rent for cereal-producing land was 1/3 the harvest or 1 hyperpyron for 10 *modioi* of land. For vineyards, there are few figures; according to a 13th–14th-C. LAND LEASE formulary (Sathas, *MB* 6:621.10–11), the owner and renter split equally the wine produced. A theoretical average rent may be calculated as 1 hyperpyron per *modios* of vineyard. The attested rates of the *pakton* of vineyards, however, are much lower, fluctuating at 1 hyperpyron for 6–8 *modioi* of vineyards—therefore N. Svoronos (in *Lavra* 4:162) suggested that the *ampelopakton* (*pakton* for vineyards) was not the base rental charge on vineyards but a state surcharge levied on vineyards cultivated by *xenoparoikoi*. In practice, rates of rent varied depending on the nature of the renter, whether the state or a private individual, on the social status of the tenant, on local customs, and other noneconomic factors.

In a broader conceptual sense, the word rent is used in two distinct ways by some scholars to designate taxes: (1) "feudal rent" is sometimes used to mean the taxes a PAROIKOS paid to his lord; (2) other scholars (e.g., A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 10 [1956] 48–65) suggest that taxes levied from STATE PROPERTY can be characterized as "centralized rent." (For rents paid on houses, rooms, and workshops, see ENOIKION.)

LIT. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 216–21. M. Sjuzjumov, "Suverenitet, nalog i zemel'naja renta v Vizantii," *ADSV* 9 (1973) 57–65. –M.B.

REPENTANCE. See PENANCE.

RESCRIPTUM (Lat.) or *lysis* (λύσις), a document issued by the imperial or patriarchal CHANCERY in order to answer a (initially legal) question or request. The *rescriptum*, on which the emperor wrote the word ⟨*re*⟩*scripsi* ("I have written"), is a late Roman term. The *lysis*, with the emperor's red autograph MENOLOGEM and his wax seal, often written on the back of the original request, was not limited to legal questions. It is attested from the 10th–12th C. and was replaced, already in the 12th C., by ordinary PROSTAGMATA.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 80–87. P. Classen, *Kaiserreskript und Königsurkunde* (Thessalonike 1977). –N.O.

RESPONSA NICOLAI PAPAE, the answers of Pope NICHOLAS I to 106 (Heiser, *infra* 79–89) or 115 (Dujčev, *infra* 3:145) questions posed in 866 by BORIS I of Bulgaria. In his responses the pope argued that Roman practices were more suitable for the newly converted barbarians than the strict rules of Constantinople. The *Responsa* contain unique information concerning both Bulgarian and Byz. customary law, including marriage customs (A. Laiou, *RJ* 4 [1985] 189–201). G. Dennis (*OrChrP* 24 [1958] 165–74) asserts that the *Responsa* had no anti-Byz. features, apart from the fact that the pope disapproved of married clergy and refused to recognize Constantinople's second rank among the patriarchates; F. Dvornik (*BS* 34 [1973] 41), however, rejects this thesis.

ED. E. Perels, MGH *Epist.* 6:568–600.
LIT. L. Heiser, *Die responsa ad consulta Bulgarorum des Papstes Nikolaus I. (858–867)* (Trier 1979). Dujčev, *Medioevo* 1:125–48, 3:143–73. –A.K.

RESURRECTION (ἀνάστασις). The resurrection of Christ from the dead and the resurrection of all who have died prior to the LAST JUDGMENT are essential components of the Christian faith and are included in all CREEDS and confessions of faith. From the 4th C. onward, the resurrection of Christ was subordinate in theological reflection to the INCARNATION as the decisive "salvific event," although it continued to be central in the church year (see EASTER), and in liturgy and art.

The struggle with ORIGENISM, esp. in Palestine, concerned primarily the constitution of the resurrected body. The individuality of the latter, that is, its identity with the earthly body, and the idea of the soul's wandering, which is thereby excluded, was at the center of discussion.

In Byz. statements on the resurrection, the immortal SOUL is once again united to its own individual BODY which is now no longer corruptible, but neither is it an astral body, that is, it does not journey to the heavenly spheres as 6th-C. Origenism taught.

To guard against APHTHARTODOCETISM and to maintain the full reality of Christ's human nature, it was stressed that even Christ's human body became incorruptible only in his resurrection. This emphasis was also opposed to those theologians from Palestine who took up the doctrines of JULIAN OF HALIKARNASSOS and taught that while corruptibility is the result of Adam's sin, involving the capacity to suffer and to die, human nature in itself is incorruptible as it is in Paradise: if Christ did save us from death as corruptibility (*phthora*), he had to be incorruptible (*aphthartos*).

Finally, the resurrection of the dead was challenged because of the belief in the eternality of the COSMOS and the spherical shape of the world; at least, this is how the matter was viewed by KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES (*Topographia christiana*, 7:1–3.23). Whether or not his attack was intended to answer *On the Resurrection* of John PHILOPONOS must, in view of the state of the texts, remain open to discussion. The question of the resurrection and the corruptibility of the world was also treated by JOHN ITALOS. (For the Resurrection in art, see ANASTASIS.)

LIT. R. Cadiou, *La jeunesse d'Origène* (Paris 1935) 117–29. F. Diekamp, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert* (Münster 1899). A. Guillaumont, *Les "Kephalaia gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique* (Paris 1962) 113–17. W. Wolska, *La Topographie chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustès* (Paris 1962) 23f, 89–92, 188–91. E. Stéphanou, "Jean Italos, L'immortalité de l'âme et la résurrection," *EO* 32 (1933) 413–28. –K.-H.U.

REVELATION (ἀποκάλυψις), God's partial communication to created beings of knowledge he possesses, including his intimate self-knowledge. Andrew of Caesarea (PG 106:220D) defines it as "a disclosure of concealed mysteries" either through divine DREAMS (*oneirata*) or, if one is in a waking state, through divine enlightenment. Origen (ed. C. Jenkins, *JThSt* 10 [1909] 36.13–15) indicates that at the moment of revelation the human mind is above earthly matters and sets aside all carnal concerns through the power of God. The great revelations were conferred upon ABRAHAM, MOSES, and the apostles and formulated in two great collections of divinely inspired books, the Old and the New Testament. The last book of the New Testament was specifically titled the Book of Revelation (APOCALYPSE). The church repeatedly defended the Old Testament as revealing salutary doctrine to mankind in contrast to the Manichaean teaching that rejected its claim to be a text of revelation. Gradually, the church was led to distinguish between written revelation ("Scripture") and the unwritten "holy tradition" (see par-

ticularly Basil of Caesarea, *Traité du Saint-Esprit*, ch.27, ed. B. Pruche [Paris 1945] 231–38). This implied discernment between authentic revelation and arbitrary claims by "heretics."

Related to revelation was *epiphaneia*, in which the image more than the word or command was the subject of manifestation. The term encompasses such phenomena as the manifestation of God in the Old Testament, Christ's Incarnation and Second Coming; the appearance of the Holy Ghost at Christ's baptism; appearances of angels, saints, and, by extension, demons. The vision of the divine light in Symeon the Theologian or of the light of Tabor in Hesychasm belongs to the same category of phenomena.

LIT. R. Latourelle, *Théologie de la révélation* (Bruges 1963). P. Stockmeier in *Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte* 1.1a (Freiburg im Breisgau 1971) 27–87. A. Dulles, "The Theology of Revelation," *Theological Studies* 25 (1964) 43–58. W. Wiegand, *Offenbarung bei Augustinus* (Mainz 1978). –A.K.

REVELATION, BOOK OF. See APOCALYPSE.

REVETMENT, a facing of thin MARBLE slabs covering the rough masonry of walls and piers; it is usually carried up to the springing point of major arches and vaults, where the painted or mosaic decoration begins. Expensive marbles were often used to frame larger, rectangular sheets of Prokonnesian marble, whose gray veining created symmetrical abstract patterns when slabs cut from the same block were juxtaposed in mirror reversal. Marble revetment brought piers and walls into harmony with marble columns and entablatures, brightened interiors with reflected light, and transformed load-bearing structure into colorful ornament; similar functions were performed by OPUS SECTILE. Widespread in architecture from the 2nd C. onward, revetment was used in the most elaborate churches of Justinian I and later in the inner narthex and naos at the CHORA. Some of these materials may have been SPOLIA: Choniates (Nik.Chon. 442.49–51) reports that Isaac II took revetment slabs from palaces in Constantinople when he restored the Church of St. Michael at Anaplous. –W.L., K.M.K., A.C.

REVETMENT, METAL. The Romans sheathed furniture in metal, and the Byz. continued to cover both household (see TOOLS AND HOUSEHOLD FITTINGS) and church furniture in gold, silver, and bronze. While gold revetment largely served imperial circles (vita of PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA, ch.39; Sozom., *HE* 9.1, 4), SILVER was widely used for this purpose, particularly in churches. Starting with the gifts made by Constantine I to the Lateran Basilica in Rome, it became standard practice to cover the ALTAR, CIBORIUM, chancel barrier or TEMPLON, AMBO, shrines, saints' TOMBS, COLUMNS, CAPITALS, and DOORS in sheets of silver. While only one such set of revetment survives—in the 6th-C. SION TREASURE—numerous written references testify to its use in cathedral, pilgrimage, parochial, and other types of churches, in both villages and cities, throughout the empire. The weight of revetment could be considerable, with one ciborium requiring about 2,000 pounds of silver. After the 7th C. references to revetment are fewer, for example, the ciborium of St. DEMETRIOS at Thessalonike described as "silver" in a text of the 7th C. (Lemerle, *Miracles* 1:66.24) is characterized in a text of the 11th C. (?) as made entirely of marble (A. Sigalas, *EEBS* 12 [1936] 332.30). Examples of such revetment are often restricted to imperial patronage, for example, in the palatine chapel described by Photios (*Homily* 10, ch.5)—possibly the Church of the Pharos; in the Great Palace by Theophilos (*TheophCont* 140.8–9), by Basil I (*TheophCont* 325.21), by Constantine VII (*TheophCont* 450.21, 456.9); and in the Blachernai church by Romanos III in 1031 (Skyl. 384.21), whose tomb in the PERIBLEPTOS MONASTERY, Constantinople, was covered in gold revetment in 1034 (CLAVIJO, 38); the joint tomb of Sophia-Sosanne, the daughter of Isaac KOMNENOS the *sebastokrator*, and her daughter Irene (12th C.) had a silver *periphereion* or border (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 47, no.85, title). Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, still had extensive silver revetment in the mid-12th C. (C. Mango, J. Parker, *DOP* 14 (1960) 237, 239f, 243f).

Revetment was used for ICON FRAMES and for certain details on icons themselves, for example, the NIMBUS. –M.M.M.

RHABDAS, NICHOLAS ARTABASDOS (Ῥαβδᾶς Ἀρτάβασδος), mathematician and grammarian; born Smyrna, fl. Constantinople mid-14th C. He was a contemporary of Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, who dedicated to him a treatise on magic squares. In 1341 Rhabdas addressed to Theodore Tzabouches of Klazomenai his more elaborate letter on arithmetical computation (on fractions, square roots of nonsquare numbers, the date of EASTER, and business and other MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS). He sent to George Chatzykes a more elementary letter on the value of the Greek alphabetical NUMBERS, on finger-reckoning, on the four arithmetical procedures, and on the order of numbers in a base-10 system. In this second letter Rhabdas refers to the *Great Indian Calculation*, which is the *So-called Great Calculation According to the Indians* of Maximos PLANOUDES. In fact, several MSS of this work by Planoudes contain two additions attributed to Rhabdas, one on finger-reckoning and the other on the method of nines. Rhabdas also wrote on the COMPUTUS (O. Schissel, *BNJbb* 14 [1937–38] 43–59) and compiled a small treatise on grammar for his son, Paul Artabasdos.

ED. P. Tannery, *Mémoires scientifiques*, vol. 4 (Toulouse-Paris 1920) 61–198. A. Allard, *Maxime Planude: Le grand calcul selon les indiens* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1981) 203, 207f.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:247. *PLP*, no.1437. –D.P.

RHAIDESTINOS, DAVID (baptismal name Daniel), musician, composer, DOMESTIKOS, and scribe; born Rhaidestos, fl. early 15th C. The real surname of Rhaidestinos (Ῥαιδεστινός) was probably GABALAS (as noted in a number of MSS) and he spent the major part of his life at the Pantokrator monastery on Mt. Athos, where he sang, composed, directed the right-hand choir, and copied both musical and nonmusical MSS. Three of his musical autographs (1431–36) are known, all at Athos: Iveron 544, Pantok.214, and Lavra E.173. The Iveron MS is one of the first attempts to combine in one volume an entire anthology of kalophonic chants (see TERETISMATA) by various composers, including Rhaidestinos himself. It preserves florid verses for vespers, the POLYELEOS of *orthros*, the antiphons of the *oktoechos*, the Magnificat, etc. Rhaidestinos's own compositions are few, yet they were widely copied in 15th- through 19th-C. collections. They include STICHERA for the MENAION, KOINONIKA, and kalophonic CHANTS.

LIT. S. Eustratiades, "Thrakes mousikoi," *EEBS* 12 (1936) 54–56. A. Jakovlević, "David Redestinos i Jovan Kukuzel u srpskoslovenskim prevodima," *ZRVI* 12 (1970) 179–91. Idem, "David Raidestinos, Monk and Musician," *SEC* 3 (1973) 91–97. –D.E.C.

RHAIDESTOS (Ῥαιδεστός, also Rodosto, anc. Bisanthe, mod. Tekirdağ), city on the north shore of the Sea of MARMARA. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.9.17–20) calls it a "littoral *chorion*," and a similar epithet, *parathalattidios*, is found in Niketas Choniates (e.g., Nik.Chon. 448.15). According to Prokopios, Rhaidestos was fortified by Justinian I. In 813 the *kastron* of Rhaidestos, with its houses and churches, was burned by the Bulgarians (*TheophCont* 614.24). By the 9th C., Rhaidestos was probably functioning as a port connected with Adrianople; this is suggested by the seals of a certain George, *dioiketes* of Rhaidestos (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.1915). It was an important center of grain trade in the 11th C., controlled by an imperial PHOUNDAX. Michael ATTALEIATES owned properties in Rhaidestos, and he certainly was not the only great landowner in the area; at the end of the 11th C., a noble widow of a certain Batatzes was influential there (Attal. 244.19–21). Rhaidestos was among the Thracian and Macedonian cities that joined the revolt of Leo TORNIKIOS. The city was plundered by Kalojan in 1206 and by the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in 1307 and was heavily damaged during the civil wars of the 14th C. Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 1:436.2–6) reports on his victory over Turkish troops who were pillaging the lands around Rhaidestos. In 1382 John V ceded Rhaidestos to Andronikos IV. Rhaidestos was a bishopric under the jurisdiction of Thracian HERAKLEIA and, from the 14th C. onward, a metropolis.

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 3 (1899) 500f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:218–22; 5.3:61f. Ph. Manoulides, "Rhaidestos," *Thrakika* 24 (1955) 13. –A.K.

RHAIKTOR (ῥαίκτωρ), or rector, high-ranking courtier whose functions were probably to administer the imperial palace; Liutprand of Cremona calls him *rector domus*. Bury (*Adm. System* 115) assumes that the post was introduced by Basil I or Leo VI, but Oikonomides (*Listes* 47.9) restores the title in the text of the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij. The *rhaiktor* could be a eunuch or a cleric, even a priest; on the other hand, some high officials combined the title with the functions of *stratopedarches* or important civil posts, such as *logothetes* of the *genikon* (*Lavra* 1, nos. 10.29, 11.15; Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.912) or *sakellarios* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 772–73). The exact meaning of the title was not clear to PHILOTHEOS, who included

the *rhaiktor* along with special *axiai* in his *Kletorologion* of 899. The use of the title after the 11th C. is not known. The term was employed in a specific sense on seals of the 7th–8th C., sometimes as *rhaiktor* of Calabria (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1477, 2635); it designated the administrator of the *patrimonium* of the Roman church.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:212–19. Oikonomides, *Listes* 308. –A.K.

RHAKENDYTES, JOSEPH. See JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES.

RHEA, a Greek goddess, early identified with Kybele, the mother of the gods, who was worshiped in Asia Minor. A myth made her the wife of Kronos and mother of Zeus, whom she saved from his father who had eaten his older children. The Christian church rejected this legend as particularly distasteful. In the *Dionysiaka* by NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, Rhea is assigned by Hermes to nurse the baby DIONYSOS; Hermes calls her "nurse of lions" (9:147). Later Rhea the "Allmother" summons the army for Dionysos's expedition to India (13:35–42). TZETZES (*Hist.* 13:251–56) relates that in antiquity beggars would place an idol of Rhea on a donkey and walk around the countryside, singing and beating on drums, to solicit alms.

The story of Rhea and Kronos was illustrated in MSS of pseudo-Nonnos, Gregory of Nazianzos, and pseudo-Oppian. Rhea is sometimes depicted with her right breast bare (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.36).

LIT. Weitzmann, *Gr.Myth.* 38–41, 78f, 127–29. –A.K., A.M.T.

RHEGION (Ῥήγιον, now the village of Küçük Çekmece in Turkish Thrace [Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1 (1918) 275, n.2]), suburb west of Constantinople; it was on a lake connected by the narrow Myrmex Canal to the Sea of Marmara. Gregoras notes Constantinopolitan *proaulia* and *proasteia* located in Rhegion (Greg. 1:321.3–4). Prokopios (*Buildings* 4:8.5–17) describes in detail a paved road for carriages and a stone bridge over the Myrmex, both constructed by Justinian I. By the 15th C. the bridge had become dilapidated and the roads to Constantinople swampy (Kritob. 101.1–6). Rhegion had a port (*epineion*), which was damaged in the earthquake of 557 (Agath. 167.25), as was a Church of Sts. Stratonikos and Kallinikos (Theoph. 231.23–24). Ships could moor at Rhegion in the 14th C. (Greg. 1:540.5–7).

Because of its proximity to Constantinople, Rhegion was often involved in the political strife of the capital: thus the Green faction welcomed Phokas in Rhegion and invited him to HEBDOMON (Theoph. 289.8–10), Maurice came to Rhegion to distribute silver coins among the poor (268.8–9), and in 1329 people gathered in Rhegion to meet Andronikos II (Kantak. 1:426.22–427.4). Rhegion was frequently subject to hostile attacks: Krum burned it in 813, Kalojan pillaged it in 1206. In 1261 Alexios STRATEGOPOULOS camped in Rhegion before capturing Constantinople (Greg. 1:83.18–19). One of the gates in the west wall of Constantinople was called that of Rhegion (or Rhesion, or Polyandros [vernacular Koliandros]; Janin, *CP byz.* 277f). (For Rhegion in Italy, see REGGIO-CALABRIA.)

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 2.R. 1 (1920) 476f. –A.K.

RHETORIC (ῥητορική), the technique of persuasion through the art of public speaking. It strongly influenced not only orations but other literary genres that often included full speeches—genuine or invented—and used RHETORICAL FIGURES of speech, descriptive passages (EKPHRASIS), etc. Rhetorical technique left its imprint on historiography, hagiography, poetry, and epistolography. Ancient rhetoric greatly affected Byz.; the major types of classical oratory were retained, and the teaching of rhetoric was based on ancient handbooks. Especially popular were the corpus of HERMOGENES (particularly on forms of styles and classes of arguments) and treatises ascribed to MENANDER RHETOR, as well as their continuators such as APHTHONIOS (on PROGYMNASMATA). Collections of Byz. speeches, preserved in Byz. MSS such as Escorial Y II 10 and Vienna, ÖNB, philol. gr. 321, probably also served educational purposes.

The establishment of the Roman Empire and the later crisis of urban life caused substantial changes in rhetoric. Ancient society was oriented primarily toward oral forms of communication, whereas Byz., while remaining essentially oral, placed more emphasis on the BOOK (Averincev, *Poetika* 183–209). The 4th-C. church fathers pessimistically expressed their wariness of the spoken word (H.G. Beck, *Rede als Kunstwerk und Bekenntnis* [Munich 1977] 29–32). Judicial and deliberative oratory lost importance, and of three major genres of ancient rhetoric only EPIDEICTIC oratory (esp. the ENKOMION) seems to have flourished; accordingly, the SECOND SOPHISTIC first lost its political function and then disappeared, leaving its trace only in the system of exercises. Theological oratory, esp. POLEMIC, developed quickly: its principles, often differing from those of ancient rhetoric, were not reflected in handbooks or later commentaries on them, even though Byz. commentators tried to equate some theological genres with epideictic ones, for example, homily (SERMON) with the traditional diatribe or *parainesis*. Patr. GERMANOS II (PG 140:713BC) distinguished two types of oratory: the judicial, intended to refute opponents' views by means of ANTITHESIS; and the panegyrical, to "set in order the desires of the soul" and to create a serene and untroubled state of mind. Such techniques, it has been suggested (Maguire, *Art & Eloquence*), likewise underlay compositions in religious art.

Stylistically, rhetoric was based on ancient models. DEMOSTHENES and Ailios ARISTEIDES remained, at least in theory, the model for orators. Some later authors also became paradigms: among church orators, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzos, and John Chrysostom; among the secular writers, Michael Psellos. IMITATION (*mimesis*) embraced both style and content and the subject matter for *progymnasmata*: rhetoric ignored developments in the morphology, syntax, and vocabulary of the spoken LANGUAGE and frequently referred to mythology or Greek and Roman history as well as traditional moral or satirical topics, thus producing a timeless quality and "deconcretization." Nevertheless Byz. rhetoric, if not rhetorical theory, reveals some substantial changes in aim and method.

The classical ideal of rhetorical *sapheneia* (clarity) was underpinned by the relative simplicity of the language of the New Testament, and later theoreticians such as PHOTIOS praised the clarity of authors they had read. This classical virtue, however, was at odds with the perception of the cosmos as mystery, and commentators such as JOHN SIKELIOTES and John DOXOPATRES used the term *mysterion* to define rhetoric. Obscurity (*asapheia*), as Kustas (*infra* 83–85, 91–93, 188–94) has stressed, became the stylistic principle of rhetoric, which widely used RIDDLES, ALLEGORIES, and very long composite EPITHETS to represent how language overcomes the enigmatic ineffability of the world. The strength of logic gave way to the strength of emotion: the author's role was to participate in events rather than explain them to the audience; indifferent to his individuality, he associated himself with his listeners under a faceless "we." Syllogism ceased to be a powerful weapon; instead the orator turned to the authority of the Bible and church fathers and expected his assertions to be accepted without logical reservations. The fact was precious, not as a piece of reality, but as a vehicle for moral or theological generalizations, hence the accumulation of abstract statements and the lack of detail. On the other hand, J. Onians (*Art History* 3 [1980] 1–24) suggested that Late Antique rhetorical descriptions of works of art became more specific precisely at the time when artists were abandoning niceties of detail. In both art and literature fact itself was a *mimesis*, a repetition of past events, so that contemporaries were viewed as "new Josephs" or "new Alexanders."

Probably to a lesser extent than in the medieval West, Byz. rhetoric was oriented toward disputation. Contests before the *logothetes tou dromou* formed an important element of rhetorical EDUCATION, and rhetoricians characterized a speech as an *agon* ("contest"), even though it was sometimes explained as a contest between the author and the subject of his praise.

Rhetoric together with PHILOSOPHY formed major disciplines of Byz. education; the MAISTOR TON RHETORON taught at the Patriarchal School in Constantinople. Eloquence, including knowledge of the rules of the school rhetoric, was essential for an administrative career: some youths of poor families, such as Psellos, climbed the social ladder primarily due to their mastery of words. Conversely, ineloquence in a high-ranking official aroused the contempt of his peers. Rhetorical performances had an established place in state and church ceremonial: John Chrysostom had to compete, by the power of his sermons, with such popular events as circus games; the sermon remained a potent tool of ideological propaganda; ceremonial speeches were delivered before the emperor (BASILIKOS LOGOS, PROSPHONETIKOS LOGOS) and patriarch at set feasts, and speeches

could be heard during the state ceremonies, in church councils, and even in the public places of Constantinople.

Despite the codification of rhetoric with written forms and rules, Byz., like all preindustrial societies, remained largely oral. LITERACY at more than a functional level was confined to a small, and chiefly male, segment of the population; silent reading was for a long time exceptional. The evidence is intermittent but persistent that literary compositions were performed orally before an audience up to the Palaiologan period. The rules for rhetoric were originally devised as an aid to fluent public speaking and persuasive communication and continued to be used for this purpose throughout the Byz. period. Nonetheless, rhetoric was equally influential on purely literary compositions. Paradoxically many of the features of Byz. literature that seem to a modern reader particularly redundant and artificial derive from rules developed for severely practical purposes of oral presentation.

LIT. W.J. Ong, *Rhetoric, Romance and Technology* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971). G.L. Kustas, *Studies in Byz. Rhetoric* (Thessalonike 1973). G.A. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton 1983); rev. A. Kazhdan, *Speculum* 59 (1984) 662–64 and G. Kustas, *ClPhil* 80 (1985) 381–85. S. Averincev, "Vizantijskaja ritorika," in *Problemy literaturnoj teorii v Vizantii i latinskom srednevekov'e*, ed. M. Gasparov (Moscow 1986) 19–90. R. Browning, *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 10 (1988) 349–51. W.E. Voss, *Recht und Rhetorik in den Kaisergesetzen der Spätantike* (Frankfurt am Main 1982). W. Hörandner, "Eléments de rhétorique dans les siècles obscurs," *Orpheus* n.s. 7 (1986) 293–305.

–A.K., E.M.J., A.C.

RHETORICAL FIGURES, figures of speech or techniques of verbal ornament; Greek rhetoricians divided them into two groups, TROPES and figures proper (*schemata*). The latter—whose number seemed infinite (Alexander in *RhetGr*, ed. Spengel 3:9.5–9)—were subdivided into figures of reason or speech (*logos*) and figures of expression or thought (*dianoia*). Figures of reason were related to the author's attitude toward his text: emphasis on what he will eventually say, an anticipation of what his opponent will say, PARRHESIA, concession, *aporia*, ETHOPOIIA, etc. Figures of expression included individual grammatical features, omission of conjunctions and prepositions (asyndeton) and of verbs (ellipsis), pleonasm, repetition of the same word (anadiplosis), beginning or ending several clauses of a period with the same word (epanaphora or antistrophe), etc. Late Roman theoreticians produced treatises on figures, following ancient tradition (e.g., Tiberios, 3rd–4th C., *On the Figures of Demosthenes*). The Byz. continued to use traditional figures, which served the role of creating intimacy between the orator/writer and listener/reader. A typical feature was the treatment of the speech as an arena of contest between the (weak) author and (excellent) hero of the *enkomion*. Epanaphora (e.g., *chairetismos*, repetition of *chaire*, "welcome," at the beginning of the clauses) was popular in both prose discourses and in verses.

LIT. Martin, *Rhetorik* 270–315. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 123–26. Kustas, *Studies* 136–38.

–A.K., E.M.J.

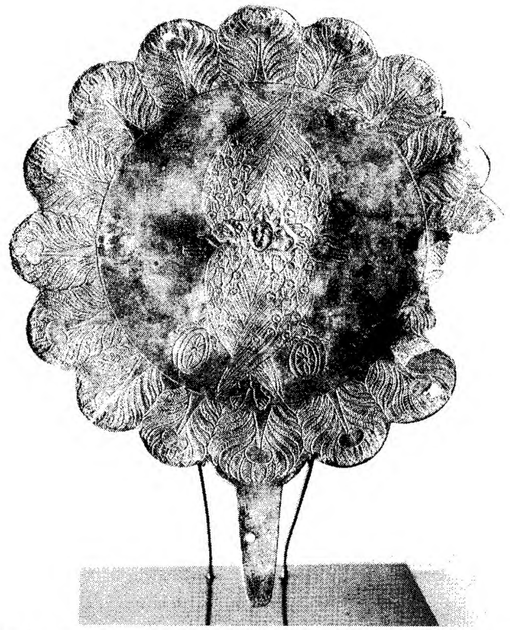
RHETORIOS OF EGYPT, astrologer; fl. early 7th C., probably at Alexandria. His biography is unknown. Rhetorios was the author of an extraordinary collection of excerpts from earlier Greek astrologers, based on what must have been a magnificent library. His date is determined by his inclusion of a HOROSCOPE that can be dated 24 Feb. 601 (D. Pingree, *Dorothei Sidonii Carmen astrologicum* [Leipzig 1976] xii), and the presumption that he wrote before the fall of Alexandria to the Arabs in 642. This date is consistent with the fact that his collection was available to THEOPHILOS OF EDESSA in the 8th C. We now possess of it only three epitomes and several sub-epitomes. The main epitomes date from the 9th and early 11th C., while the third is preserved only in a 13th-C. Latin translation.

Rhetorios's treatise shows acquaintance with the writings of numerous scientists and astrologers, including Balbillus (1st C.), Dorotheos of Sidon (ca.75), PTOLEMY, Vettius Valens (2nd C.), Antiochus of Athens (3rd C.), PAUL OF ALEXANDRIA, Julian of Laodikeia, and EUTOKIOS. Rhetorios's collection is one of the basic constituents of the compendium put together by Eleutherios Zebelenos, also called Elias, in 1388 under the false name of Palchos. It is also one of the main repositories of 5th- and 6th-C. Byz. horoscopes.

ED. *CCAG* 1:142–64; 5.3:124f; 5.4:123–54; 7:192–226; 8.1:220–48.
LIT. D. Pingree, "Antiochus and Rhetorius," *ClPhil* 72 (1977) 203–23.

–D.P.

RHIPIDION (*ῥιπίδιον*, Latin *flabellum*), a fan widely used in the Mediterranean. A consular diptych of the early 6th C. presents the consul



RHIPIDION. Silver *rhipidion* ("Riha" *rhipidion*) from the Kaper Koraon Treasure, 577. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. The border of the *rhipidion* is a design of peacock feathers; and the central image is that of a cherub.

Philoxenos in official attire accompanied by a eunuch holding a *rhipidion* in both hands; the instrument consists of a staff and a square piece of tissue with a wreath of laurel depicted in its middle. Attested in liturgical use by the 4th C. (APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS 8.12.3), it is described as made of fine skin or peacock feathers or linen. The soft pennant of the fan was replaced by a metal disc. The earliest surviving *rhipidia* are from the KAPER KORAON TREASURE; they are made of silver, form a disc with scallop edges and a tang, and are decorated with seraphs or cherubs; the silver stamps date them to 577. Liturgical texts indicate that the fan was waved by the deacon over the sacramental elements to protect them from insects; at the same time they were considered to be heavenly powers hiding their faces in awe at the Passion. The name *hexapterygon* (see SERAPHIM) applied to liturgical fans stresses the symbolism of their function.

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 5:1610–25. Brightman, *Liturgies* 1:577. Mango, *Silver* 147–54. D.I. Pallas, "Meletemata leitourgika-archaiologika. II. To ekklesiastikon hexapterygon," *EEBS* 24 (1954) 184–93.

–M.M.M.

RHIZA CHORIOU (*ῥίζα χωρίου*, lit. "root of a village"), the total gross tax burdening a village community. The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 114.22–30) defines it as the entire sum of taxes before subtracting the figures for reduced and/or abolished levies (SYMPATHEIAI, KLASMATA, SOLEMNIA, etc.). The problem is whether the *rhiza* was established on the basis of an actual line-by-line addition of individually calculated STICHOI (the principle of the CAPITATIO-JUGATIO) or was imposed upon the CHORION as a global sum by fiscal authorities. The *Treatise* seems to imply the latter since it juxtaposes the *hypotage* (the size of the village's land) with the *rhiza* and indicates that the EPIBOLE equalled the *hypotage* divided by the *rhiza* so that the quotient forms the *modismos*, or the village's official rate of taxation expressed as number of *modioi* per nomisma of taxes (Dölger, *Beiträge* 114.34–115.6).

The term is rare in later documents. In 1089 the monks of Docheiariou feared losing their land since they had no *rhiza* "on their small possession" at the site called Satoubla, although they had to pay a nomisma for this allotment (*Docheiar.*, no.2.3–5). According to their request, this payment was taken into account in the calculation of the whole *demosion* of the village of Perigardikeia. When, in 1152, the monastery of the Virgin Eleousa (VELJUSA) received a donation of 12 *zeugaratoi*, it became evident that the *modismos* in the area was uncertain, no *geometria* (proper measurement) was available, and the *rhiza* had to be established by the emperor's command (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 6 [1900] 39.9–17).

LIT. K. Chvostova, "Rhiza choriou v XIV v.," *VizVrem* 26 (1965) 46–57. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 248f. Ostrogorsky, *Steuergemeinde* 26f, 78f.

–M.B.

RHODES (Ῥόδος), mountainous island in the Dodekanese, off the southwest coast of Asia Minor. Rhodes is also the name of a city (*civitas Rhodiorum: Cod. Just.* I 40.6, a.385) on this island; according to the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 686.1), it was the capital of the province of the Islands, administered by a *hegemon* and containing 20 *poleis*, including Kos, Samos, Chios, Mytilene, Andros, Naxos, and Paros. Rhodes was a metropolitan see of the Cyclades and had 11 suffragans

(Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:528–38). From the 7th C. the island served as a frontier station against the Arab fleet: in 654 Muʿāwiya plundered Rhodes and carried away the remains of the Colossus; a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 345.9–11) relates that a Jewish merchant from Edessa loaded the bronze from the statue on 900 camels. In 715 the Greek navy revolted on Rhodes and sailed to Constantinople to depose Anastasios II; soon thereafter the Saracens captured the island, but their fleet was destroyed by a storm and by Greek fire. In 807 Hārūn al-Rashīd landed on Rhodes; he was, however, unable to take the fortress (*phrourion*: Theoph. 483.7).

Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 14.43, ed. Pertusi p.79) describes Rhodes as located in the middle of the theme of KIBYRRHAIOTAI. Al-Masʿūdī (Vasiliev, *Byz.Arabes* 2.2:39) mentions, under the year 943/4, an arsenal and shipbuilding activity on Rhodes. A seal of 695/6 (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.189) refers to the *apotheke* of Asia, Caria, Lycia, Rhodes, and Cherronesos (in Caria?). The administration of the island, according to a seal of the 10th–11th C., was in the hands of an *archon* (G. Schlumberger, *Mélanges d'archéologie*, vol. 1 [Paris 1895] 207, no.16).

Rhodes was a naval station during the Crusades: from 1097 to 1099 Rhodian merchant ships carried supplies to the Crusaders' camp at Antioch, but then conflicts arose; in 1099 the Pisan fleet had to fight a Byz. naval squadron near Rhodes (*HC* 1:374). Some royal Crusaders stopped at the island on their way to Palestine (Richard I Lionheart) or on the return (Philip II of France). After 1204 Rhodes remained independent under Leo GABALAS and his descendants (A. Sabbides, *Byzantina* 12 [1983] 405–28). It was taken in 1232/3 by John III Vatatzes and ruled by a *komes* (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 317, 361) but was later controlled by the Genoese who, in 1306, received refugees from the HOSPITALLERS; in 1309 the latter took the island after a two-year siege. The Hospitallers built powerful fortifications and withstood the Turks until 1523 (A. Luttrell, V. von Falkenhausen, *RSBS* 22–23 [1985–86] 317–32); under the rule of the Hospitallers reasonably peaceful relations prevailed betweeen Latins and Greeks (cf. Greg. 3:12f).

The ancient settlements of the town of Rhodes in the north and Lindos in the east survived into Byz. times. Several Early Christian basilicas have been excavated, esp. in the town of Rhodes (Pallas, *Monuments paléochrétiens* 236–39), and E. Dyggve (*Lindos* [Berlin 1960] 521–28) has argued for continuity of cult (Athena/Virgin) at Lindos. There are also many churches with frescoes of the 13th to 15th C., for example, St. George ho Bardas (1289/90) and St. Phanourios (before 1335/6).

LIT. C. Torr, *Rhodes under the Byzantines* (Cambridge 1886). H. von Gaertringer, *RE* supp. 5 (1931) 813–17. A.K. Orlandos, "Byzantina kai metabyzantina mnemeia tes Rodou," *ABME* 6 (1948) 55–215. A. Luttrell, "Greeks, Latins and Turks on Late-Medieval Rhodes," *ByzF* 11 (1987) 357–74. J.A. Ochoa Anadón, "Rodas y los caballeros de San Juan de Jerusalém en la embajada a Tamerlan," *Erytheia* 7 (1986) 207–27. –T.E.G.

RHODIAN SEA LAW (Νόμος ναυτικός), a three-part collection of regulations involving maritime law. The third and longest part deals with specific punishable offenses and regulates questions of liability and contribution (Ashburner, *infra* ccli–cclxxxv) in the area of shipping. The second part establishes, among other things, profit-sharing for the crew and shipboard regulations. The first part relates the ratification of the *Rhodian Sea Law* by the Roman emperors. This prologue, which is transmitted in but a few MSS from the 12th C. onward, is considered today a late addition that was inspired by the information—itself rather dubious—contained in the often quite inconsistently transmitted headings. The designation of the collection as *Nomos Rhodios* or *Nomos Rhodion* (Rhodian Law or Law of the Rhodians) is an allusion to the Sea Law of Rhodes, which, though famous since antiquity, is hard to place historically (cf. *Digest* 14.2 rubric). Current opinion holds that the *Rhodian Sea Law* was compiled in the 7th or 8th C.; its relationship to the ECLOGA in content, language, and MS tradition (sometimes it forms a part of its Appendix) is less close than Zachariä had maintained. The idea of an official promulgation of the collection is no longer generally accepted. The *Sea Law* (minus prologue) was received into the BASILIKA—if not from the very beginning, at least early on—as a supplement to book 53.

ED. W. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea-Law* (Oxford 1909; rp. Aalen 1976).

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 313–19. M. Sjuzjumov, "Morskoj zakon," *ADSV* 6 (1969) 3–54. I. Spatharakis, "The Text of Chapter 30 of the Lex Nautica," *Hellenika* 26 (1973) 207–15. –L.B.

RHODOPE (Ῥοδόπη), name of several geographical areas in the Balkans.

1. Mountain range separating the coastal plain of THRACE from the interior plain of PHILIPPOPOLIS. Asdracha (*infra*) uses the geographical term in a broader sense; in addition to the mountainous area (western Rhodope with the fortress of Tzepaina and eastern Rhodope—MARONEIA and MORA), it encompasses the system of valleys—the upper valley of the HEBROS (the region of Philippopolis), the lower valley of the Hebros with the port of AINOS—and the littoral, including Traianopolis.

2. Late Roman province along the Aegean coast of Thrace between MACEDONIA on the west and Europa on the east. It had seven cities, with Ainos as its capital. The province disappeared in the 7th C., and most of the area was later incorporated in the theme of BOLERON. The ecclesiastical province—often identified with Europa—survived at least until the 12th C. (*Notitiae CP* 13.772, although the see was then vacant); Traianopolis was the metropolis and Ainos, ANCHIALOS, KYPSELLA, Maroneia, and Maximianoupolis were archbishoprics.

LIT. C. Asdracha, *La région des Rhodopes aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Athens 1976). –T.E.G.

RHOMAIOS (Ῥωμαῖος), ancient Greek ethnic term for an inhabitant of ROME. When—from Themistios onward—Constantinople came to be called Second, Eastern, or New Rome (E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* [Munich 1968] 32f), the population of the Eastern Empire became "Romans." Since the ancient meaning was also retained, terminological confusion sometimes resulted; for example, NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS continually referred to the pope as "the archpriest of the Rhomaioi" (*Letters*, no.28.26, etc.). To avoid this confusion, the Byz. called the Romans "Italoi" and accordingly termed Roman law "Italian knowledge" or "wisdom" (F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* [Leipzig-Berlin 1926] 27). The term *Rhomaios* entered official formulas, such as the phrases "*basileus* of the Rhomaioi," used from the 7th C. onward (P. Classen, *DA* 9 [1952] 115f), and "*krites katholikos* of the Rhomaioi" (e.g., *Lavra* 3, no.160.35–36).

While Muslim writers considered Byz. as Rome and used the name RŪM for the imperial territory that was annexed by Arabs and Turks, Westerners consistently called the Byz. "Greci" and their emperor "rex Grecorum" (A.D. v. den Brincken, *Die "Nationes Christianorum Orientalium"* [Cologne-Vienna 1973] 16–76); the same ethnic term is predominant in Slavic literature (V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, *EtBalk* no.1 [1984] 51–57), a usage that G. Litavrin interpreted as pejorative (17 *CEB*, *Major Papers* [Washington, D.C., 1986] 375–77). The Byz. themselves used the word *Graikos* and its derivatives; this term had had a pejorative connotation in antiquity, but the Byz. reluctantly accepted it while rejecting the term HELLENES that became synonymous with pagans; the term *Graikos* acquired primarily religious and cultural significance, whereas Rhomaios was used predominantly in connection with the state (G. Tsaras, *Byzantina* 1 [1969] 146–48).

LIT. T. Lounghis, "Le programme politique des 'Romains orientaux' après 476," in *La nozione di "Romano" tra cittadinanza e universalità* (Naples 1984) 369–75. M. Mantouvalou, "Romaios—Romios—Romiossyni. La notion de 'Romain' avant et après la chute de Constantinople," *EEPhSPA* 28 (1979–85) 169–98. P. Gounaridis, " 'Grecs,' 'Hellenes' et 'Romains' dans l'état de Nicée," *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:248–57. –A.K.

RHOMAIOS, EUSTATHIOS, judge at the imperial court (ca.975–1034), as had been his grandfather. Rhomaios (Ῥωμαῖος) began his career as a simple judge (*litos krites*) and rose to *magistros* and *droungarios tes viglas*. Of his writings—which seem to have consisted primarily of statements of verdict (HYPOMNEMATA), counsel's opinion, and special legal studies (*meletai*)—only a few pieces have survived in their entirety. A colleague took excerpts from some of his works and arranged them according to subject in a textbook called the PEIRA. Rhomaios was held in high esteem in his own time, and even more so later, for his legal erudition and his skill in decision making.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "The Peira of Eustathios Romaios," *FM* 7 (1986) 169–92. G. Weiss, "Hohe Richter in Konstantinopel. Eustathios Rhomaios und seine Kollegen," *JÖB* 22 (1973) 117–43. –D.S.

RHOPAI (Ῥοπαί), an anonymous treatise on "the divisions of time," specifically, procedural and other legally significant time limits ranging from one hour to 100 years. Like the treatise DE ACTIONIBUS, the work has its origin in the period of the

ANTECESSORES and was altered and enlarged over the course of later centuries.

LIT. F. Sitzia, *Le Rhopai* (Naples 1984). –D.S.

RHOS. See RUS'.

RHOSIA (Ῥωσία). Rhosia was a term with a variety of meanings in Byz. texts.

1. In the most common Byz. usage Rhosia designates the land of the RUS'. The term is first used by Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 9.42; *De cer.* 594.18) and occurs frequently thereafter, esp. in documents and seals. In addition, Rhosia occurs with various adjectival modifiers: (a) "outer Rhosia": a term found only once (*De adm. imp.* 9.3), perhaps referring to the northern parts of the territory (V. Petruchin, F. Šelov-Kovedjaev, *VizVrem* 49 [1988] 184–190; for a different view see O. Pritsak in *Okeanos* 555–67); (b) "new Rhosia": a late 11th-C. term, probably referring to the titular metropolis of Černigov (A. Poppe, *Byzantion* 40 [1970] 180f); (c) "little Rhosia": GALITZA and Volynia, esp. under LITHUANIA and POLAND; (d) "great Rhosia": first used in the 12th C. with reference to the metropolis of KIEV (*Notitiae CP*, no.13.754), then with reference to all the former lands of Rus' under the control of Moscow; and (e) "all Rhosia": from the mid-12th C. onward, usually in the title of the metropolitan to promote the principle of the unity of Rus'.

2. Rhosia is also the name of a town and harbor located, according to al-IDRĪSĪ, at a distance of 27 miles from TMUTOROKAN, on the western or possibly eastern shore of the Cimmerian BOSPOROS (A. Kazhdan, *Problemy obščestvenno-političeskoj istorii Rossii i slavjanskich stran* [Moscow 1963] 93–95). N. Bănescu (*BSHAcRoum* 22.2 [1941] 75f) erroneously located it in the estuary of the Don. In the 12th C. Rhosia was one of the Byz. bases in the area, and the administration tried to secure it from the penetration of Italian merchants (*Reg* 2, no.1488). It is debatable whether the title "*archontissa* of Rhosia" on the seal of Theophano of the MOUZALON family refers to the Byz. harbor town or to Kievan Rus'.

LIT. Ditten, *Russland-Excurs* 16–39, 85–153. A. Soloviev, *Byzance et la formation de l'état russe* (London 1979). M.V. Bibikov, "Vizantijskie istočniki po istorii Rusi, narodov severnogo Pričernomor'ja i severnogo Kavkaza (XII–XIII vv.)," in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR 1980* (Moscow 1981) 42–46. –S.C.F., A.K.

RHYME, in its standard meaning, had no place in the archaizing classical meters of Byz. secular POETRY or the system of syllabic correspondences of ecclesiastical poetry. Once classical meters were replaced by verses based on word-accent, however, rhyme was used quite often to point a balance between two lines or two parts of one line, whether the *kontakia* of Romanos the Melode or the POLITICAL VERSE of Theodore Prodromos (W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte* [Vienna 1974] 116f). Similar rhyming clauses also appear in prose, for rhetorical effect, from Proklos of Constantinople onward. Systematic rhyme in verse couplets is usually considered to have been introduced as a result of influence from French and Italian vernacular literatures, where rhyme is a prominent feature. Rhyme of this sort appears first in Byz. in the work of the Cretan writers Stephen SACHLIKES and Marinos FALIERI. Rhyme remained confined to vernacular texts and rare until the late 15th C., when romances such as BELISARIOS and IMBERIOS AND MARGARONA and satire such as the SYNAXARION OF THE HONORABLE DONKEY were rewritten in rhyming couplets; many of these rewritings were later printed in Venice.

LIT. W.F. Bakker, "The Transition of Unrhymed to Rhymed: The Case of the *Belisariada*," in *Neograeca Medii Aevi*, ed. H. Eideneier (Cologne 1986) 25–50. Averincev, *Poetika* 221–36. –E.M.J.

RHYNDAKOS RIVER (Ῥυνδακός, modern Orhaneli in northwest Asia Minor), site of a battle (15 Oct. 1211) between troops of the Latin Empire of Constantinople and THEODORE I LASKARIS. HENRY OF HAINAULT, with perhaps 260 knights, camped on the Rhyndakos, probably near Lopadion. Theodore, who had a large army but only a few Latin knights, lured Henry's troops into an ambush. Leaving some to guard his camp, Henry charged the Byz. army, which yielded at the first onslaught; the rout and slaughter lasted until sunset. According to his letter of Jan. 1212 (Prinzing, "Brief Heinrichs" 415–17), Henry suffered no losses. The ensuing treaty with Theodore (Akrop. 1:27f) reestablished Crusader power in north-western Anatolia. –C.M.B.

RICHARD I LIONHEART, king of England (1189–99); born Oxford 8 Sept. 1157, died Chalus near Limoges 6 Apr. 1199. While en route to the Holy Land to participate in the Third Crusade, Richard learned that some of his fleet had been shipwrecked on Cyprus (Apr. 1191). The *basileus* ISAAC KOMNENOS held Crusaders captive and threatened the ship carrying Richard's affianced bride Berengaria. Arriving in early May, Richard forced a landing, defeated Isaac, and ultimately took him captive. He conquered the island and appropriated the large treasure accumulated by Isaac. Even before Isaac's capture, Richard married Berengaria at Limassol (12 May). Richard first appointed English justiciars to govern Cyprus, then sold it to the Templars. The latter, with Richard's consent, sold the island in 1192 to Guy of LUSIGNAN, who did homage to Richard.

LIT. J. Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart* (New York 1978). G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 1 (Cambridge 1940) 315–21, vol. 2 (1948) 31–38. –C.M.B.

RICIMER, *patrikios*, *magister militum*, and consul (in 459); died 18? Aug. 472. Of mixed barbarian ancestry, he was an Arian. Successful in a campaign against the Vandals in Sicily (456), Ricimer revolted with MAJORIAN and defeated EPARCHIUS AVITUS at Placentia (7 Oct. 456). He agreed to Leo I's nomination of Majorian but had him executed in 461. Ricimer defended Italy against the Ostrogoths and Alemanni and named as emperor Libius Severus (461–65), who was not accepted in Constantinople; during this period Ricimer was the real ruler of the West. Threatened by the Vandals, Ricimer sought the support of Leo I and in 466 agreed to the elevation of ANTHEMIOS, indicating growing Eastern influence in Italy. Ricimer married Anthemios's daughter. This alliance led to the disastrous campaign of BASILISKOS against the Vandals in 468. Angered because his enemies were playing a large role in the project, Ricimer refused to take part and may even have conspired in the expedition's failure. He rebelled against Anthemios in 470 and had him killed in 472. He appointed Olybrius as emperor but died soon thereafter.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:327–41. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos* 104–28. *PLRE* 2:942–45. –T.E.G.

RIDDLE (αἴνιγμα, γρῖφος), word-game whose antecedents stretch back to the earliest phases of Greek literature; ancient rhetoricians treated riddles, a kind of TROPOS (Martin, *Rhetorik* 262), as an elaborate but foolish play on words that aimed at obscuring the sense (*RhetGr*, ed. Spengel, 3:193.14–16). This negative evaluation of the riddle as a stylistic tool evidently disappeared in the Byz. period: in any case John DOXOPATRES refers to those who accepted the riddle as a vehicle of expression as well as those presenting "clear objects" (Rabe, *Prolegomenon* 145.10–14).

Riddles were broadly used by various authors, such as pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE and NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, who were dissatisfied with the traditional *sapheneia* (clarity) and perceived the world in its complexity as an enigma slowly revealing its solution. The riddle was also a fashionable artistic device in the romance. Always popular in folklore, riddles became a specific genre in prose and verse, used by prominent literati (John Geometres, Psellos, Christopher of Mytilene, John Mauropous, Theodore Prodromos, Manuel Moschopoulos). Mainly intended as entertainment, riddles could contain political allusions; thus a riddle of Eustathios MAKREMBOLITES hints at the barbarous (?) people of Rhos. Apparently the composition of riddles was also regarded as an educational technique (perhaps akin to the EROTAPOKRISEIS): Nicholas MESARITES (G. Downey, *TAPhS* 47 [1957] 866, 899) mentions that students revised lessons by inventing riddles.

ED. *Byzantina Ainigmata*, ed. Č. Milovanović (Belgrade 1986), with Serbian tr.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:119. Kustas, *Studies* 167, 193. Averincev, *Poetika* 129–49. Poljakova, *Roman* 120–23. N. Bees, "Byzantina ainigmata," *Epeteris tou philologikou syllogou Parnassou* 6 (1902) 103–10. –E.M.J., A.K.

RIHA TREASURE. See KAPER KORAON TREASURE.

RIḤĀB (in Jordan), village in the province of Arabia, northeast of GERASA; its ancient name is unknown. Riḥāb flourished particularly in the 6th–7th C. At least eight churches have been excavated there, one dated 533, the others 594–635. Two were built under Persian rule (614–28) and one in 635, the year before the battle of YARMUK. Seven dedicatory inscriptions name the archbishop of Bostra as eponymous authority; most name laymen and families as donors.

LIT. M. Avi-Yonah, "Greek Christian Inscriptions from Rihab," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* 13 (1948) 68–72. M. Piccirillo, "Les antiquités de Rihab des Benê Hasan," *RevBibl* 88 (1981) 62–69. –M.M.M.

RILA, a monastery in the mountains east of the Upper Strymon River in southwestern Bulgaria. It was founded in the 10th C. by the hermit St. JOHN OF RILA. During the 13th and 14th C., the monastery was endowed with lands and privileges by Bulgarian tsars and nobles, and the present site, which is approximately 3 km from the original one, was developed then. The sole remaining medieval structure at Rila is Hreljo's Tower, a defensive dwelling of a type seen in areas within the cultural orbit of Byz.; the tower (PYRGOS) at Hilandar offers a parallel. Hreljo's Tower is built of stone, with brick used for window arches and spandrels as well as for a long inscription dated 1334/5 naming the nobleman Hreljo, a semi-independent feudal lord (died 1343), as its patron. The lowest story of the tower served as a prison and hiding place; the middle four were used for storage, defense, and living quarters; and the uppermost story contained a vaulted chapel dedicated to the Transfiguration. This chapel is adorned with 14th-C. frescoes in a vigorous, local style; they depict Christ Emmanuel, the life of John of Rila, and illustrations of the last three Psalms, showing groups singing and dancing in praise. The monastery houses an important library and museums of ecclesiastical and secular art.

LIT. G. Chavrukov, *Bulgarian Monasteries* (Sofia 1974) 258–77. K. Hristov, G. Stojkov, K. Mijatev, *The Rila Monastery* (Sofia 1959). L. Praškov, *Chrel'ovata kula* (Sofia 1973). M. Margaritoff, *Das Rila-Kloster in Bulgarien* (Kaiserlautern 1979). –E.C.S.

RINCEAU, ORNAMENT consisting of a continuous foliate scroll with spirals alternately reversing direction, usually composed of elongated acanthus leaves that are sometimes supplemented by floral motifs. Vine-scroll rinceaux normally have fewer leaves, meager stems, and bear grape clusters. The scrolls may be "inhabited," with figures, birds, or animals enclosed within the spirals, a formula apparently described in the Life of St. STEPHEN THE YOUNGER as "swirls of ivy leaves [enclosing] cranes, crows, and peacocks" (PG 100:1120C). Rinceaux functioned as border motifs, decorative fillers or, occasionally, as terminal ornaments. Byz. acquired the fully developed rinceau from the Romans and it remained popular until the 10th C. The elongated acanthus leaves are often interspersed with or replaced by calyxes, a stylized form of the leaves at the base of a flower, with a flanged or polylobed end from which the next leaf or calyx emerges (as in the mosaics of 565–77 and the 870s at HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople); sometimes the calyxes are interspersed with smooth tubular shafts. Rinceaux appeared in all media and were esp. favored in mosaic and metalwork.

LIT. Frantz, "Byz. Illuminated Ornament" 60–62. K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1932) 173–81. –L.Br.

RING, FINGER (*δακτύλιος*, also *δακτυλίδιον*). Rings were the most prevalent object of personal adornment in Byz. society. Most showed incised devices on their bezels for the production of wax or clay sealings. While the Romans preferred gemstone intaglios with figural devices for this purpose, the Byz. leaned toward metal bezels with incised inscriptions. Early Byz. rings usually bear MONOGRAMS (*DOCat* 2, nos. 54–56), while those from the 9th C. onward often bear short invocations ("Lord, help . . ."). More luxurious examples, in gold, name the owner, while cheap bronze imitations end the invocation generically with "the wearer." Titles, functions, and family names, so characteristic of lead SEALS, are rare, which suggests that ring signets were used privately, in and around the home. Some rings are incised with well-known iconic images (ibid., no.123) or even with multifigural biblical scenes; many, including the special category of marriage rings (see RING, MARRIAGE), seem to have been amuletic. This is indicated by the frequency (on early specimens) with which the octagonal hoop appears. For the treatment of colic, ALEXANDER OF TRALLES (Alex.Trall. 2:377) suggests, "Take an iron ring and make its hoop eight-sided and write thus on the octagon: 'Flee, flee, O bile. . . .'" –G.V.

RING, MARRIAGE. Rings exchanged by spouses during the MARRIAGE RITE are a significant subgroup among finger rings. Many were not intended for sealing and only the most luxurious are inscribed with the name of the bridal couple. The marriage ceremony, as documented from the *Akolouthia of Betrothal and Marriage,* known from MSS of the 10th C. onward (P.N. Trempelas, *Theologia* 18 [1940] 134.2–4), describes the husband as receiving a gold *daktylidion* and the wife one of iron. Many early Byz. gold marriage rings survive, as do occasional examples in bronze. The earliest specimens follow Roman practice, showing juxtaposed profile portraits of husband and wife (*DOCat* 2, nos. 50–52). Later (6th–7th C.) examples emphasize the ceremony itself, with either the *dextrarum junctio* (joining of right hands) or the marriage rite. In the former, Christ plays the role of officiating priest. Christ with or without the Virgin may crown the couple (ibid., nos. 64–69) or the spouses may simply be shown *en buste,* at either side of a cross, with crowns above their heads. Inscribed good wishes are common, with "Concord," "Grace," and "Health" predominating. The octagonal hoop employed for some marriage rings further suggests a medico-amuletic role directed toward childbirth. (See also LOCUS SANCTUS MARRIAGE RINGS.) –G.V.

RING, MARRIAGE. Gold marriage ring; late 4th to 5th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. On the square bezel are the profile busts of a man and woman below a small cross, their names inscribed in Greek.

RING SIGNS (or "characters"), a modern term applied to magical characters developed and popularized on Greco-Egyptian amuletic intaglio gemstones and perpetuated on Byz. amulets (5th–7th C.). So named for the tiny rings with which they terminate, ring signs are most frequently encountered in Byz. on HOLY RIDER, EVIL EYE, and Medusa AMULETS, where they usually take the form of an N (or Z), a barred triple-S, or an eight-armed cross. The origin and significance of individual ring signs is uncertain, although generally they seem to have been valued for their putative healing powers, esp. for the abdominal area. Alexander of Tralles (Alex.Trall. 2:377) describes the making of an amuletic ring with a ring sign on its bezel.

LIT. Bonner, *Studies* 58f. A.A. Barb, "*Diva Matrix*," *JWarb* 16 (1953) 216, n.48. –G.V.

RISK, the element of uncertainty, inherent in most economic activities, either because of unpredictable occurrences, such as acts of nature, or because of changes in the conditions of economic activity, such as unexpected fluctuations in supply or demand. In the late Middle Ages, the merchants of Italian maritime cities developed mechanisms to deal with the second set of factors. In Byz., the element of risk was recognized and admitted primarily, though not only, in maritime trade, where the possibility existed of shipwreck or acts of PIRACY. To compensate for high risk, sea-loans carried a high interest rate, 12 percent in Justinianic legislation. A sea-loan contracted in 1363/4 shows an interest rate of 16.75 percent for one journey. In Thessalonike, in the early 15th C., an interest rate of 20 percent or 25 percent was usual. A merchant traveling with the goods or funds of others was liable for all losses and could be imprisoned. A way of spreading risk was through the formation of a PARTNERSHIP, whereby two or more persons could invest in a single venture, the investment consisting either entirely in assets or partly in assets and partly in labor. The profit or loss would be divided proportionately to the investment (*Ecloga* 10.4). This type of contract is equivalent to the Italian *colleganza* or *commenda*. The RHODIAN SEA LAW (e.g., 2.17) makes meticulous provisions regarding trading partnerships at sea. Contracts of the early 14th C. show the traveling partner investing about 30 percent of the capital, plus his labor, and expecting half the profits (or losses).

LIT. A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis, "The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System; Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 198–201. –A.L.

RIVERS (sing. *ποταμός*). After the loss of Egypt and the NILE to the Arabs in the 7th C., the empire retained two stretches of major rivers—the Upper EUPHRATES and the Lower DANUBE. These formed its natural frontiers to the east and north, respectively, but offered no aid to unification. Other rivers (Vardar, STRYMON, HEBROS,

Meander, Sangarios, Halys, etc.) were navigable only in their lower reaches and were not very useful for purposes of communication and transport. Hence, major PORTS tended to be on the sea rather than along rivers. The Byz. used streams for FISHING, to provide water power for MILLS, and for IRRIGATION.

Most rivers in Greece and Asia Minor are torrents that dry up in summer and flood after heavy rain or snowmelt, not only disrupting roads but inundating fields. A documentary act of ca.1344 mentions such a flood on the property of the Athonite monastery of Xenophon that the monks tried to stop by erecting a wall (*Xénoph.*, no.27.24–28). An early 13th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 624.6–10) describes a disaster in 1205; the waters of the Hebros, swollen by heavy rains, deluged the Latin camp and carried off soldiers, horses, and war machinery.

Christianity rejected the pagan cult of rivers and imagined that rivers were the dwelling place of DEMONS. Gregory of Nyssa, however, observing the continuous flow of rivers, suggested (PG 45:161A) that their movement rather than that of the stars could be the cause of human fate (*heimarmene*). In Christian cosmology the rivers of PARADISE played an essential part, and a river of fire was given the function of punishing sinners and destroying all things at the end of the world.

The "rivers," lines marked out on the floor pavement of churches, had the liturgical function of guiding the movements of the officiating priest. In Hagia Sophia they were represented by green marble bands; in ordinary churches they could be drawn with chalk (G. Majeska, *DOP* 32 [1978] 299–308).

LIT. Koder, *Lebensraum* 47f. E.C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region* (London 1932) 102–33. –A.K.

ROADS (sing. ὁδός, also δρόμος, στράτα) are often mentioned in official acts or *praktika*, which distinguish different types of roads: imperial (*basilike*), state (*demosia* or *demosiake*), big (*megale*), general (*katholike*), for transport of wood (*xylophorike*), and for wagons (*hamaxege*). The distinctions between them are sometimes unclear: the combined term "state wagon road" is sometimes used, for example (*Lavra* 2, no.108.199). A paved road (*plakote*) is mentioned in an inventory of perhaps 1044 (*Pantel.* no.3.23). Other acts refer to old (*palaia*), small (*mikra*), or narrow (*estenomene*) roads or even to a path (*monopation*). If this terminology can be taken at face value, it seems that the Byz. inherited the Roman distinction of public, local, and private roads, although the categories sometimes seem to have been confused.

Roman public roads or highways continued to function along major LAND ROUTES; among the most important were the Via EGNATIA and strategic highways in Asia Minor. Prokopios (*Wars* 5.14.6–11) praised the Via Appia, which led from Rome to Capua, a five days' journey: it was wide enough to allow two wagons to pass each other and was made of polygonal basalt slabs snugly fitted together. Quite a different road (near Antioch) was described by Emp. Julian (ep.98, ed. J. Bidez [Paris 1924] 180.3–11): built on marshy ground, it was rough and made of stones laid without any skill, unlike other highways whose materials were tightly assembled, as in walls. Roads were supplemented by accessory constructions such as BRIDGES and dikes, MILESTONES, military posts, changing stations, and INNS. In novel 24.3 Justinian I imposed on governors the duty to repair aqueducts, bridges, ramparts, and *hodoi*, but it is unclear from the text whether the legislator meant highways or city streets. Probably at a later date the maintenance of roads was assigned to the local population—at any rate, some 11th-C. chrysobulls grant exemption from *hodostrosia*, building roads, mentioned usually between exemptions from KASTROKTISIA and bridge repair or construction (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, nos. 3.37, 6.48; *Lavra* 1, no.48.36). It is surprising that the manuals of military tactics ignore road construction. The frequent complaints about the bad condition of *hodoi* refer primarily to urban streets that were often in appalling state even from the viewpoint of Western travelers (e.g., Odo of Deuil).

In religious symbolism the *hodos* held an important place: the path of justice or of the Lord was contrasted to evil ways; Athanasios of Alexandria distinguished between the way of Adam and that of Christ (PG 26:285AB). Christ himself is the Way, and man is a traveler in life who finally returns home at the time of his death.

LIT. R. Chevallier, *Roman Roads*, tr. N.H. Field (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1976) 82–106. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:318–36. –A.K.

ROBBER COUNCIL. See EPHESUS, COUNCILS OF: "Robber" Council.

ROBBERY (ἁρπαγή), THEFT marked by the application of force, was technically a private offense (DELICT) and brought with it a corresponding PENALTY (*Institutes* 4.2; *Basil.* 60.17). But when the aspect of violence was emphasized or when other factors were present, robbery was considered a public offense and severely punished. An esp. serious form of robbery was BRIGANDAGE; as a deterrent, brigands were to be brought to death by the *furca* (lit. "fork," an instrument of execution related to the gibbet) at the place of their seizure (*Ecloga* 17.50; *Basil.* 60.51.26.15). To counter gang activity (as in the case of PIRACY), special paramilitary personnel (e.g., *lestodioktai* and *biokolytai*) were appointed, but the blurring of the distinction between pursuer and pursued frequently gave rise to complaints and imperial intervention. The RAPE or abduction of unmarried women (virgins at first, later also widows and nuns) was also designated as *harpage* and severely punished in Byz., where sexual offenses formed a special category only from the time of the ECLOGA. (See also GRAVE-ROBBING.)

LIT. Troianos, *Poinalios* 12–16, 23–29, 40–45. L. Burgmann, P. Magdalino, "Michael III on Maladministration," *FM* 6 (1984) 377–90. G. Lanata, "Henkersbeil oder Chirurgenmesser?" *RJ* 6 (1987) 293–306. –L.B.

ROBERT DE CLARI, French historian of the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1203–04; born Clari (mod. Cléry-les-Pernois), died after 1216. Robert participated in the Fourth Crusade as a vassal of Peter of Amiens. He returned to France, probably in 1205 and, in 1206 and 1213, gave to Corbie relics taken from the Great Palace during the sack, including Passion and other relics in crystal reliquaries, an icon of the Virgin, and other objects (Riant, *Exuviae* 2:197–99). Robert, whose command of numbers and dates is shaky (Queller, *Fourth Crusade* 39, 220), offers a soldier's vivid vision of the conquest. He includes descriptions of the Byz. emperor's battle icon (ch.66, pp. 66.49–67.77), the Boukoleon Palace and its relics (ch.82, p.82.19–35), Hagia Sophia (Greek for "Holy Trinity" according to Robert: ch.85, p.84.2–3), the triumphal column of Justinian I (identified as Herakleios, ch.86, p.86.1–18), the Golden Gate (ch. 89, p.87.1–6), the Hippodrome, statuary (chs. 90–91, pp. 87–89), and so on. Robert agrees with VILLEHARDOUIN that the diversion of the Crusade to Constantinople was the result of a series of accidents, not a Venetian plot.

ED. Ph. Lauer, *La conquête de Constantinople* (Paris 1924); corr. P. Dembowski, *Romania* 82 (1961) 134–38. Tr. E.H. McNeal, *The Conquest of Constantinople* (New York 1936; rp. New York 1966). *Zavoevanie Konstantinopolja*, Russ. tr. M.A. Zaborov (Moscow 1986).

LIT. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:465. C.P. Bagley, "Robert de Clari's *La Conquête de Constantinople*," *Medium Aevum* 40 (1971) 109–15. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 278–86. –M.McC.

ROBERT GUISCARD (Old Fr. "clever" or "wily"), duke of Apulia and Calabria; born Hauteville, Normandy, ca.1015, died Kephalenia 17 July 1085. By 1057 Robert (Ῥομπέρτος) commanded the NORMANS in southern Italy; in 1059 Pope Nicholas II (1058–61) recognized him as duke. His conquest of Byz. territory in Italy culminated in the capture of Bari in 1071. MICHAEL VII hoped to strengthen his position by a marriage alliance with Robert. Psellos (*Scripta min.* 1:329–34) composed a chrysobull for Michael addressed to Robert confirming these arrangements. Around 1078 Robert's daughter Olympias (Helena) went to Constantinople to wed Michael's son Constantine DOUKAS. Michael's dethronement offered Robert an excuse to intervene in Byz. He produced a monk who pretended to be Michael and organized an expedition to install him (or probably himself) in Constantinople. In 1081 ALEXIOS I was defeated in several battles near Dyrrachion; Robert's forces advanced into Macedonia and Thessaly. Alexios induced Henry IV of Germany to attack Rome, and Pope Gregory VII summoned Robert to his aid (1082). Robert's son BOHEMUND, left behind in Greece, was outmaneuvered by Alexios. In 1084 Robert launched a fresh invasion, but died at its outset. Anna Komnene vividly depicts his great height, terrifying war cry, military skills, and overpowering ambition.

LIT. Chalandon, *Domination normande* 1:115–284. G. Kolias, "Les raisons et le motif de l'invasion de Robert Guiscard à Byzance," *Actes du I^er Congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes*, 3 (Sofia 1969) 357–61. H. Bibicou, "Une page d'histoire diplomatique de Byzance au XI^e siècle: Michel VII Doukas, Robert Guiscard et la pension des dignitaires," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 43–75. R. Fiorentino, "Roberto il Guiscardo tra Europa, Oriente e Mezzogiorno," *Nuova rivista storica* 70 (1986) 423–30. –C.M.B.

ROBERT OF COURTENAY, Latin emperor of Constantinople (1221–28); second son of PETER OF COURTENAY; died Clarenza Jan. 1228. In the face of the growing threat from THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS, Robert tried to maintain the un-

derstanding that his mother YOLANDE had built up with THEODORE I LASKARIS. Plans that Robert should marry one of Theodore's daughters foundered with the Nicaean emperor's death in 1221. Robert intervened in the ensuing succession crisis at Nicaea. The Latin army was, however, defeated, which cost the Latins of Constantinople virtually all their remaining territories in Asia Minor. This setback was immediately followed by the loss of Thessalonike in 1224 to Theodore Komnenos Doukas. Robert never recovered from these blows, inflicted in the space of a year. He lapsed into a life of indolence, which so frustrated the barons that they broke into the palace, murdered his mother-in-law, and disfigured his wife. Robert left Constantinople in humiliation and went to Rome to seek papal support. He never returned to Constantinople.

LIT. Longnon, *Empire latin* 159–68. *HC* 2:213–16. –M.J.A.

ROBERT OF FLANDERS ("the Frisian"), count of Flanders (1071–93); born ca.1013, died 12/13 Oct. 1093. Robert made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem ca.1086 or 1087 to early 1090. Supposedly while returning, he met Alexios I. Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:105.19–26) places the site at Berroia (Thrace) in 1087, but a meeting in Constantinople or southern Thrace in late 1089/early 1090 seems more probable. Robert (perhaps in return for money) offered fealty to Alexios and pledged to send 500 knights to aid him. About 1090 the 500 arrived; after garrisoning Nikomedeia, they were transferred to Thrace to fight the Pechenegs (1091). K. Ciggaar (*Byzantion* 51 [1981] 44–74) asserts on the basis of an Old Norse tale that the Flemish knights took part in a campaign against Vlachs and Cumans in 1094 or 1095. Robert was the purported addressee of an alleged letter from Alexios I that urged the dispatch of Western knights to defend the empire against Turks and Pechenegs and to rescue Jerusalem (Eng. tr., E. Joranson, *AHR* 55 [1949–50] 812–15). The letter was probably forged shortly before 1108, but portions of its historical narrative describe the empire's situation in 1090–91 so accurately as to suggest that it was based on an actual letter of Alexios.

LIT. F.-L. Ganshof, "Robert le Frison et Alexis Comnène," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 57–74. M. de Waha, "La lettre d'Alexis I Comnène à Robert I le Frison: Une revision," *Byzantion* 47 (1977) 113–25. J.H. Pryor, "The Oaths of the Leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus: Fealty, Homage—*πίστις, δουλεία*," *Parergon: Bulletin of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Renaissance Studies* n.s. 2 (1984) 113–15. –C.M.B.

ROBERT OF NORMANDY, son of William the Conqueror and leader of the First Crusade; born ca.1054, died Cardiff (Wales) Feb. 1134. Leading Crusaders from Normandy and adjacent regions, Robert crossed the Adriatic in Apr. 1097 and reached Constantinople in May. Stephen of Blois, who accompanied Robert, reports that Alexios I magnificently feasted them both, while providing markets for their followers. Both readily became Alexios's vassals and received rich gifts, then joined the other Crusaders in attacking Nicaea (early June). During the siege of Antioch, Robert spent Dec. 1097–early Feb. 1098 at Laodikeia, which a fleet of English Crusaders had occupied with Byz. support. After participating in the capture of JERUSALEM, Robert returned to the West via Laodikeia (Sept. 1099) and Constantinople.

LIT. C.W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1920; rp. New York 1982) 89–119, 238–44. –C.M.B.

ROBERT OF TORIGNY, also Robert de Monte, Norman Benedictine historian; died 23/4 June 1186. Robert entered the monastery of Bec in Normandy in 1128, became prior there ca.1149, then abbot of Mont St. Michel (1154). Circa 1149 Robert revised William of Jumièges' *Deeds of Norman Dukes* (*Gesta Normannorum ducum*, cf. E.M.C. van Houts in *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies 1980* [1981] 106–18, 215–20); the new material on ROBERT GUISCARD comes from WILLIAM OF APULIA (M. Mathieu, *Sacris erudiri* 17 [1966] 66–70). Robert's universal chronicle continued Sigebert of Gembloux until 1186. His original contribution begins in 1147; its main focus is Normandy and England, but it includes information on Norman Italy and the Crusader states (e.g., a.1155–58, ed. Delisle, 1:295–316) and Byz., esp. Manuel I's marriage diplomacy (e.g., a.1162, 1:342; a.1167, 2:364). For the years 1179–82, he seems to receive more detailed information from Constantinople—possibly in connection with the marriage of AGNES OF FRANCE to Alexios II (a.1179, 2:78, 83f)—including the efforts of Andronikos I Komnenos to achieve power, Andronikos's anti-Latin policy (a.1182, 2:114), and information on the Seljuk sultanate of Rūm (a.1182, 2:106f). Robert was also interested in translations from Greek (a.1152, 1:270; a.1182, 2:109 on BURGUNDIO OF PISA).

ED. L. Delisle, *Chronique de Robert de Torigni*, 2 vols. (Rouen 1872–73). L. Bethmann, MGH *SS* 6 (1844; rp. 1925) 475–535. Partial tr. (1100–86) J. Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England*, 4.2 (London 1856) 673–813.

LIT. R. Foreville, "Robert de Torigni et 'Clio'," *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, vol. 2 (Paris 1967) 141–53. A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550 to c.1307* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974) 261–63. –M.McC.

ROCK-CUT CHURCHES AND DWELLINGS. Living and worshiping spaces carved from rock are found throughout the empire. Ascetics seem to have been particularly attracted to cave-dwelling. Most commonly these habitations are simply modified natural caves, though occasionally they are elaborately carved to resemble built structures. The process of the discovery and preparation of such spaces is described in the vitae of a number of saints, for example, SABAS (ed. Schwartz, ch.18) in Palestine and ELIAS SPELEOTES (*AASS*, Sept. 3:864f) in Italy. Large communities of cave dwellers, both lay and monastic, developed where the geology was particularly favorable. Best known of these areas is CAPPADOCIA, where towns as well as ecclesiastical structures were carved in the cliffs or below ground level. Other significant rock-cut conglomerations are found near Mount LATROS, in the Crimea, and in southern Italy, particularly APULIA.

LIT. L. Giovannini, "The Rock Settlements" in *Arts of Cappadocia* (London 1971). C.D. Fonseca, "La civiltà rupestre in Puglia," and C. D'Angela, "Archeologia ed insediamenti rupestri medievali," in *La Puglia fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente* (Milan 1980) 37–44, 45–116. L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge 1985). –A.J.W.

ROGA (*ῥόγα*), cash salary, esp. remunerations paid to members of the armed forces and civil service; the term already appears with this meaning in the early 7th C. (*Chron. Pasch.* 706.10). In the 10th C. STRATEGOI received 5, 10, or 20 pounds of gold annually according to which province they commanded; contemporary thematic soldiers received *roga* every fourth year on a rotating basis (*De cer.* 493.20–494.7), and special stipends were given to participants in expeditionary forces (*De cer.* 651–60). Holders of court titles also received *roga*. A *protospatharios* was paid 1 pound of gold annually, while *rogai* for higher dignities doubled at successive levels: *hypatos* (2 pounds), *magistros* (16 pounds), *kouropalates* (32 pounds). The *roga* could be obtained through the purchase of an office or title (see TITLES, PURCHASE OF)—thus forming a kind of government annuity—and from the 11th C. regularly accompanied dignities bestowed upon foreign rulers. Most, although not all, *rogai* were presented to high officials and title holders in a ceremony held in Constantinople the week before Palm Sunday (*SkylCont* 133.18–21); Michael III ordered 200 pounds of gold objects melted down and coined for one such distribution (*TheophCont* 173.3–14). The term *roga* can also designate cash stipends allocated by the ecclesiastical hierarchy or founders of religious houses to monks or clergy (e.g., will of Eustathios BOILAS, 27.217, 223). (See also WAGES.)

LIT. P. Lemerle, "'Roga' et rente d'État au Xe–XIe siècles," *REB* 25 (1967) 77–100. J.-C. Cheynet, "Dévaluation des dignités et dévaluation monétaire dans la seconde moitié du XIe siècle," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 453–77. Hendy, *Economy* 187–95, 648–54. –A.J.C.

ROGER I (*Ῥογέριος*), count of Sicily (from 1072); born Hauteville, Normandy, ca.1031, died Mileto, Calabria, 22 June 1101. Roger was the youngest brother of ROBERT GUISCARD, who aided his conquest of Sicily. There Roger maintained some Greek monasteries. In 1089 he assisted Pope URBAN II in his effort to heal the schism with Byz. Roger's support of his nephew Roger Borsa, count of Apulia, encouraged BOHEMUND to leave Italy and join the First Crusade.

LIT. Chalandon, *Domination normande* 1:148–354. –C.M.B.

ROGER II, son of ROGER I, count (from 1105), then king of SICILY (1130–54); born 22 Dec. 1095, died Palermo 26 Feb. 1154. Taking advantage of the preoccupation of MANUEL I with the Second Crusade (1147), Roger dispatched a fleet that captured Kerkyra and plundered Thebes and Corinth as well as Euboea. His captives included numerous silk weavers (see SERIKARIOS), who established the industry in Sicily. The recapture of Kerkyra required lengthy sieges (1148–49) by Manuel and the Venetians. To distract the Byz., Roger sent a fleet (ca.1149) that reached Constan-

tinople. The Normans burned wharves at Skoutarion and in a defiant gesture shot arrows at the palace. Roger's successor, WILLIAM I, inherited the conflict.

Among Sicilian monuments sponsored by Roger, the mosaics of CEFALÙ and the Cappella Palatina in PALERMO draw heavily on Byz. sources and perhaps Byz. craftsmen. In the church of the Martorana at Palermo, Roger is depicted as a *basileus* crowned by Christ.

LIT. E. Caspar, *Roger II. (1101–1154) und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie* (Innsbruck 1904). Chalandon, *Domination normande* 1:355–404, 2:1–166. P. Rassow, "Zum byzantinisch-normannischen Krieg, 1147–1149," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 62 (1954) 213–18. Lamma, *Comneni* 1:85–147.

–C.M.B., A.C.

ROGER DE FLOR, commander of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY; born Brindisi ca.1267, died Adrianople 30 Apr. 1305. Of German extraction (his name Flor is apparently a translation of Germ. *Blum*), Roger began his career as a Templar but left the Order in disgrace after misconduct at the siege of Acre (1291). He was then entrusted by Frederick II of Sicily (1296–1337) with command of a company of Catalans and Aragonese who fought the Angevins in Italy. After the Peace of Caltabellotta (1302), Roger offered his services to the Byz. in exchange for the title of MEGAS DOUX and marriage to Maria, niece of Andronikos II. Roger arrived in Constantinople in 1303 with seven ships and about 8,000 mercenaries. After wintering in Kyzikos, he mounted a successful campaign against the Turks. In Aug. 1304, however, Andronikos recalled him because of Catalan looting of the local Greek population. Roger then seized control of KALLIPOLIS and made it his base of operations. In the spring of 1305, Roger was promoted to CAESAR and offered the position of *strategos autokrator* in Anatolia. Before leaving on campaign he visited MICHAEL IX at Adrianople where he was murdered by Alan mercenaries, probably at Michael's instigation.

SOURCES. Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:393–400, 415–51, 505–18, 521–28. R. Muntaner, *Crònica,* ed. M. Gustà, vol. 2 (Barcelona 1979) 59–97. Eng. tr. Lady [A.] Goodenough, *The Chronicle of Muntaner,* vol. 2 (London 1921) 466–513.
LIT. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 131–47.

–A.M.T.

ROGERIOS (Ῥογέριος), a noble family of Norman origin. Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 1:55.15–18) relates that a magnate of ROBERT GUISCARD, "Rogeres," who was a brother of Raoul, deserted to Byz. ca.1080; he is probably to be identified with the Roger (a son of Dagobert) who signed the treaty of Devol in 1108. KALLIKLES praised Rogerios the *sebastos* (probably the founder of the Byz. family) as an experienced military commander who fought against "Celts," the Danubian "Scythians," and "Persians." His son by a Dalassene, John Rogerios Dalassenos the caesar (see ROGERIOS, JOHN), married Maria, John II's daughter; their daughter Theodora married John KONTOSTEPHANOS. Several Rogerioi had the high title of *sebastos*: Constantine, John II's contemporary; Andronikos, "son of the caesar," and Alexios (his son?) in 1166; another (?) Andronikos in 1191. Leo Rogerios, "grandson of a *sebastos*," is mentioned in a 12th-C. epigram as a translator from Latin (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 129, no.113). In 1189 a certain Rogerios Sclavo acted as *dux* of Dalmatia and Croatia (T. Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae,* vol. 2 [Zagreb 1904] nos. 163,165), but it remains unclear whether he was a Byz. governor or an independent ruler and whether he was related to the above-mentioned Rogerios. A poem entitled SPANEAS addresses the son of the caesar Rogerios. The identification of the caesar with Roger II of Sicily (e.g., by H. Schreiner, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 295f) and of his son with the *dux* of Dalmatia proves invalid. BALSAMON praised Andronikos Rogerios for the construction of the monastery of the Virgin Chrysokamariotissa.

LIT. L. Stiernon, "A propos de trois membres de la famille Rogerios (XIIe siècle)," *REB* 22 (1964) 184–98. V. Laurent, "Andronic Rogerios, fondateur du couvent de la Théotocos Chrysokamariotissa," *BSHAcRoum* 27 (1946) 73–84. B. Ferjančić, "Apanažni posed kesara Jovana Rogerija," *ZRVI* 12 (1970) 193–201.

–A.K.

ROGERIOS, JOHN, caesar; died after 1152, perhaps after 1166. Rogerios was son of Roger, a Norman deserter to Byz., and a Dalassene. On his seal (Laurent, *Bulles métr.,* no.724) and in a poem addressed to him (Lampros, "Mark. kod. 524" 21), he is called Dalassenos (and presumably preferred that name), but Kinnamos calls him Rogerios. Because of his marriage to Maria Komnene, eldest daughter of JOHN II KOMNENOS, Rogerios became caesar. Following John II's death, and before Manuel I occupied Constantinople, Rogerios plotted to make himself emperor. His many supporters included Prince Robert of Capua, a Norman refugee then in Constantinople, and his knights. Preferring her brother to her husband, Maria reported the conspiracy to Manuel's agents. Rogerios was lured out of Constantinople and held in a suburb. Sometime (either before or shortly after his wife's death ca.1146) he recovered his position. In 1152 he held estates and administrative authority in the Strumica-Vardar region (B. Ferjančić, *ZRVI* 12 [1970] 193–201). About 1152 he was sent to Antioch to marry the widowed Constance, but because of his age she refused him. He returned to Byz. and died a monk. J. Schmitt's identification of John Rogerios as the addressee of the SPANEAS has not been proved (Beck, *Volksliteratur* 106f).

LIT. Chalandon, *Comnène* 2:197f. J. Schmitt, "Über den Verfasser des Spaneas," *BZ* 1 (1892) 318–21.

–C.M.B.

ROGER OF HOVEDEN (or Howden), Anglo-Norman historian; died 1201/2, but certainly before 29 Sept. 1202. He was a clerk at the English court (1174–1189/90) who participated in the Third Crusade (J.B. Gillingham in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds,* ed. D.O. Morgan [London 1982] 60–75) and was likely parson of Howden (by 1174; active there in the 1190s). He probably wrote the *Gesta regis Henrici II* (Deeds of King Henry II, 1169–92; revised in 1192 or 1193), ascribed to Benedict of Peterborough. Roger carefully reworked (1192/3–1201/2) the *Gesta*'s account of 1169–92 into a *Chronica* and continued it to 1201 (D. Corner, *EHR* 98 [1983] 297–310). The revisions prompted by new data imply that each source's material on Byz. requires comparison. Thus the *Chronica* gives the text of Manuel I's letter to Henry II (2:102–04; *Reg* 2, no.1524), while the *Gesta* has only a résumé (ed. Stubbs, 1:128–30). Conversely, the day-by-day journal of Richard I's Crusade, including the conquest of Cyprus (7 Aug. 1190–22 Aug. 1191; *Gesta* 2:112–91) is, despite some additions (e.g., sailing time from Marseilles to Acre: *Chronica* 3:51), abridged in the *Chronica* (3:39–129). So too the document reporting the prophecy on the Golden Gate of a Latin emperor in Constantinople and the treaty of Isaac II Angelos with Saladin appears in *Gesta* (2:51–53), while *Chronica* only summarizes it (2:355–56). Particularly while at court, Roger acquired a wealth of information ranging from news of an earthquake at Catania (a.1164, *Chronica* 1:223) or the marriage of Agnes of France to Alexios II (*Chronica* 2:192; *Gesta* 1:239) to detailed accounts of the marriage of William II of Sicily to Henry II's daughter (*Chronica* 2:94–97; cf. *Gesta* 1:115–17, 120, 157f, 169–72) and Conrad of Montferrat's cooperation with Manuel I (*Chronica* 2:194f; *Gesta* 1:243f, 250). Histories of Alexios II, Andronikos I Komnenos, and Isaac II Angelos also appear including an account of Isaac's alleged studies at Paris (*Gesta* 1:251–62; *Chronica* 2:201–08). The apparently eyewitness description of Philip Augustus's return from the Crusade across Byz. includes, for example, a description of Kerkyra, which supposedly provided the emperor with 1,400 pounds of gold annually (*Gesta* 2:194–205; abridged in the *Chronica* 3:157–66).

ED. *Gesta,* ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. [= *RBMAS* 49] (London 1867). *Chronica,* ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols. [= *RBMAS* 51] (London 1868–71; rp. Wiesbaden 1964). Tr. H.T. Riley, *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden,* 2 vols. (London 1853).
LIT. D. Corner, "The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica* of Roger, Parson of Howden," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 56 (1983) 126–44.

–M.McC.

ROLL (εἰλητάριον, Lat. *rotulus, volumen*). In antiquity the BOOK was in the form of a roll made of sheets of PAPYRUS pasted together and rolled onto a rod. Writing, usually on only one side of the scroll, was parallel to the long axis. In the 4th C. the roll was generally supplanted by the more convenient CODEX, but continued to be used in the imperial chancery, for tax collectors' PRAKTIKA and for liturgical texts (see ROLLS, LITURGICAL). The only major example of a roll richly illustrated along its long axis is the JOSHUA ROLL. Artists continued to represent the book in the form of a roll in mosaics and MS illustration, even when the codex format had become preponderant. Most commonly the roll is shown unfurled, in the hands of bishops and esp. of prophets, displaying the incipits of biblical utterances.

LIT. Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 7–9. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 43–47. L. Santifaller, "Über späte Papyrusrollen und frühe Pergamentrollen," in *Speculum Historiale,* ed. C. Bauer et al. (Freiburg-Munich 1965) 117–33. E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso: The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll* (Brussels 1978).

–E.G., A.M.T., A.C.

ROLLS, LITURGICAL. Written on sheets of PARCHMENT or PAPER that were glued together, liturgical rolls could reach 12 m in length; the text was copied parallel to the narrow side (i.e., at right angles to the long axis or *transversa charta*:

E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* [Brussels 1978] 26–51). Frequently the verso of liturgical rolls was also used. L.W. Daly (*GRBS* 14 [1973] 333–38) suggests that the format of liturgical rolls was inspired by imperial documents. The earliest surviving liturgical roll on parchment (the Ravenna roll) is probably of the 7th C.

Liturgical rolls survive in large numbers from the 11th C., but only a few have extensive figural decoration. Typically they open with author PORTRAITS of Sts. Basil and/or John Chrysostom and may contain floral and zoomorphic initials in the body of the text. Additional figural decoration is varied, each roll emphasizing different aspects of the text. One 11th-C. example in Jerusalem has historiated initials and marginal vignettes, including a representation of Constantinople that establishes the provenance; the imagery of another in Moscow pertains to the STOUDIOS MONASTERY in Constantinople. A 12th-C. roll in Athens, Nat. Lib. 2759, depicts Basil and John at the altar of a many-domed church; the illustration resembles the frontispieces of the MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS, while the text's border is decorated in the manner of 12th-C. imperial scrolls. The numerous liturgical rolls of the Palaiologan period are seldom elaborately embellished, although one has an ornate border with monograms of the imperial family. Rolls figure prominently among the products of the HODEGON MONASTERY and constitute about one third of the signed works of its best known scribe, Ioasaph.

LIT. G. Cavallo, "La genesi dei rotoli liturgici Beneventani," in *Miscellanea in memoria di Giorgio Cencetti* (Turin 1973) 213–29. A. Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures," *DOP* 8 (1954) 161–99.
–R.S.N., E.G., A.M.T.

ROMANCE, or novel; a work of fiction that in the ancient and Byz. world narrates, with some attention to the characters' psychological states, the hazards that a pair of lovers successfully face. The ancient romances (e.g., those of ACHILLES TATIUS, CHARITON, HELIODOROS, Longus), composed between the 2nd and 4th C. by writers well versed in rhetorical techniques and read, it seems, by a broad spectrum of the literate public, maintained an intermittent readership in the Byz. period. Byz. readers interpreted ancient romances as metaphorical descriptions of the struggle for salvation (S. Poljakova, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 243–48); accordingly Metaphrastes used romances to embellish hagiographic plots (S. Poljakova, *ADSV* 10 [1973] 267–69). In the 12th C. Eustathios MAKREMBOLITES, Theodore PRODROMOS, Constantine MANASSES, and Niketas EUGENEIANOS revived the genre, showing by direct quotation and use of shared motifs that they were well acquainted with their predecessors. Nevertheless, these works (Makrembolites' written in prose, the others in verse, and all in purist language with elaborate rhetorical devices, e.g., EKPHRASEIS of gardens and buildings) are not merely slavish imitations. Why the romance should reappear at this moment, after six centuries, is a question yet to be answered satisfactorily.

Some romances composed in the 14th C. (all in POLITICAL VERSE) show knowledge of the conventions of the 12th-C. works, esp. in their use of *ekphraseis* (e.g., the *Erotokastron* [Castle of Love] of BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA and similar scenes in KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE, in LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE, and the ACHILLEIS). Others, however, are either close translations (e.g., WAR OF TROY and PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA) or free adaptations (e.g., IMBERIOS AND MARGARONA) of a Western original. Almost all 14th-C. romances reveal by their vocabulary and assumptions that they derive from a mixed Frankish-Greek society, such as that found in the Morea or Cyprus.

Characteristics of these later verse romances (cf. also BELISARIOS, ROMANCE OF, and DIGENES AKRITAS) include a language that, though closer to the spoken than the purist level, presents a range of forms drawn from all stages of the development of Greek; a loose MS tradition, with many variants that are hard to reconcile into one text, even when all MSS plainly descend from one archetype; and many lines and half-lines that are repeated both within one romance and also in others. Explanations for these phenomena have been sought in the incompetence of barely literate authors (Krumbacher, *GBL* 795f) or the imperfect attempts of educated aristocrats to use the vernacular (Beck). More recently comparisons have been made with similar features in the medieval vernacular literatures of western Europe. There has been postulated a background of orally disseminated traditional literature, which has been shown elsewhere to produce features such as those observed in the Greek context (Jeffreys). Counterarguments, however, maintain that the repetitions between texts are due only to the normal literary processes of quotation and plagiarism (Spadaro). The question of the genesis of the 14th-C. romances, and thus also of the audience for whom they were intended, has yet to be fully resolved.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:119–42. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 117–47. E.M. and M.J. Jeffreys, "The Oral Background of Byzantine Popular Poetry," *Oral Tradition* 1 (1986) 504–47. G. Spadaro, "Edizioni critiche di testi greci medievali in lingua demotica: Difficoltà e prospettive," in *Neograeca Medii Aevi: Texte und Ausgabe,* ed. H. Eideneier (Cologne 1986) 327–55. H.-G. Beck, F. Conca, C. Cupane, *Il romanzo tra cultura latina e cultura bizantina* (Palermo 1986). C. Cupane, "Byzantinisches Erotikon: Ansichten und Einsichten," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 213–33.
–E.M.J., M.J.J.

ROMANCE OF JULIAN, a fictional account of the reign of Emp. JULIAN surviving in two partial Syriac MSS of the 6th or 7th C., now in London (B.L. Add. MSS 14641, 7192). The work purports to be *Stories of the Kings of Romania* by a certain Aplōrīs, who appears in the work as an official of Emp. Jovian. The author composed the accounts, he says, to aid in the conversion of pagans. Internal criteria suggest that a single author wrote the *Romance* in Edessa between 502 and 532. In addition to the antipagan and anti-Julian character of the work, the author is at pains to put the Jews in a bad light, as supporters of the apostate emperor. This polemical note suggests that there were still influential pagans and Jews in the environs of Edessa in the first half of the 6th C. Later writers in Syriac and Arabic took the *Romance* to be a work of history and quoted from it in their accounts of Julian's reign.

ED. J.G.E. Hoffmann, *Iulianos der Abtrünnige* (Leiden 1880). Eng. tr. H. Gollancz, *Julian the Apostate* (Oxford-London 1928).

LIT. T. Nöldeke, "Über den syrischen Roman von Kaiser Julian," *ZDMG* 28 (1874) 263–92. Idem, "Ein zweiter syrischer Julianusroman," ibid, 660–74. R. Asmus, "Julians autobiographischer Mythus als Quelle des Julianusromans," *ZDMG* 68 (1914) 701–04.
–S.H.G.

ROMANIA, Latin term that appeared in the 4th C. to designate the Roman Empire, esp. in contrast to the barbarian world (F. Clover in *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1977/78* [Bonn 1980] 80f); the term may have originated in a popular and Christian milieu. In the East the Greek term is known from the 6th C.—in a chronicle (Malal. 408.11) and in a vernacular inscription from Sirmium that entreats God to save Romania from the Avars (J. Brunšmid in *Eranos Vindobonensis* [Vienna 1893] 331–33). In Greek the term *Romania* also denoted the empire. This "universal" meaning was lost in the West, where it came to be applied to Romagna (the former exarchate of Ravenna). After 1080 Westerners used Romania for either the empire, in accordance with the Byz. tradition, or RŪM, in accordance with Muslim usage. In 1204 the name *Romania* was given to the Latin Empire of Constantinople. As a result, the Byz. virtually stopped using the term in official documents, although there are exceptions, such as a curious "chrysobull" (of 1326–28?) that a certain Komnenos Palaiologos gave to the church of the Virgin Pogoniatiane (in northern Epiros) at the request of "Andronikos, the emperor of Constantinople and all Romania" (D. Zakythenos, *EEBS* 14 [1938] 293.7–8). The term was adopted by Stefan Uroš IV Dušan who styled himself the "emperor and *autokrator* of Serbia and Romania" (e.g., *Docheiar.,* no.25.22–23).

LIT. R.L. Wolff, "Romania: The Latin Empire of Constantinople," *Speculum* 23 (1948) 1–34. A. Carile, "Impero romano e *Romania*," in *La nozione di "Romano" tra cittadinanza e universalità* (Naples 1984) 247–61. Idem, "Roma e Romania dagli Isaurici ai Comneni," *SettStu* 34 (1988) 531–92. Lj. Maksimović, "Grci i Romanija u Srpskoj vladarskoj tituli," *ZRVI* 12 [1970] 61–78. J. Zeiller, "L'apparition du mot *Romania* chez les écrivains latins," *Revue des études latines* 7 (1929) 194–98.
–A.K.

ROMANIA, ASSIZES OF, conventional name assigned (following the example of the Assizes of JERUSALEM) to a collection based purportedly on the "usages and statutes of the empire of Romania," but actually upon those of the principality of ACHAIA. The Assizes was a private compilation (between ca.1333 and 1346) written in Old French. Between 1375 and 1400 it was translated into the Venetian dialect, and an officially approved version was published by VENICE in 1452 or 1453 for use in Euboea and other Venetian possessions. The Assizes generally concerns the feudal relationships of the prince of Achaia and his vassals and draws on oral tradition, precedents from the prince's court, and the treatise of Jean d'Ibelin in the Assizes of Jerusalem. Some clauses deal with the Greek inhabitants and derive from Byz. usages. Thus properties belonging to both Greek landowners accepted into the Moreote hierarchy and peasants (successors of the PAROIKOI) were, in Byz. fashion, divisible among heirs, while Frankish fiefs

passed undivided. The peasants' conditions of tenure followed Byz. legal prescriptions. Among the Greeks, Byz. customs regarding dowry persisted.

ED. *Les Assises de Romanie*, ed. G. Recoura (Paris 1930). Eng. tr., P.W. Topping, *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania* (Philadelphia 1949) 15–99.

LIT. D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les 'Assises de Romanie': sources, application, et diffusion* (Paris 1971).

–C.M.B.

ROMANOS (Ῥωμανός), personal name (etym. "inhabitant of Rome"). Plutarch (*Romulus* 2.1) preserved a legend that reversed this etymology and presented Romanos as a son of Odysseus and Circe. Romanos allegedly colonized Rome, and was Rome's eponym. The name was common in Rome and was still popular in the 4th and 5th C. (*PLRE* 1:768–70, 2:946–49), primarily in the secular milieu, although some 5th-C. bishops named Romanos are known (B. Stech, *RE* 2.R. 1 [1920] 1066) as well as an obscure martyr and an ascetic in Syria. ROMANOS THE MELODE is the only famous ecclesiastical writer of this name. The name, not very fashionable in later periods, had its peak in the 10th–11th C.: in Skylitzes, who lists 20 Romanoi, the name is in eighth place, right after NIKEPHOROS. It is perhaps no coincidence that the four emperors called Romanos all lived in the 10th–11th C. In the acts of *Lavra* the name occurs even less frequently than PETER. –A.K.

ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, emperor (920–44); born Lakape ca.870, died on island of Prote 15 June 948. The son of an Armenian peasant (see LEKAPENOS), Romanos made a career as a naval officer; he was *strategos* of Samos and eventually *droungarios* of the fleet. A legend attributes his rise to a successful single combat with a lion. During the regency of ZOE KARBONOPSINA, he managed to ruin his major rival Leo PHOKAS and married his daughter Helen to CONSTANTINE VII (May 919); he became *basileopator,* caesar, and was crowned on 17 Dec. 920. The actual ruler of the empire, he crowned his sons CHRISTOPHER, Stephen, and Constantine co-emperors in order to diminish Constantine VII's role. Acting as a representative of the officialdom of Constantinople, Romanos promulgated a series of laws (NOVELS) designed to protect small landowners against the DYNATOI; the date of the first novel, allegedly 922, is questionable; the second one was issued in 934, soon after the great famine of 927/8 and immediately after the rebellion of BASIL THE COPPER HAND. Although Romanos restricted the *dynatoi*'s opportunity to acquire peasants' land and introduced the right of PROTIMESIS, he also increased their taxes (*TheophCont* 443.13–18). He also subdued revolts that occurred in southern Italy, Chaldia, and the Peloponnesos, predominantly in 920–22. Romanos inherited a burdensome war against SYMEON OF BULGARIA, but after the latter's death the *patrikios* THEOPHANES concluded a treaty with PETER OF BULGARIA in 927.

Thereafter Byz. started gaining momentum: it increased its influence in Serbia, concluded a treaty with the Hungarians, defeated the fleet of IGOR in 941, and persuaded him to sign a treaty in 944. John KOURKOUAS led the offensive against the Arabs. Romanos also kept the church under control. The TOMOS OF UNION (920) brought peace to the church, and the promotion of Romanos's younger son THEOPHYLAKTOS to patriarch transformed the church administration into a sort of family affair. Notwithstanding all these successes, Romanos was dethroned by his sons Stephen and Constantine on 20 Dec. 944 and exiled to Prote. Constantine VII's victory over the Lekapenoi (27 Jan. 945) did not change Romanos's status; he died as a monk.

LIT. Runciman, *Romanus*. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 90–97. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 355–66. Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.XX. (1955), 204–11. –A.K.

ROMANOS II, emperor of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY (959–63); son of CONSTANTINE VII and Helen; born Constantinople 939, died Constantinople 15 Mar. 963. In Sept. 944 ROMANOS I married him to Bertha (Eudokia), a daughter of Hugo of Provence, king of Italy (927–47), but after her premature death Romanos married THEOPHANO, who exerted great influence on him. Crowned co-emperor on 6 Apr. 945 (G. de Jerphanion, *OrChrP* 1 [1935] 490–95), he succeeded Constantine on 9 Nov. 959. He retained Constantine's closest supporters, such as THEODORE OF DEKAPOLIS and NIKEPHOROS (II) PHOKAS, but entrusted the entire administration to Joseph BRINGAS. In his agrarian legislation, Romanos continued the policies initiated by Constantine: in a departure from the principles of Romanos I, he tended to protect the buyer of peasants' and soldiers' holdings rather than the poor person who was forced to sell his property for an unfair price (Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 409f). Under Romanos, Nikephoros Phokas led a successful offensive against the Arabs: he reconquered Crete in 960/1, defeated SAYF AL-DAWLA, recaptured Germanikeia, and besieged Aleppo.

LIT. Schlumberger, *Phocas* 1–308. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 98–100, 126–28. –A.K.

ROMANOS III ARGYROS or Argyropoulos, emperor (1028–34); born ca.968, died Constantinople 11/12 Apr. 1034. Coming from a noble family, Romanos was *oikonomos* of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, then EPARCH OF THE CITY. Constantine VIII, on his deathbed, married his daughter ZOE to Romanos, whose previous wife entered a convent. As emperor, Romanos sought popularity: he treated the church generously, released prisoners, recalled the blinded Romanos SKLEROS and the exiled Nikephoros Xiphias, and annulled the ALLELENGYON, which was hateful to ecclesiastics and probably to other great landowners. At enormous expense he constructed the monastery of the PERIBLEPTOS in Constantinople, gilded the capitals of the Great Church, and, in 1031, lavishly restored the church of BLACHERNAI. He levied heavy taxes in the provinces, but corrupt officials kept much of the revenue. Imagining himself a great general, Romanos forced a quarrel on the emir of Aleppo and in midsummer 1030 (against advice) marched on that city. A defeat brought a hasty retreat to Constantinople. In Syria only the early achievements of George MANIAKES illuminated the reign. In vain Romanos tried to continue Basil II's aggressive policy in Sicily and negotiated with the Western emperor Conrad II (1024–39). Constantine DIOGENES and other discontented aristocrats apparently developed plots around Zoe's sister THEODORA. Neglected by Romanos, Zoe favored the future MICHAEL IV and contrived Romanos's drowning.

LIT. Vannier, *Argyroi* 36–39. G. Litavrin in *Istorija Vizantii*, vol. 2 (Moscow 1967) 263f. M. Canard, *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient* (London 1973) pt.XVII:300–11. –C.M.B., A.C.

ROMANOS IV DIOGENES, emperor (1068–71); died Prote 4 Aug. 1072. An Anatolian magnate, Romanos commanded on the Danubian frontier under CONSTANTINE X. He had been convicted of conspiring with the Hungarians against EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA, when she suddenly decided to make him her husband and emperor, 1 Jan. 1068. Although Romanos ruled with Constantine X's sons MICHAEL VII, Andronikos, and Konstantios as co-emperors, their relatives, led by the caesar John DOUKAS, feared lest the princes be disinherited. Romanos constantly had to guard against Doukas plots. Bari, insufficiently supported by Romanos, fell to the Normans. Romanos attempted to reconstruct the Anatolian army from new recruits and foreign mercenaries. In 1068–69, he made two expeditions to eastern Anatolia, but the Turks sacked IKONION and CHONAI while Romanos was in the East. In 1071 Romanos encountered Alp Arslan at MANTZIKERT. He was taken captive through the treachery of the caesar's son, Andronikos. Released on condition he yield claims to Armenia, pay a ransom, and assist the sultan in the future, Romanos was treated as a rebel by the Doukas faction. Only the Armenian KHAČ'ATUR came to his aid. Romanos lost the ensuing civil war and, after surrendering, was blinded on the caesar's orders (29 June 1072—D. Polemis, *BZ* 58 [1965] 65f, 76); he soon died in a monastery.

An ivory panel (now in Paris) depicts an emperor Romanos and his wife Eudokia being crowned by Christ. Since both Romanos II and Romanos IV married Eudokias, the problem of identification and of dating this panel is complex. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann (*Elfenbeinskulpt.* II: 35) argued that the panel portrayed Romanos II, whereas I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (*DOP* 31 [1977] 305–25) assigns it to Romanos IV.

LIT. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 98–109. –C.M.B., A.C.

ROMANOS THE MELODE, hymnographer and saint; born Emesa, died after 555; feastday 1 Oct. A native (perhaps of Jewish background) of Syria, Romanos was deacon in a church in Berytus before coming to Constantinople in the reign of Anastasios I; there he served in the Church of the Virgin in the Kyrou district. Byz. legend has him divinely inspired by the Virgin, so much so that he composed 1,000 HYMNS; 85 actually survive in his name, of which 59 are probably genuine, though the debate over individual items is endless, there being no sure way of determining

authorship. In particular, the AKATHISTOS HYMN is variously attributed or denied to him. Romanos, while proclaimed a saint and highly honored by the Byz., was not imitated; the genre of KONTAKION that he developed soon waned in popularity and the church did not accept the hymns of Romanos in the liturgy (the Akathistos is the exception, but its authenticity as the work of Romanos is doubtful).

Romanos's hymns essentially recreate stories from the Old and New Testaments and from hagiography and are often linked with religious feasts; he did not avoid contemporary topics, however, and the hymn *On the Earthquake and Fire* depicts the NIKA REVOLT and praises "the new Solomon" (Justinian I) for the restoration of Hagia Sophia. Following the mainstream of Orthodox theology, Romanos does not eschew moderate Monophysitism, emphasizing the divine nature in "divided and undivided Christ." His language is simple, and the tonic system replaced the Hellenic meter. The composition is terse (in comparison with contemporary sermons), with refrains playing an important part and sometimes even expressing the main idea of the *kontakion*. His *oikonomia* comes not through contemplation but through action and drama, and accordingly the theme of the Descent into Hell (as the way of redemption) often attracts him; the dialogical structure of many *kontakia*, addressing pregnant questions to biblical figures, and broad use of irony add dramatic tension. The extent of his debt to Syriac religious poetry has been much debated.

ED. *Cantica Genuina*, ed. P. Maas, C.A. Trypanis (Oxford 1963). *Cantica Dubia*, ed. P. Maas, C.A. Trypanis (Berlin 1970). *Hymnes*, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons, 5 vols. (Paris 1964–81), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. M. Carpenter, *Kontakia of Romanos*, 2 vols. (Columbia, Mo., 1970–73), rev. A.C. Bandy *BS/EB* 3 (1976) 64–113; 7 (1980) 78–113.

LIT. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance* (Paris 1977). S. Averincev in *Kul'tura Vizantii* 1 (Moscow 1984) 318–27. W.L. Petersen, "The Dependence of Romanos the Melodist upon the Syriac Ephrem," *VigChr* 39 (1985) 171–87. K. Mitsakis, *The Language of Romanos the Melodist* (Munich 1967).

—B.B.

ROME (Ῥώμη). In the early Roman Empire of the 1st to 3rd C., Rome was the major city (*urbs*)—capital of the state, residence of the emperor, site of the SENATE and the administration, and an economic and cultural center. This status of Rome was undermined by the barbarian invasions and civil disorders of the 3rd C., which required the frequent presence of the emperor near the frontiers, but it was not until CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT made his residence at MILAN in 312 and then founded CONSTANTINOPLE in 324 that Rome began to lose its unique and exclusive position. Nevertheless, Rome continued to be the first city of the empire with its probable population of just under one million and, more important, as the emergent seat of the PAPACY. In the 4th C. Rome contained an enormous number of private dwellings and civic buildings: a notitia of this date lists no fewer than 46,602 apartment houses, 1,797 private residences, 11 large and 856 small bath buildings, 1,352 cisterns, and 144 public lavatories.

Rome suffered from a severe earthquake in 422 and from sieges and plundering in the 5th and 6th C.: by ALARIC (in 410), GAISERIC (455), RICIMER (472), TOTILA (546 and 549), and NARSES (552). The conquest of Africa by the VANDALS in the second quarter of the 5th C. deprived Rome of its major granary and made the city increasingly dependent on Sicilian foodstuffs; as a result there was a decline in the population. At the end of the 6th C. Rome had only 30,000–40,000 inhabitants (Graffunder, *RE* 2.R. 1 [1920] 1060).

A wealth of material is available for demographic studies of Rome in the 4th to 6th C.: thousands of funeral inscriptions, both pagan and Christian, mostly in Latin, although many Greek and Jewish texts are known. Social analysis of this evidence has only begun, and preliminary observations, such as the decrease in the number of tombs of slaves and freedmen from the 4th C. onward (L. Urdahl, *Classical Journal* 60 [1964–65] 276), need to be checked further on the basis of larger samples (e.g., G. Sanders, *Latomus* 30 [1971] 461). Changes within the ruling class are better documented. The senatorial aristocracy, gradually christianized (e.g., the family of ANICII), retained its position until the 6th C., when it still supported fashionable charioteers and dreamed of creating a university in Rome. By the 7th C., however, it was gradually replaced by military commanders based not in Rome (with its broad economic connections and cultural traditions) but on their estates. These administrators and the commanders of the urban militia eventually formed a new Roman elite. The troops in Rome were organized along the lines of the Byz. army and exercised considerable influence through their control over offices and military arrangements and by means of the property they accrued.

During the 7th C. a new landholding class emerged that was closely tied to the church through its monasteries and distribution centers (*diaconiae*) for grain and other foodstuffs. Comprised of small landholders and their tenants and led by local notables, this group formed new local militias that eventually replaced regular Byz. military units. It was in these militias that opposition to Byz. rule was eventually centered. Accordingly, the administration of Rome changed: the senate lost its significance, the URBAN PREFECT was eliminated by the mid-6th C., and Rome was placed under the control of the praetorian prefect of Italy and then of the *dux* of Rome, who submitted in turn to the exarch of Ravenna. At the same time the role of church administration increased. After 554 the church became increasingly the upholder of civic traditions in Rome. The pope took over the collection of tolls and the repair of public works, while, with the decline of the grain supply, "deaconries" attached to churches took over the task of feeding the city's poor.

Despite lessening political control by Byz., cultural and ideological ties between Constantinople and Rome continued. From the mid-7th C. there was substantial migration of refugees from the eastern provinces, which were under attack by the Arabs. In 645 a group of monks from the Lavra of St. SABAS in the Judaean Hills settled on the Little Aventine. A few years earlier (641), a monastic congregation from southeastern Asia Minor was established at Tre Fontane. Nestorians from Syria or Mesopotamia also immigrated to Rome. Refugees brought with them to Rome Eastern relics, feasts, and traditions, including the custom of transferring the bones of martyrs. Iconoclastic elements penetrated as well. A series of popes of Greek or Syrian background continued unbroken from Theodore I to ZACHARIAS in the mid-8th C. The activities of the Greek population, however, were restricted for the most part to the ecclesiastical sphere. Rome remained a Western city even as it assimilated and integrated Eastern influences. Nevertheless, ideology and ritual played a key part in binding Rome to the empire. Imperial documents and coins were seen as symbols of authority. Wall paintings and portable portraits of the emperor were a common feature in late 7th- and early 8th-C. Rome.

During the 7th C. the Roman church came to dissociate itself from Constantinople, largely because of doctrinal differences, and to seek political control of Byz. possessions in Italy as heir of the exarch. Ground was prepared for a rupture with Byz. after the failure of a meeting in Constantinople between emperor and pope in 711, designed to restore theological and political unity. No more successful was the attempt to reorganize Rome and its territory into a Byz. DOUKATON. A major break came during the reign of Leo III because of his Iconoclastic policy. Eventually, the concept of a Roman *res publica* associated with the see of St. Peter was promoted and encouraged by circulation of the spurious DONATION OF CONSTANTINE, but until 772 the papacy continued to date all documents according to the regnal years of the Byz. emperor. Imperial coinage continued to be minted in Rome until at least 776 and probably 781. Although clerical control in the city was becoming steadily more pronounced, imperial titles among the laity, such as consul and *dux*, remained common, and the lay aristocracy retained a powerful role in Roman society for centuries. Local military officials, although their right to rule based on imperial commissions became less important as links with Byz. weakened, kept their traditional titles and a preference for Byz. culture and remained a powerful influence until the middle of the 11th C.

The Idea of Rome. After Rome lost its position of political leadership in the 4th C., the idea (or myth) that Rome remained the center of the empire survived, but from the Byz. viewpoint it was a Rome transferred to Constantinople. CASSIODORUS stated that Emp. Constantine I called Constantinople *secunda Roma* and placed this name on a marble column, but his report was evidently based on a post-Constantinian tradition; the Greek term New Rome (*Nea Rome*) is attested no earlier than 381, in canon 3 of the First Council of Constantinople (when Themistios, in 357, contrasted New Rome with ancient Rome it was only as a rhetorical expression and not an official formulation—J. Irmscher, *Klio* 65 [1983] 434f). In the late 4th C. Gregory of Nazianzos still applied the nonofficial epithets *hoploteros* ("younger") and *neourgos* ("new") to Rome-Constantinople (E.

Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* [Munich 1968] 58). The designation "New Rome" or "Second Rome" in reference to Constantinople became common from the 6th C. onward (in Corippus, the *Chronicon Paschale*, etc.).

In the West the concept of the relocation of the capital to Constantinople was accepted, but the anonymous 9th-C. author of the *Versus Romae* complained that Rome yielded to the Greeks "nomen honosque tuus" (W. Hammer, *Speculum* 19 [1944] 54). Charlemagne entertained the idea of building a city in imitation of Rome (K. Hauck, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 20 [1986] 518). In the 10th C. the Ottonian dynasty established a "Roman" empire, and later the Muscovite ideologists developed the notion of Moscow as the "Third Rome," after Constantinople.

SOURCE. *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, 9 vols. in 13 (Rome 1922–85).

LIT. T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy* A.D. *554–800* (Rome 1984). R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City 312–1308* (Princeton 1980). C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy* (London 1982). T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter* (Philadelphia 1982). F. Gregorovius, G. Hamilton, *History of the City of Rome*^{2}, vols. 1–2 (New York 1967). L. Homo, *Rome médiévale* (Paris 1934). P. Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (London 1970). Dölger, *Byzanz* 70–115. P. Bruun, "Byzantium—the Second Rome," *Byzantium and the North* (Helsinki 1985) 21–28. *Roma, Costantinopoli, Mosca* (Naples 1983). R.L. Wolff, "The Three Romes: The Migration of an Ideology and the Making of an Autocrat," *Daedalus* 88 (1959).

–R.B.H., A.K.

ROME, MONUMENTS OF. As long as Rome remained part of the empire, the emperor was legally responsible for the city's public buildings, and the palace on the Palatine hill was maintained at least until the early 8th C. for possible imperial visits. During the 4th and early 5th C., the tradition of imperial sponsorship of public building was still active, albeit on a reduced scale: Diocletian built new baths; Maxentius, a circus on the Via Appia; the Basilica Nova was begun by Maxentius and completed by Constantine, who also constructed the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE near the Flavian amphitheater and Janus Quadrifons Arch in the Forum Boarium; Constantius II transported an obelisk from Egypt and erected it in the Circus Maximus; Valentinian I rebuilt two bridges and constructed two porticoes; Theodosios I rebuilt one bridge; and Honorius made substantial additions to the walls of Aurelius.

Many buildings were in decay, however, and spolia from them were frequently reused in new buildings, including churches. Imperial legislation designed to curtail the despoiling of public monuments and encourage restoration and repair was largely ineffective, although until the end of the 5th C. some repairs were undertaken by the administration and, occasionally, private senatorial patrons. There is no evidence of a change in this situation under the OSTROGOTHS, and Justinian I, although encouraging the maintenance of public buildings in the SANCTIO PRAGMATICA of 554, does not seem to have made any financial contributions toward renovation of the city's monuments. By the time of Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT, the aqueducts were in a state of disrepair.

In the course of the late 6th through 7th C., responsibility for the repair and maintenance of civic buildings, historically the purview of the emperor and senate, fell increasingly under the authority of the pope. The only secular construction activity known in the period is the rebuilding of the Ponte Salaria in 565 and the dedication of the column of Phokas in the Forum in 608, both by Byz. exarchs. Constans II exemplified the policy of imperial neglect or even abuse by despoiling the city of its bronze ornaments and roof tiles on his visit in 667. The ultimate preservation of temples and government structures was mostly through their conversion into churches, beginning with the Pantheon, which was alienated to the pope by Phokas in 609.

The decline of civic building in late antique Rome was offset, to a large degree, by growth in ecclesiastical construction. Constantine I erected numerous Christian basilicas (for donation lists, see *Lib.pont.* 1:170–83), including one over a shrine believed to be the tomb of St. Peter, another at the tomb of St. Lawrence, and the cathedral (St. John Lateran) and its freestanding baptistery. Except for the baptistery none of these buildings survives, but S. Costanza, the mid-4th-C. mausoleum of Constantine's daughter Constantina, is well preserved. It is a domed rotunda with partly figural mosaics in a surrounding barrel vault; its "double-shell" design is thought to be an ancestor of Byz. edifices such as Sts. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS in Constantinople.

After Constantine, imperial patronage of churches in Rome was infrequent. A large basilica over the tomb of St. Paul was begun by Valentinian II, Theodosios I, and Arkadios (S. Paolo fuori le mura, destroyed by fire in 1823); it was completed by Honorius, who also erected a dynastic mausoleum at St. Peter's (later consecrated as the chapel of S. Petronilla). Theodosios II and his daughter Eudoxia sponsored the basilica of St. Peter in Chains (S. Pietro in Vincoli, extant but remodeled).

Nonimperial Byz. patronage is also little attested. Much has been made of the fact that there were 13 non-Italian popes between 642 and 772, but few can be associated with extant works of art. An exception is Pope JOHN VII, who sponsored paintings and mosaics, the surviving fragments of which are generally considered Byz. (i.e., Constantinopolitan) in facture and style. There were also numerous Greek and Palestinian monasteries in Rome, whose artistic record too is almost nil. Fragmentary paintings at S. Saba on the Aventine are dated by D.H. Wright (*BSC Abstracts* 10 [1984] 62–64) to two periods, before 726 and after 787; he attributes the later murals to a master from Constantinople. Pope Paschal I (817–24) established a Greek monastery at S. Prassede where, although the architecture of the extant church is strictly Roman, the mosaics are stylistically akin to the 9th-C. *Sacra Parallela* miniatures, now attributed by Weitzmann to Palestine (Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela* 14–25).

It is commonly thought that in the period from the Gothic wars to the so-called Carolingian revival (i.e., from the late 6th to the 8th C.) Rome was not a vital cultural milieu but an artistic province of Constantinople; much Roman painting of this period is defined as Byz., regardless of patronage, by its style. This is esp. true of the fragmentary murals in S. Maria Antiqua, where the so-called palimpsest wall, displaying four strata of superimposed decorations, provides a useful relative chronology. Kitzinger and others discern essentially two trends in these paintings: "Hellenistic" (loosely painted, naturalistic) and "hieratic" (linear, static, and flat), which occur in alternation. The "Hellenistic" style is universally attributed to Constantinople (where it is superbly represented in the floor mosaics of the GREAT PALACE), and paintings in this manner are considered Byz. or byzantinizing. Kitzinger believes that the "hieratic" style likewise emanated from Constantinople; other examples of the style in Rome are the mosaics in S. Agnese fuori le mura (625–38) and the chapel of S. Venanzio at the Lateran (642–49).

Vitae of popes of the 8th and 9th C., beginning with Zacharias (741–52), record the donations to Roman churches of thousands of TEXTILES, often qualified as *alexandrina*, *olosirica*, *de blatin bizantea*, etc. (for the terms, see F. Mosino, *BollBadGr* n.s. 37 [1983] 61–73). Many are described as having figured scenes (J. Croquison, *Byzantion* 34 [1964] 577–605), and these textiles (of which only paltry scraps survive) must have been an influential means of transmission of Byz. iconography to the West.

Presumably, icons also were imported, although the five pre-Iconoclastic icons extant in Rome are mostly considered local products: four are of the Virgin Mary, in S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Francesca Romana, S. Maria del Rosario, and the Pantheon; one, called *acheropsita* ([sic] see ACHEIROPOIETA) in the *Liber pontificalis* (*Lib.pont.* 1:443), is of Christ and is preserved in the Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran. None is surely dated, although it is plausible that the Pantheon icon was made for the building's conversion in 609.

Unlike RAVENNA, Rome has no buildings of purely Byz. design, except perhaps the galleried basilicas of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura (579–90) and S. Agnese fuori le mura (625–38). Krautheimer has pointed to a number of churches erected just after the Gothic wars that have Byz. features or motifs, possibly reflecting Byz. military construction.

After the political split with Byz. ca.750, most of the monumental art in Rome reverted self-consciously to local prototypes, such as the Constantinian basilicas and the apse mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano (526–30). Nevertheless, Byz. traces appear in Roman mosaics. They have already been noted for the 9th C. (in S. Prassede, above). Many scholars believe that the revival of mosaic in 12th-C. Rome was due to descendants of the Byz.-founded workshop of MONTECASSINO. The influence of Montecassino may also be seen in the Byz. bronze DOOR donated in 1070 to S. Paolo fuori le mura, which was by then a Benedictine monastery.

LIT. Kitzinger, *Making* 99–122; rev. D. Kinney *BS/EB* 9 (1982) 316–33. P.J. Nordhagen, "Italo-Byzantine Painting of the Early Middle Ages," *SettStu* 34 (1988) 593–626.

–D.K., R.B.H.

ROMUALD II, archbishop of Salerno (1153–1 Apr. 1181); statesman at the Norman court of Sicily. A universal chronicle (from the time of Christ to 1178), which is esp. useful for southern Italy (1125–78), is attributed to him, although this ascription has been challenged by Matthew

(*infra*). The initial section was compiled from BEDE, OROSIUS, Paul the Deacon, LIBER PONTIFICALIS, Bonizo of Sutri, and other sources. The section from 839 to 1126 preserves some unique information on events and disasters (earthquakes, famines, etc.) in Apulia and Benevento; the emphasis on Troia suggests that this section could have been written there and then continued at Salerno. The long description (ed. Garufi, pp. 270.5–296.26) of negotiations for the treaty of Venice (1177) explicitly identifies itself, and possibly the entire chronicle, as the work of Romuald, who figures prominently in the later sections. Revisions concerning southern Italy and Antioch introduced into some MSS derive in part from Lupus Protospatharius (see ANNALS OF BARI). The chronicle treats Norman relations with Byz. (e.g., 227.4–16, 254.23–255.1, 261.16–22), Manuel I's operations against Italy (239.6–241.15), Byz. and Ikonion (267.13–268.6), and the Norman kings' artistic projects (e.g., Palermo: 252.21–253.2, 254.1–3).

ED. *Chronicon*, ed. C.A. Garufi [= RIS² 7.1] (Città di Castello 1914–35). Cf. C. Erdmann, *Neues Archiv* 48 (1930) 510–12 and H. Hoffmann, *DA* 23 (1967) 116–70.

LIT. D.J.A. Matthew, "The Chronicle of Romuald of Salerno," in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to R.W. Southern* (Oxford 1981) 239–74.

–M.McC.

ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS (in texts) or Augustus (on coins), Western emperor (31 Oct. 475–after 4 Sept. 476); died probably after 507 or 511. Romulus (Ῥώμυλος) was proclaimed augustus by his father Orestes, who was the former secretary of Attila, and *magister militum* and patrician during the brief reign of JULIUS NEPOS, whom Orestes soon overthrew. The Eastern court never recognized Romulus. When the Germanic troops revolted and Orestes was killed, ODOACER became ruler of Italy and made Romulus formally abdicate. The life of Romulus was spared due to his youth and physical charm: he was given a substantial pension and sent to live in Campania with relatives. Odoacer sent a delegation to Zeno announcing that no new Western emperor was needed, but Constantinople continued to regard Julius Nepos as the official augustus of the West.

The events of 476 are often considered the end of the Western Empire and of antiquity. They did not, however, produce any real change in the state of affairs and were not viewed by contemporaries as a major turning point.

LIT. A. Momigliano, "La caduta senza rumore di un impero nel 476 d.C.," in *Concetto, storia, miti e immagini del Medio Evo* (Florence 1973) 409–28. B. Croke, "A.D. 476: The Manufacture of a Turning Point," *Chiron* 13 (1983) 81–119. E. Demougeot, "Bedeutet das Jahr 476 das Ende des römischen Reichs im Okzident?" *Klio* 60 (1978) 371–81. J. Irmscher, "Das Ende des weströmischen Kaisertums in der byzantinischen Literatur," *Klio* 60 (1978) 397–401.

–T.E.G.

ROMYLOS, hesychast monk; saint; born Vidin, Bulgaria, died Ravanica, Serbia, after 1381; feast-days 11 Jan., 1 Nov. Son of a Greek father and Bulgarian mother, he was given the baptismal name of Raikos (or Rousko). To avoid the marriage planned by his parents, he fled to the Hodegetria monastery at Tŭrnovo, where he took the monastic name of Romanos (later changed to Romylos). He preferred the solitary to the cenobitic life, however, and moved to PARORIA in southeastern Bulgaria, where he became a disciple of GREGORY SINAITES and helped him construct his monastery. On three occasions Romylos was forced to leave his beloved Paroria for the safety of Zagora (near Tŭrnovo) because of famine and the threat from brigands and Turks.

After a Turkish attack on Paroria, Romylos fled to Athos, where he lived as a solitary near the LAVRA. When Athos became endangered after the Serbian defeat at MARICA in 1371, Romylos moved on to Avlon. His final journey was to the Serbian monastery at Ravanica. Before 1391 Gregory, a Greek who had been Romylos's disciple on Athos, wrote his vita (*BHG* 2384); its contemporary Slavonic version also survives.

SOURCES. F. Halkin, "Un ermite des Balkans au XIVe siècle. La vie grecque inédite de Saint Romylos," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 111–47. Eng. tr. M. Bartusis, K. Ben Nasser, A. Laiou, "Days and Deeds of a Hesychast Saint: A Translation of the Greek Life of Saint Romylos," *BS/EB* 9 (1982) 24–47. P. Devos, "La version slave de la Vie de S. Romylos," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 149–87.

–A.M.T.

ROOF (στέγος, ὀροφή). In Byz., roofs were ordinarily flat for houses, trussed over palaces and the broad spans of the naves of basilicas (with shed roofs over the aisles), and conical or domical (in imitation of vaulted masonry domes) over centralized spaces. Roofing material—thatch, tile (ceramic, marble, copper), lead or bronze sheets—was laid on masonry vaults or timber roofs to protect the structure from the elements. The earliest extant Byz. timber roof is at the monastery of St. CATHERINE on Sinai, a truss roof with a central vertical joggle post locked into the apex of the rafters at the top and notched at the bottom to support struts angled to meet the rafters at their midpoints. Horizontal tie beams keep the rafters from spreading; purlins laid horizontally on major rafters support lesser rafters on which the roof cover is laid. Eusebios notes the use of lead sheets on the Martyrion at Jerusalem and bronze tile instead of terracotta on the Holy Apostles (*VC* 3.36.2, 4.58). Thomas I, patriarch of JERUSALEM (807–20), restored Modestus's conical roof of the Anastasis, damaged by an earthquake, with 40 beams of pine or cedar from Cyprus (H. Vincent, F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, vol. 2 [Paris 1914] 220, 244).

LIT. F. Deichmann, *RAC* 3:531–36. H. Hellenkemper, *LMA* 3:423f. Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:386–96.

–W.L.

ROSSANO (Ῥουσιανόν, Ῥουσκιανή), port city in southern Italy. Prokopios (*Wars* 7.28.8) describes Rouskiane as the harbor of Thourioi, above which a fortress was built by "ancient Romans." In 548, during the Gothic war, Rouskiane surrendered to Totila after a long resistance. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 27.49) names Rousianon as one of the strongholds the Lombards were unable to take. Rossano probably served as the base of operations for Nikephoros Phokas the Elder in CALABRIA in 885/6. At the end of the 9th C. a bishopric was established at Rossano, replacing the see of Thourioi, which is still attested in the 7th C. The bishop of Rossano was a suffragan of REGGIO-CALABRIA. Rossano had a powerful fortress: in 982 Otto II, on campaign against the Arabs in Calabria, left his wife Theophano and the state treasure within the walls of the stronghold. After being defeated, Otto took refuge on a Byz. ship, but fearful of being taken prisoner jumped overboard at Rossano and swam ashore. In the 10th C. the Byz. controlled Rossano but frequently had to deal with local revolts, as in ca.965, when the city rebelled against the *magistros* Nikephoros. Rossano was one of the last fortresses captured by the NORMANS during their occupation of Calabria ca.1059.

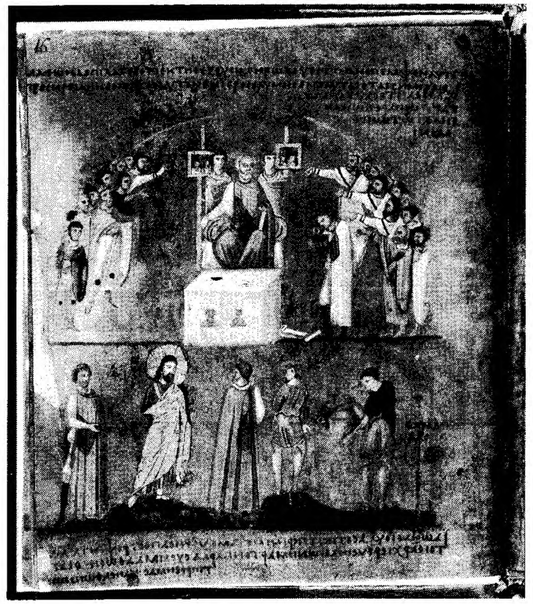
There were many monasteries in the vicinity of Rossano, esp. at MERKOURION, where NEILOS OF ROSSANO was active. After the Norman conquest the monastery of PATIR was founded. Monasteries of the Greek rite still existed in this region in the 15th C. (M. Adoriso Ambonio, *BollBadGr* 27 [1973] 91–96).

Monuments of Rossano. Cappelli (*infra*) counted five extant Byz. churches in Rossano, of which the most important are S. Marco and the Panaghia. The latter (12th-C.?) is a rectangular building on a terrace, with its original entrance in the long south wall; it has one apse and a longitudinal chapel on its north side. These features constitute a distinctive Calabrian type. S. Marco, by contrast, is a five-domed church, square with four masonry piers in the center: it is the same type as the Cattolica at STILO. Scholars have placed its date between the 9th and the 11th C. Cappelli proposed to identify S. Marco with the oratory of the convent of S. Anastasia mentioned in the vita of Neilos of Rossano. The ROSSANO GOSPELS, now in the Museo Arcivescovile, were not made in Rossano but may have been brought there as early as the 7th C.

LIT. A. Gradilone, *Storia di Rossano* (Rome 1926). Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:719–21. *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 4:308–10. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 402f. B. Cappelli, "Rossano bizantina minore," *AStCal* 24 (1955) 31–53.

–A.K., D.K.

ROSSANO GOSPELS, the oldest surviving illustrated Greek Gospel book, now preserved in the cathedral museum at Rossano. A fragment, it contains the texts of Matthew and Mark (up to 16:14), although its illustration draws on all four Gospels. It is written in silver uncials on purple parchment, with incipits in gold, on 188 folios measuring 30.7 × 26 cm. Fourteen miniatures and the frontispiece to the (lost) CANON TABLES depict events in the life of Christ. The page devoted to St. Mark and a personification sometimes said to represent SOPHIA is painted on a *bifolium* that O. Kresten and G. Prato (*RömHistMitt* 27 [1985] 381–99) have argued is an insertion of the 11th–12th C., when purple parchment was used in southern Italy. In ten of the miniatures Old Testament prophets are shown holding scrolls inscribed with texts read in the liturgy and pointing to the Gospel scenes illustrated above them. The MS is generally agreed to be a work of the second half of the 6th C., although its place of origin (Syria?, Constantino-



ROSSANO GOSPELS. Page from the Rossano Gospels. Museo Arcivescovile, Rossano. Pilate offering the Jews the choice between Christ and Barabbas (fol.8v).

ple?) is far from certain. Loerke (*infra*) has argued that some miniatures depend directly on lost wall paintings in Jerusalem.

ED. and LIT. *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, ed. G. Cavallo, J. Gribomont, W.C. Loerke, 2 vols. (Rome-Graz 1985–87). –A.C.

ROSSIA. See RHOSIA.

ROSSIKON. See PANTELEEMON MONASTERY.

ROTULUS. See JOSHUA ROLL; ROLLS, LITURGICAL.

ROUPHINIANAI (Ῥουφινιαναί), or Rufinianae, Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, located on the Sea of Marmara southeast of Chalcedon. The area, formerly referred to as Drys ("the Oak"), took its name from the praetorian prefect RUFINUS, who undertook a building program there in the late 4th C. At the time of his conversion to Christianity, Rufinus constructed a church dedicated to Peter and Paul (the Apostoleion). In 393 he founded a separate monastery nearby where he installed Egyptian monks to serve as the clergy for the Apostoleion. This original phase of the monastery was very brief, since it was abandoned after Rufinus's murder in 395. The monastery quickly fell into disrepair but was restored ca.400 by HYPATIOS, who served as *hegoumenos* until his death in 446. The restored monastery bore the name of St. Hypatios after its second founder and housed 50 monks in the mid-5th C. In 403 the Apostoleion was the site of the Synod of the Oak that deposed Patr. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. Circa 950 Patr. Theophylaktos restored the monastery once again. After the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the monastery was abandoned by its Greek monks for about ten years (ca.1215–25) and inhabited by Cistercians as a dependency of the monastery of St. Angelus of Pera (E.A.R. Brown, *Traditio* 14 [1958] 88–90). When the Greek monks returned, the monastery came under the direction of the *hegoumenos* of St. Paul of Latros. It does not appear in the sources after the 13th C.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 207. J. Pargoire, "Rufinianes," *BZ* 8 (1899) 429–77. J.P. Meliopoulos, "Bounos Auxentiou: Rouphinianai," *BZ* 9 (1900) 63–71. Janin, *Églises centres* 36–40. –A.M.T.

ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL (Ῥουσέλιος or Οὐρσέλιος), Norman mercenary; born Bailleul, Normandy, died Herakleia Perinthos 1078. Roussel fought in Sicily (1069), then led the Norman troops on Romanos IV's expedition to MANTZIKERT, but escaped the debacle. In 1073 he quarreled with his commander Isaac KOMNENOS and departed to establish a base in the Armeniakon. In 1074, at the Zompos Bridge over the Sangarios, he captured the caesar John DOUKAS. After advancing as far as Chrysopolis, Roussel proclaimed John emperor to give his revolt a legal pretext. Assisted by Artuk, Michael VII captured Roussel and John. Ransomed by his wife (probably late 1074), Roussel returned to the Armeniakon to create a state. He levied funds from the cities and fought the Turks. About 1075 the future ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS induced Roussel's Turkish ally Tutach (Τουτάχ—Bryen. 187.6) to betray him. When the people of Amaseia rioted against a levy to pay Tutach, Alexios pretended to have Roussel blinded; thereafter, the populace paid. Roussel was imprisoned in Constantinople until late 1077, when Michael VII released him to oppose Nikephoros BRYENNIOS. Roussel garrisoned Thracian Herakleia. After Michael's fall, his minister NIKEPHORITZES fled there to join Roussel. When Roussel died suddenly, rumor blamed Nikephoritzes' poison. Schlumberger (*Sig.* 660–64) published Roussel's seal.

LIT. G. Schlumberger, *Récits de Byzance et des Croisades*, vol. 2 (Paris 1922) 78–91. Polemis, "Chronology" 66–68. Vryonis, *Decline* 99, 103, 106–08. –C.M.B.

ROUTES. See LAND ROUTES; SEA ROUTES; SILK ROUTE.

ROVINE, BATTLE OF, a fierce but indecisive encounter between the armies of MIRCEA THE ELDER of Wallachia and the Ottoman ruler BAYEZID I, which took place on the plain of Rovine in western Rumania (20 km west of mod. Arad) on 17 May 1395 (G. Radojičić, *RHSEE* 5 [1928] 136–39). The outcome of the battle is not clear. Although Mircea apparently won, he still had to acknowledge Ottoman suzerainty over Wallachia and pay tribute. Among those killed in the battle were two Serbian princes who were fighting for Bayezid as Ottoman vassals. They were MARKO KRALJEVIĆ and CONSTANTINE DRAGAŠ.

LIT. D. Radojičić, "Jedna glava iz 'Života Stefana Lazarevića' od Konstantin Filozofa," *Hrišćanski život* 6 (1927) 138–44. M. Dinić, "Hronika sen-deniskog kaludjera kao izvor za bojeve na Kosovu i Rovinama," *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 17 (1937) 51–66. –A.M.T.

RUBENIDS (Ῥουπένιοι), first dynasty to rule Armenian CILICIA (1073?-1226). The Rubenids descended from a certain Ruben, for whom Armenian sources claim royal descent, though he was more likely a henchman than a kinsman of the last Bagratid king, GAGIK II. The original strongholds of the Rubenids were Gobidar (Kopitar) and Vahka in the Anti-Taurus mountains, but Prince T'oros I (1100–29) moved down toward the plain to install himself at ANAZARBOS. The defeat and capture of his successor Prince Leo I (1129–1137/8) by Emp. John II Komnenos forced the Rubenids to return to the mountains. Leo's younger son T'OROS II was able to control the plain again after his submission to Manuel I Komnenos in 1158. Finally, with the consent of Byz., Prince Leo II (see LEO II/I) was crowned as king of all of Cilicia in 1198 or 1199; he moved the Rubenid capital to Sis in the foothills, where it remained. Subsequently, Rubenid rule in Cilicia was weakened by Leo's long struggles with the principality of ANTIOCH; when he died in 1219, the crown passed to the HET'UMIDS through the marriage of Leo's daughter Zabel to Het'um I.

LIT. Adontz, *Etudes* 177–95. Der Nersessian, "Cilician Armenia" 633–52. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 39–42. W. Hecht, "Byzanz und die Armenier nach dem Tode Kaiser Manuels I (1180–1196)," *Byzantion* 37 (1967) 66–74. V.P. Stepanenko, "Ravninnaja Kilikija vo vzaimootnošenijach Antiochijskogo knjažestva i knjažestva Rubenidov v 10–40-ch godach XII v.," *VizVrem* 49 (1988) 119–26. –N.G.G.

RUFINIANAE. See ROUPHINIANAI.

RUFINUS (Ῥουφῖνος), praetorian prefect and adviser of Theodosios I and Arkadios; born Elusa, Gaul, died outside Constantinople 27 Nov. 395. He was *magister officiorum* 388–92 and used his tenure to increase the importance of that office. In 390 he urged Theodosios to admit his error in the massacre of citizens in the hippodrome of Thessalonike. He was appointed consul for 392. Rufinus was an ambitious and ruthless politician; he hoped to marry his daughter to Arkadios. When Theodosios went to the West in 394, he left Rufinus as the principal adviser to Arkadios. After the death of Theodosios in Jan. 395 Rufinus served briefly as regent for the young emperor. He was accused of encouraging ALARIC to attack Greece. He was jealous of STILICHO because of his military power in the West. He was murdered by GAINAS on the instructions of Stilicho. A pious Christian, Rufinus founded a monastery on his estate of ROUPHINIANAI. Claudian's *In Rufinum* is a masterpiece of invective directed against him.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:107–13. *PLRE* 1:778–81. Demougeot, *Unité* 119–61. A.S. Kozlov, "Bor'ba meždu političeskoj oppoziciej i pravitel'stvom Vizantii v 395–399 gg.," *ADSV* 13 (1976) 69–74. Matthews, *Aristocracies* 235–38, 249f. –T.E.G.

RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA, more fully Tyrannius Rufinus, Latin writer and translator; born at Concordia near Aquileia ca.345, died Messina 410. After studies in Rome, where he met JEROME, Rufinus went to Egypt ca.372, thence to Jerusalem, where a decade later he founded a monastery on the Mount of Olives with Melania the Elder. In the interim, he had studied at Alexandria,

where he was captivated by the Origenism of DIDYMOS THE BLIND. Returning to Aquileia in 397, he devoted his last years largely to Latin translations of the Greek fathers. The traditional date of his move south to Rome is 407; C.P. Hammond, however, argues that he left Aquileia as early as 403 (*JThSt* n.s. 28 [1977] 372–429) and went to Sicily ca.408.

Rufinus's condensed version of Eusebios's *Church History*, supplemented by two books covering the period 324–95, which are either his own work or drawn from the similar (lost) church history of GELASIOS OF CAESAREA, marks the introduction of this genre into Latin. His *On Principles* provides the only complete version of the *First Principles* of Origen, some of whose biblical commentaries he also translated. Rufinus's *History of Monks* is a collection of anecdotes of Egyptian monks designed to recommend their way of life.

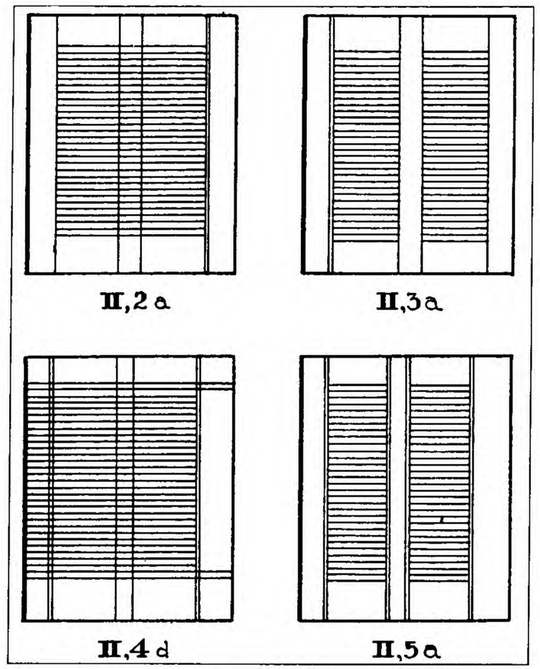
ED. *Opera*, ed. M. Simonetti (Turnhout 1961). *Les Bénédictions des Patriarches*, ed. M. Simonetti (Paris 1968), with Fr. tr.

LIT. F. Thelamon, *Païens et chrétiens au IVe siècle: l'apport de l'"Histoire ecclésiastique" de Rufin d'Aquilée* (Paris 1981). F.X. Murphy, *Rufinus of Aquileia (345–411)* (Washington, D.C., 1945). H. Chadwick, "Rufinus and the Tura Papyrus of Origen's Commentary on Romans," *JThSt* n.s. 10 (1959) 10–42. –B.B.

RUFUS FESTUS. See FESTUS.

RULES, MONASTIC. See TYPIKON, MONASTIC.

RULING PATTERNS. Ruling determines the layout of each page of the CODEX (number of columns, width, and number of lines of main text, and, where applicable, of the commentary). The ruling was made by the SCRIBE or by a specialized member of the SCRIPTORIUM by pricking holes with a spiked lead wheel and a circle. Ruling was applied either separately on each folio or *bifolium* of the QUIRE or only once on and through the top folio to underlying folios. Classification of ruling patterns and ruling systems is important in CODICOLOGY for localization of scriptoria and dating. Inventories and classification of ruling patterns have been made by Lake (*infra*) and, more recently, A. Tselikas (*Thesaurismata* 13 [1976] 297–318) and Leroy (*infra*).



RULING PATTERNS. Sample ruling patterns.

LIT. K. & S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, vol. 1 (Boston 1934) pls. 1–6. *Indices* (Boston 1945) 121–34. J. Leroy, *Les types de réglure des manuscrits grecs* (Paris 1976). Idem, "La description codicologique des manuscrits grecs de parchemin," in *PGEB* 29–39. Idem, "Quelques systèmes de réglure des manuscrits grecs," in *Studia Codicologica*, ed. K. Treu et al. (Berlin 1977) 291–312. –E.G., I.Š.

RŪM, term in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish designating Byzantium (the empire of the RHOMAIOI); it also referred to ancient Greece and the Roman Empire. After the SELJUK conquest of Asia Minor in the late 11th C., the conquered territory became the sultanate of Rūm. Under the Ottomans Rūm included the districts of Amasya (Amaseia) and Sivas (Sebasteia). Geographic names such as RUMELI and Erzurum were based on the root of Rūm.

LIT. Miquel, *Géographie* 2:381–481. M. Marín, "'Rūm' in the Works of the Three Spanish Muslim Geographers," *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984) 109–17. J. Laurent, "Byzance et les origines du sultanat de Roum," in *Mél.Diehl* 1:177–82. A.G.C. Savvides, "A Note on the Terms *Rûm* and *Anatolia* in Seljuk and Early Ottoman Times," *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* 5 (1984–85) 95–102. –A.K.

RUMANIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE. Architectural remains of the early medieval period in the territory of modern Rumania show a dependence on late Roman and Byz. types; 4th-C. Tropaeum had several three-aisled basilicas, as did HISTRIA (4th–6th C.). Treasures found at CONCEŞTI and Apahida (ca.400) comprise silver repoussé vessels decorated with classical themes. Capitals from TOMIS (6th C.) belong to the Justinianic impost type.

One of the first dated ensembles is the fortress on the Danubian island of PĂCUIUL LUI SOARE, built by John I Tzimiskes around 972. Elsewhere churches show Byz. influence filtered through BULGARIA: the small church in the cemetery of DINOGETIA (11th–12th C.) has a central dome over a shallow cruciform space carved out of the thickness of the wall, similar to the east church at BOJANA. The narrow rows of rough stone alternating with tripled rows of brick is a crude version of a Byz. building technique. Ceramic finds from the period before the 14th C. include unglazed amphoras and tablewares of Byz. manufacture as well as copies they inspired.

In the 14th C., WALLACHIA and MOLDAVIA achieved political independence from Hungary and, with the appointment of an Orthodox metropolitan of Wallachia (1359), Byz. influence became even more pronounced. The royal church of St. Nicholas-Domneasca at Curtea de Argeş, built before 1352, exhibits a variation of the cross-in-square plan, with the dome resting on large square piers. The sober façade consists of courses of rough stone alternating with tripled bands of brick. The large, wide proportions of the church and the scarcity of windows allow the maximum surface for frescoes, which cover the interior in a continuous layer. In program and iconography, these paintings are astonishingly close to the narthex mosaics of the CHORA church.

Byz. influence transmitted via Serbia becomes dominant in the later 14th C. It is attributed to the Serbian monk Nikodemos, who came from Athos to Wallachia and founded several monasteries with churches of a trefoil plan. The monastic church of Cozia (1386) is a domed triconch built of ashlar masonry alternating with tripled bands of brick. The exterior is articulated by pilasters supporting an arcade; round windows in the arcade are filled with interlaced geometric and floral sculpture designs. The frescoes date from the same time as the church. Churches at Cotmeana and Siret in Moldavia, related contemporary triconchs, are decorated with inset ceramic panels, circular and cross-shaped, as well as with dogtooth brick bands.

The Orthodox liturgy even had an impact on buildings of Western type: for example, the Church of St. Nicholas in Rădăuţi, the earliest surviving church in Moldavia (1359–65), is a barrel-vaulted basilica, but the four piers in the naos are evidently inspired by the Byz. cross-in-square plan.

Other arts show similar influence from Byz. Sgraffito bowls of both imported and local manufacture are found everywhere by the 13th and 14th C. Jewelry finds likewise include both imported pieces and copies made locally following Byz. types.

Icons were not produced until the 16th C., but MSS were being copied and illuminated a full century earlier. A Slavonic Gospel book written by Nikodim (1404/5), preserved at Putna monastery, is illuminated with initials and simple headpieces reflecting Byz. ornamental motifs. Manuscripts by Gavril Uric from Neamţ—the bilingual Greco-Slavonic *Gospels of Alexander the Good* (Oxford, Bodl. can. gr. 122) from 1429 and a Slavonic Gospels from 1435/6 (now at Neamţ)—have pylon-shaped headpieces and initials decorated with interlace and vegetal designs. Both MSS contain evangelist portraits. The latter MS has its original silver repoussé covers; in the center the front cover is the Anastasis.

Carved wooden doors are preserved at several monasteries. Those of the Annunciation Chapel at Snagov (1453) have three registers of figures: the Annunciation with David and Solomon displaying scrolls on top, two pairs of church fathers framed by arches in the middle, and two equestrian saints under arches below. Slavonic inscriptions frame the doors and fill the arches, but the selection of these figures as well as their style and dress are Byz.

Many fine embroidered liturgical textiles have also been preserved in Rumania. The EPITAPHIOS of Neamţ, ordered by the *hegoumenos* Silvan in 1437, was embellished with gold, silver, and pearls, probably in Constantinople. Greek inscriptions identify the figures, while the border inscription is in Slavonic. The EPITRACHELION of Antim at

Tismana (1370) is decorated with busts of saints in roundels that echo carved and painted motifs of the Morava school.

Art reached its zenith during the 15th and 16th C. Exterior church painting and MS illumination preserve Byz. iconography and the late Palaiologan style to such an extent that the culture has been described as "Byzance après Byzance."

LIT. G. Ionescu, *Histoire de l'architecture en Roumanie* (Bucharest 1972). V. Vătăşianu, *Istoria Artei Feudale în Ţarile Romîne*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1959). C. Nicolescu, *Moştenirea artei bizantine în România* (Bucharest 1971). R. Theodorescu, *Un mileniu de artă la Dunărea de jos (400–1400)* (Bucharest 1976). M.-A. Musicescu, "Relations artistiques entre Byzance et les pays roumains (IVe–XVe s.)," 14 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1974) 509–25. –E.C.S.

RUMANIANS. The origin of this people is enigmatic. Most probably they are descendants of romanized DACO-GETANS and hellenized THRACIANS, who absorbed some Slavic and other ethnic elements. Written sources are silent on Rumanian ethnogeny, however, and it can be established only on the basis of archaeological data; thus, the results remain tentative and hypothetical. By the 11th C. the VLACHS were mentioned in sources as existing throughout the whole northern Balkan peninsula, but not north of the Danube; there is no reason, however, to date the creation of the first Rumanian "state formations" to the 10th C., as does Ş. Ştefănescu (*Dacoromania* 1 [1973] 104–13). The hotly debated problem of whether or not the Second Bulgarian Empire was founded by the Proto-Rumanians depends on the interpretation of the term *Blachoi* in Niketas Choniates—did he mean the Vlachs proper or did he use the term inaccurately, applying it to Bulgarians? The first unquestionable testimonies to the Proto-Rumanian states belong to the 13th–14th C., when the principalities in DOBRUDJA, WALLACHIA, and MOLDAVIA were created; the Slavic ethnic substratum as well as Slavic linguistic elements were, at this time, strongly interwoven with "post-Roman" traditions. The young principalities were conquered by the Turks in the late 14th–15th C.

LIT. V. Arvinte, *Die Rumänen. Ursprung, Volks- und Landesnamen* (Tübingen 1980). I. Russu, *Etnogeneza Românilor* (Bucharest 1981). C. Giurescu, *Formarea poporului român* (Craiova 1973). G. Brătianu, *Une énigme et un miracle historique: le peuple roumain*[2] (Bucharest 1988). – A.K.

RUMELI (from Turk. Rūm-eli, the land of RŪM or of the Rhomaioi), the name of an Ottoman province consisting of Macedonia, Thrace, Bulgaria, Serbia, Albania, and Greece with the exception of its coastline and islands. The first governor (*beylerbey*) of Rumeli was the tutor (*lala*) of Murad I, Şahin-Paşa, with his seat at Philippopolis from ca.1362–65. Between 1370 and 1385 the capital of Rumeli was moved to Sofia.

LIT. F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien (14.-15. Jahrhundert)* (Munich 1944). H. İnalcık, *İA* 9:766–73. –A.K.

RUPERT OF DEUTZ, prolific Benedictine theologian; born between ca.1075 and 1080, died 4 Mar. 1129. Rupert entered St. Laurent, Liège, at an early age and became a priest ca.1106; from 1111 he sparked theological controversies; in 1120 he was made abbot of Deutz. The chronicle attributed to him is a 13th-C. forgery (H. Silvestre, *RHE* 77 [1982] 365–95). His theological treatises occasionally refer to the errors of "certain Greeks"; *De glorificatione Trinitatis* (On the Glorification of the Trinity) treats the *filioque* problem at a papal legate's request (PL 169:13–202; cf. J.H. Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* [Berkeley 1983] 362f). A sermon he preached at Cologne (sometime between 1125 and 1129) describes local travelers' familiarity with the reliquary of St. Pantoleon at Constantinople and an annual miracle that had announced the destruction of the Pechenegs (Rupert confuses Alexios I and Michael VII—ed. Coens, 262.3–264.7) as well as a miracle concerning prince Mstislav of Kiev (son of Vladimir Monomach), his mother the English princess Gyda's devotion to the Cologne shrine of St. Pantoleon, and her pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

ED. M. Coens, "Un sermon inconnu de Rupert, abbé de Deutz, sur S. Pantaléon," *AB* 55 (1937) 244–67.
LIT. M. McCormick, *Index scriptorum operumque latinobelgicorum medii aevi* 3.2 (Brussels 1979) 235–62. –M.McC.

RUS' (*οἱ* Ῥῶς, sometimes Ῥώς), people from RHOSIA, first mentioned in the *Annales Bertiniani* for 839; the earliest reference in Greek is by PHOTIOS (*Homilies* 3 and 4), who describes their attack on Constantinople in 860. Mention of the Rus' in the vita of GEORGE OF AMASTRIS may be a later insertion (A. Markopoulos, *JÖB* 28 [1979] 75–82). The earliest Rus' were Scandinavians (VIKINGS or VARANGIANS). Constantine VII, in his description of the DNIEPER rapids (*De adm. imp.* 9.40–65), distinguishes toponyms of the Rus' from their Slavonic equivalents. In subsequent Byz. usage, however, the term was transferred to Slavic-speakers. Byz. writers also call the Rus' SCYTHIANS, Tauroscythians, Hyperborean Scythians, SARMATIANS, or Northerners, indicating a link with the ancient peoples of the steppes (M. Bibikov in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSR 1980* [Moscow 1981] 34–78). Leo the Deacon (Leo Diac. 149.24–150.20) traces the descent of the Rus' to Achilles, and also associates them with the biblical Ros (cf. Ezek 38:2, 39:1). LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA (*Antapodosis* 5.15) asserts that the Byz. called the Rus' *Rhousioi* ("red," "ruddy"; cf. Lat. *russus*) on account of their complexion. The actual etymology and origins of the name are still disputed (see G. Schramm, *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 30 [1982] 7–49).

Photios depicts the Rus' as exotic and belligerent. This image recurs frequently, reinforced by further raids on Constantinople by OLEG (907?) and IGOR (941), by the Bulgarian campaigns of SVJATOSLAV (966–71), the sack of Cherson by VLADIMIR I of Kiev, and the war of 1043–46 under Prince JAROSLAV. At least from the early 10th C. Rus' were recruited into the Byz. army, eventually forming the nucleus of the Varangian guard. During the 9th and 10th C. Viking Rus' settled along the river routes and gradually assimilated with the native Slav population, creating a network of principalities under a single ("Rjurikid") dynasty with its center of authority in KIEV. The principalities of "Kievan Rus'" were concentrated north of the steppes, separated from Byz. by the PECHENEGS and later the CUMANS. TMUTOROKAN was a possession of the Rus' until the end of the 11th C. The extent of their settlement and activity in the Azov and northern Pontic region is unclear. Only Svjatoslav attempted to establish an administrative base south of the DANUBE in Little PRESLAV.

The Rus' were traders as well as raiders. Constantine VII describes both the organization of their expeditions to Constantinople, and the use of the Pechenegs to contain and restrain them (*De adm. imp.* 2, 4, 9; a possible earlier allusion is in the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI [20.69]). The POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET preserves versions of the 10th-C. commercial agreements that ostensibly followed the campaigns of Oleg, Igor, and Svjatoslav (see TREATIES, RUSSO-BYZANTINE). Principal imports from the Rus' were furs (J. Martin, *Treasure from the Land of Darkness* [Cambridge 1986] 35–47, 115–18), honey, wax, and probably slaves. Exports to the Rus', both directly from and through Constantinople and from the Byz. cities on the BLACK SEA, included amphorae with oil and wine, coins, walnuts, Caucasian boxwood, silks, and glass. The pattern of trade was uneven. Byz. coins circulated in small quantities before ca.950, then regularly until ca.1050, then sparsely until ca.1130, then not at all (T. Noonan, *BS/EB* 7 [1980] 143–81). Some types of glass ceased to be exported in the early 11th C., because the equivalent technology had been acquired for local production in Kiev (Ju. Ščapova, *VizVrem* 19 [1961] 60–75). It is widely suggested that trade along the Dnieper via Kiev declined in the late 12th C., but finds in the Polock region indicate no significant reduction until the early 13th C. (F. Gurevič, *VizVrem* 47 [1986] 65–81).

The political focus of Byz.-Rus' relations, by contrast, did change. By the mid-12th C. Kiev had lost its dominance over the principalities of the Rus'. GALITZA, SUZDAL', NOVGOROD, and SMOLENSK pursued increasingly independent foreign policies. Manuel I, for example, was supported by Galitza and Suzdal' against the pro-Hungarian Izjaslav II of Kiev (1146–54). Exiled princes of the Rus' from Černigov (1079) and Polock (1130) were received in Constantinople (*PSRL* 1:204, 2:293), while in 1162 the relatives of ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO were given lands on the Danube (*PSRL* 2:561; Kinn. 232.3–12). Twelfth-century Byz. writers show a particular interest in Galitza and the northern Pontic region, rather than concentrating on Kiev. However, political relations at the highest level were seldom intimate. After the marriages of Vladimir I Svjatoslavič and (perhaps) of his grandson Vsevolod to imperial brides, there is no reliable evidence that any Rjurikid prince or princess married into the imperial family.

Cultural contacts with the Rus' intensified with the spread of Christianity. In 867 Photios claimed in an encyclical to the Eastern patriarchs, perhaps overoptimistically, that the Rus' had been converted (ep.2.293–302). This group of Rus' (cf. *TheophCont* 196.6–7, 342.20) had little connection with the later Rus' of Kiev and may have operated from settlements on the Black Sea (J.-P. Arrignon, *RES* 55 [1983] 129–37) or from the Azov region (G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia* [New Haven

1943] 345–53). M. Brajčevskij (*VizVrem* 47 [1986] 31–38) asserts that in 863 Photios addressed a letter to the Kievan prince Askold and to the metropolitan of Rus' Michael the Syrian protesting against the activity of papal envoys in Kiev, but there are no serious data to substantiate this hypothesis. The 911 Russo-Byz. treaty assumes that the Rus' were pagan, whereas the 944 treaty refers to a church in Kiev and Constantine VII mentions "baptized Rus'" (probably Varangian mercenaries) in Constantinople (*De cer.* 579.21–22). Ol'ga was herself baptized, but Christianity only became the "official" religion after Vladimir's conversion in 988. Thenceforth Rus' became an ecclesiastical province of the patriarchate of Constantinople, under the metropolitan of Kiev. The metropolitan was normally a Greek (with few exceptions, such as Ilarion or Klim Smoljatič), as were many of his suffragan bishops (11 bishoprics were established by the late 12th C.—*Notitiae CP*, no.13.759–70). The seals of the metropolitan and bishops were inscribed in Greek (V. Janin, *Aktovye pečati Drevnej Rusi*, vol. 1 [Moscow 1970] 44–59). Despite political fragmentation and the Mongol invasion, the metropolitan see retained its unified structure until the 14th-C. expansion of Lithuania and Poland into the lands of the Rus'. A monastery *tou Rhos* on Athos is first mentioned in 1016; this is probably the monastery *tou Xylourgou* attested in documents of 1030, 1048, 1070, and 1142, which in 1169 acquired the Panteleemon monastery (Rossikon) on Athos (D. Nastase, *Symmeikta* 6 [1985] 284–97). There were also Greek monks in Kiev.

For the converted Rus', Constantinople itself became the model of civilization and a place of pilgrimage (see Daniil Igumen, Antony of Novgorod). Greek architects, craftsmen, and painters were brought in to build and decorate the major 11th-C. public buildings; Byz. exports now included icons and liturgical silver; some princes of the 11th through early 12th C. had Greek seals (Janin, *supra* 1:14–42); the art and architecture and most of the literature of the Rus' followed Byz. ecclesiastical patterns, modified to local perceptions and conditions.

This diversification of contacts over the 11th and 12th C. is reflected in the attitudes of Byz. writers, who, while not abandoning the "belligerent Scythian" stereotype, also show a more specific awareness of customs and even language of the Rus' (A. Kazhdan in *Okeanos* 354–56). Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 522.28) may call the Rus' Tauroscythians, but he also refers to them as a "most Christian people." In modern nomenclature Rus' is usually applied to the territory populated by the Rus', as in Kievan Rus'.

LIT. Ditten, *Russland-Excurs.* Obolensky, *Byz. Commonwealth* 37–41, 179–201, 223–32, 353–61. Davidson, *Road to Byz.* H. Rüss in *Handbuch zur Geschichte Russlands*, ed. M. Hellmann, vol. 1 (Stuttgart 1981) 199–429. Poppe, *Christian Russia.* M. Bibikov, "Die alte Rus' und die russisch-byzantinischen Beziehungen im Spiegel der byzantinischen Quellen," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 197–222. P.P. Toločko, *Drevnjaja Rus'* (Kiev 1987). V. Vodoff, *Naissance de la Chrétienté russe* (Paris 1988). –S.C.F.

RUS', ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF. The Byz. tradition was the primary inspiration of "high" art in medieval Russia. While examples of Byz. art penetrated Rus' before the nation's conversion to Christianity, the major Byz. impact began with the official adoption of Christianity in 988 and is most noticeable in the religious arts. A second period of major artistic impact from Byz. can be discerned in the latter part of the 14th C.

The Povest' vremmenych let notes that the newly converted Vladimir I of Kiev returned to his capital from Cherson not only with clergy, but also with books, sacred vessels, and icons. These doubtless served as models for the primitive production of religious artifacts in the newly christianized land. Soon, however, Byz. architects and painters were brought to build and decorate churches. Kiev's Desjatinnaja ("Tithe") Church (989–96), apparently a traditional Byz. three-naved, cross-in-square masonry edifice surrounded by galleries, was erected by Greek architects. In less important centers, wooden churches seem to have sufficed for practice of the Christian cult. Under Jaroslav of Kiev, however, masonry building burgeoned in Rus'. The ruling city of Kiev was graced with a triumphal "Golden Gate," inspired by the portal of the same name in Constantinople as well as with the Church of St. Sophia. Like this cathedral, the slightly later Dormition Church (ca.1073) of the Caves Monastery near Kiev, a single-domed, cross-in-square structure with three apses and an integrated western narthex bay, appears to be the work of Byz. architects.

While the major masonry churches in southern Rus'—including the Transfiguration church in Černigov, an elongated, five-domed, cross-in-square church with three apses and two-level arcades at either side of the wide central bay (ca. 1036)—are Byz.-style buildings erected on foreign territory, the same cannot be said of the churches built in the northern city of Novgorod. Its Sophia church (1045), for example, while Byz. in plan and general conception, betrays features deemed characteristic of the architecture of Rus', most notably increased height and pointed domes, that combine to create a pyramidal silhouette, a feature already discernible in the arrangement of the thirteen domes of St. Sophia at Kiev. The unusually tall churches of the St. Antony (1117) and St. George (1119) monasteries near Novgorod are often seen as dramatic examples of a russianizing of Byz. architectural vocabulary in the north. These tendencies, albeit in less radical form, appear, too, in the Suzdalian school of architecture, notable also for its broad use of exterior bas-relief decoration (Dormition cathedral, 1158, 1189; St. Demetrios, 1194, both in Vladimir).

Just as architects were brought to Kievan Rus' "from Greece," so too were painters and mosaicists. Like St. Sophia in Kiev, but in a more illusionistic style, both the Dormition church of the Caves Monastery and the main church of the St. Michael "Golden-topped" (Zlatoverchij) Monastery (1108) also had traditional Byz. pictorial cycles in mosaic. Outside of Kiev, however, mosaic remained a medium foreign to the Rus'. The frescoed churches of Novgorod (Spas Neredica, 1198) and its sister town Pskov (Mirožskij Monastery, ca.1156) leave no doubt about how thoroughly Byz. techniques and iconographic cycles had been absorbed, either from traveling painters or from pattern books. Illuminated MSS such as the Ostromir Gospel (1057) and Svjatoslav's Izbornik also testify that the Rus' absorbed Byz. conventions in painting.

Byz. icons were copied in Rus' from the time of its conversion to Christianity. No pre-12th-C. panel paintings survive, yet by the 12th C. local schools of icon painting were already fully developed in Rus'. The most important of these was that of Novgorod, where artists imitated Byz. paintings of the Komnenian period, such as the 12th-C. Constantinopolitan icon of the Virgin of Vladimir, but also drew on a strong, almost primitive, local tradition marked by the use of large juxtaposed blocks of bright colors.

The "minor arts" of Rus', particularly jewelry, metal work, and bone, wood, and stone carving, are also heavily indebted to Byz. models, often reproducing Byz.-style figures and scenes in unexpected media, sometimes juxtaposed with fantastic animals from Slavic folklore. Indeed, Byz. influence also affected the popular arts, where one finds not only Byz. figures and scenes reproduced in folk painting along with Slavic pagan motifs, but also bas-relief icons and polychrome wood sculpture imitating traditional Byz. religious painting.

As the Rus' shed the Mongol yoke in the late 14th C., a new Russian state arose, centered on the upper reaches of the Volga river basin. The massive building program of this new state, which would eventually coalesce as Muscovy, attracted Byz. artists who brought to the cities and monasteries of northeastern Russia the latest trends in Constantinopolitan painting. Theophanes "the Greek" stands out among the painters who reinvigorated the long Byz. tradition in Russia. His impact is also visible in the work of Andrej Rublev, a Russian master who combined delicate and highly refined Palaiologan artistic techniques and sophisticated theological concepts with the strong linear traditions seen in Novgorodian painting and thereby created masterpieces of 15th-C. Byz.-style art such as the "Old Testament Trinity" icon.

Byz. art challenged Russian creativity with new ideals, forms, and techniques. The art of medieval Russia was in large part a response to that challenge in the very vocabulary of the Byz. challenger.

LIT. *Istorija russkogo iskusstva*, ed. I.E. Grabar' et al., vol. 2 (Moscow 1954). H. Faensen, V. Ivanov, *Early Russian Architecture* (New York 1975). V.N. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics* (London 1966). Idem, *Russian Icons from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (New York 1962). O. Popova, *Russian Illuminated Manuscripts of the 11th to the Early 16th Centuries* (London 1984). A. Komeč, *Drevnerusskoe zodčestvo konca X—načala XII v.* (Moscow 1987). –G.P.M.

RUS', LITERATURE OF. The literature of Kievan and Muscovite Rus' chiefly consists of translations from Greek into Church Slavonic (mostly via Bulgaria) and of native works written in a Byz. manner. For the historian of Byz. texts, therefore, material from Rus' can provide important evidence where Greek MSS are sparse or lost. For the cultural historian, however, the literature of Rus' is neither a precise copy nor merely a defec-

tive copy of a Byz. model. In the process of "cultural translation" the authoritative Byz. prototypes were modified in accordance with local resources, experience, and perceptions.

The content of the literature of early Rus' was principally directed toward (1) explaining, justifying, and propagating the precepts and practices of Christianity in its new and sometimes hostile environment and (2) reinforcing the authority of the rulers who sponsored it. Beyond a basic concern for the works needed in the liturgy and in the organization of ecclesiastical and monastic life, the interests of writers were more ethical and ethnic than speculative or antiquarian. They tended to operate through narrative example (chronicle, hagiography: see POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET, BORIS AND GLEB, FEODOSIJ OF PEČERA, PATERIK, EPIFANIJ, and KIPRIAN) and by instruction and exhortation (homilies, canonical instruction: see ILARION, VLADIMIR MONOMACH, KIRILL of Turov, SERAPION OF VLADIMIR, KIRIK OF NOVGOROD, NIKEPHOROS I, and JOHN II), while virtually ignoring the "philosophical" and rhetorical pursuits of the intellectual elite of Constantinople. Only as an exception did Greek secular narrative (e.g., DIGENES AKRITAS; *Stephanites and Ichnelates*) penetrate to Rus'.

The writers of Rus' did not identify with the Roman past of the Rhomaioi, had no pseudo-classical *paideia*, and placed no special value on classical forms of expression. Constantinople itself, however, was a persistent literary presence: apart from accounts of Russo-Byz. relations, there are narratives of the captures of Constantinople in 1204 and 1453 (see TALE OF THE TAKING OF TSAR'GRAD) and several descriptions of the city by PILGRIMS and travelers (ANTONY of Novgorod, STEFAN OF NOVGOROD, IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK, ZOSIMA).

LIT. D. Čiževskij, *History of Russian Literature from the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque* (The Hague 1960). G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus'* (Munich 1982). *Istorija russkoj literatury X–XVII vekov*^{2}, ed. D.S. Lichačev (Moscow 1985). –S.C.F.

RUṢĀFAH. See SERGIOPOLIS.

RUSSIAN PRIMARY CHRONICLE. See POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET.

RUTILIUS CLAUDIUS NAMATIANUS, 5th-C. Latin writer from a noble family in Gaul, perhaps Toulouse. He served as *magister officiorum* in the West (412) and prefect of Rome (in 414). His poem *De reditu suo* (a provisional title) describes his return home (from Rome as far as Luna on the bay of La Spezia) in Oct.–Nov., probably 417 (Al. Cameron, *JRS* 57 [1967] 31–39). The first book lacks its opening, the second breaks off after only 68 lines, albeit a little is restored by a newly discovered fragment (M. Ferrari, *ItMedUm* 16 [1973] 15–30). Basically a travel poem in a long classical tradition, Rutilius's piece also exploits the currently fashionable (in East and West) genre of PATRIA, Rome being treated to an exordial eulogy and long valediction. Contemporary matters obtrude, notably an attack on STILICHO in obvious contrast to CLAUDIAN, also invectives against JEWS and monks. Style and content betray no overt debts to Christianity, but this does not automatically make him a pagan.

ED. *Rutilius Claudius Namatianus: De reditu suo sive Iter Gallicum*, ed. E. Doblhofer, 2 vols. (Heidelberg 1972–77), with Germ. tr. *Minor Latin Poets*, ed. J.W. Duff, A.W. Duff (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1978) 751–829, with Eng. tr.
LIT. I. Lana, *Rutilio Namaziano* (Turin 1961). –B.B.

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SABAITIC TYPIKA, final generation of liturgical TYPIKA codifying the neo-Sabaitic rite formed when the monasteries of Palestine, which followed the rite of the Lavra of St. SABAS, adapted the STOUDITE TYPIKA to their own needs. The Sabaitic *typikon* in its final, Athonite redaction became the definitive liturgical synthesis of the BYZANTINE RITE under the hesychasts in the 14th C. The earliest Sabaitic *typika* are distinguished from Stoudite *typika* in that they begin with a description of the *agrypnia* or monastic VIGIL (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 3:20).

LIT. Taft, "Mount Athos" 187–94. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" nos. 40, 45, 46, 52. –R.F.T.

SABAS (Σάβας), saint; born village of Moutalaska in Cappadocia in 439, died in his Lavra 5 Dec. 532. As a boy Sabas was placed in the monastery of Flavianae, near his native village; ca.456 he left for Palestine and was accepted as a disciple by EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT. Subsequently he visited Alexandria, where he met his parents. They tried to persuade him to become an officer in the *noumeros* of the Isaurians; Sabas refused, however, and having taken 3 nomismata from his parents, returned to Palestine. In 483 (Schwartz, *infra* 99.10) Sabas established near Jerusalem the Lavra (see SABAS, GREAT LAVRA OF), which attracted monks from Armenia, Isauria, and other remote places. Sabas had to cope with the resistance of certain brethren who finally seceded and built their own *koinobion*, the New Lavra. Sabas organized at least six other monasteries. He supported the teaching of the Council of Chalcedon, but his journey to Constantinople and attempt to persuade Emp. Anastasios I to abandon his support of Monophysitism proved fruitless. Under Sabas's name is preserved a type of liturgical *typikon* (see SABAITIC TYPIKA).

CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS wrote his vita, an important source for understanding monasticism in Palestine, where monks were striving for salvation amid danger from Saracens, robbers, and religious dissidents and from which Constantinople appeared very remote. Sabas regularly worked miracles of healing; he was also very close to nature, and a lion visited him in a cave after he was forced by rebellious monks to leave the Lavra. Sabas, an old monk with a long beard, is very often represented in monumental painting in the company of other ascetics, esp. St. Euthymios.

SOURCES. E. Schwartz, ed. *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig 1939) 85–200. Fr. tr. A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, 3.2 (Paris 1962) 13–133. Ed. I. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie sv. Savy Osvjaščennogo* (St. Petersburg 1890), with Slavonic tr.
LIT. G. Lafontaine, "Deux vies grecques abrégées de S. Sabas," *Muséon* 86 (1973) 305–39. A. Cameron, "Cyril of Skythopolis, V. Sabae 53. A Note," *Glotta* 56 (1978) 87–94. Sacopoulo, *Asinou* 106f. M. Lechner, *LCI* 8:296–98.
–A.K., N.P.Š.

SABAS, GREAT LAVRA OF (Mar Saba), monastic settlement southeast of Jerusalem, traditionally founded in 483 by the ascetic St. SABAS. After having visited the Egyptian desert, Sabas lived in Palestine as a solitary and attracted disciples who lived near him as *anachoretai*, thus giving rise to a monastic complex or lavra of modified Egyptian type. The monastery expanded physically with the building of churches and dependencies. It was the intellectual and spiritual center for the patriarchate of Jerusalem and for Palestinian monasticism in general. After serving as a focal point of resistance to imperial MONOTHELETE policies in the 7th C., Mar Saba continued its prominent role in Chalcedonian Christian Palestine even after the Arab conquest, leading the way in the change from Greek to Arabic as the dominant cultural language of the area's Christians. Mar Saba attracted prominent visitors, from CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, biographer of Sabas, to JOHN OF DAMASCUS; numerous scholars and writers worked in its library, and its scriptorium continued to produce MSS as late as the 11th–12th C., some illustrated (A. Cutler, *Journal of Jewish Art* 6 [1979] 63). Manuscripts from the Mar Saba library, which numbered more than 1,000 in 1834, are found in many European libraries. The Lavra still exists today.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 204. S. Griffith, "The Monks of Palestine and the Growth of Christian Literature in Arabic," *Muslim World* 78 (1988) 1–28. Idem, "Anthony David of Baghdad, Scribe and Monk of Mar Sabas: Arabic in the Monasteries of Palestine," *ChHist* 58 (1989) 7–19.
–L.S.B.MacC.

SABAS THE GOTH, Christian martyr and saint; born in "Gotthia" 334, died 12 Apr. 372; feastday 17 Apr. The account of his martyrdom, written in the form of a letter from the church of Gotthia to the church of Cappadocia, is preserved in two MSS (of the 10th–11th C. and of 912). An uneducated peasant from a Gothic *kome*, Sabas refused to yield to demands of local magnates and the king (*basiliskos*) Athanaric to eat meat that had been sacrificed to idols; he was drowned in the Mousaios River (?). His body was sent by Ounios (Junius) Soranos, *doux* of Scythia, to Cappadocia. Some hints at these events are found in letters of BASIL THE GREAT: in letter 155 (ed. Y. Courtonne, 2 [1961] 80f) Basil addresses a man who was collecting in Scythia the relics of the victims of the new persecutions; in letter 164.1, addressed to Ascholios, bishop of Thessalonike, he mentions "a martyr who came to us from the barbarians dwelling beyond the Istros" (2:98.26–27); in letter 165 he writes that Ascholios honored his motherland (evidently Cappadocia) by sending there "a new martyr who had flourished in a neighboring barbarian country" (2:101.23–25). The letters are dated to 373–374. The discrepancy between the two versions of events, crediting both the *doux* Junius Soranos and Bp. Ascholios with sending the relics, has not been resolved.

ED. and LIT. *BHG* 1607. *Synax.CP* 608f. H. Delehaye, "Saints de Thrace et de Mésie," *AB* 31 (1912) 216–21, 224, 288–91. –A.K.

SABELLIANISM. See MONARCHIANISM.

SABIRI (Σάβειροι), a substantial branch of the HUNS who appear in the Greek sources as inhabiting the Caucasian region of the Boas River in the 5th and 6th C. The Byz. and Persians bought the alliance of their chiefs with gold as they needed them during their various wars in the Caucasus and Armenia. In 530 the Sabiri furnished 3,000 troops to the forces of Kavād I, and in 550, 12,000 to the Persian general Mermeroes. The Sabiri were of particular importance to the Byz. and Persians not only because of their military prowess, but also because of a particular technological innovation which they made in siege machinery (see ARTILLERY AND SIEGE MACHINERY). The Byz. and Persian engineers customarily made battering rams of heavy beam construction, rendering them cumbersome and difficult to maneuver in precipitous terrain. When the Byz. besieged the fortified mountain city of Petra (in Lazika), the traditional battering rams could not be brought into place. Thus they called for Sabiri, who had invented a new light ram, devoid of the heavy structural beams, which could be carried on the backs of 40 men. The central beam of these light rams would dislodge stones in the city wall, and armored soldiers would then pry them loose with picks (Prokopios, *Wars* 8.11.11–34). This technology was soon adopted by the Persians, who also had recourse to the Sabiri and their battering rams in the siege of the city of Archaiopolis in LAZIKA.

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:67–69, 2:262f. Ju.R. Džafarov, "K voprosu o pervom pojavlenii Sabir v Zakavkaz'e," *VDI*, no.3 (1979) 163–72. H. Howorth, "The Sabiri and the Saroguri," *JRAS* 24 (1892) 613–36. –S.V.

SABORIOS (Σαβώριος), 7th-C. general and rebel. He was said to be of Persian origin (Περσογενής) by Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 348.29–30) but usually is considered Armenian (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 149). He is sometimes identified with "Pasagnathes, the *patrikios* of the Armenians," who rebelled against Constans II in 651/2 (P. Peeters, *Byzantion* 8 [1933] 405–23). Saborios was *strategos* of Armeniakon in 667, when he revolted against Constans II. He sent the *stratelates* Sergios to Muʿāwiya for aid. Despite the protests of the *koubikoularios* Andrew, sent to Damascus by the emperor's son Constantine (IV), Sergios persuaded Muʿāwiya to help Saborios. The revolt soon collapsed. Captured en route to Saborios, Sergios was executed by Andrew. Saborios, waiting at Adrianople (Hexapolis in Asia Minor) for Muʿāwiya's troops, was preparing to confront an army sent by Constantine when he died accidentally: his horse bolted and rammed his head into a city gate.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 3:236–47. –P.A.H.

SACHLIKES, STEPHEN, poet; born Chandax, Crete, ca.1331/2, died there after 1391. Until recently, assigned to the second half of the 15th or early 16th C., Sachlikes (Σαχλίκης) has now been firmly placed in the 14th C. by M.I. Manousakas and A.F. van Gemert (*Pepragmena tou D' Diethnous Kretologikou Synedriou*, vol. 2 [Athens 1981] 215–31). Details of the life of Sachlikes are known both from Venetian documents and from his autobiographical poem *A Curious Tale* (*Aphegesis paraxenos*). He represents himself as the son of well-to-do parents, a youth who dropped out of school, turned to debauchery, and squandered his inheritance, but this may be a literary convention. From archival sources we know that he was a member of the Maggior Consilio of Chandax from 1356 to 1361. He was imprisoned ca.1370/1, perhaps as the result of involvement with a widow; after his release from prison he attempted farming, but was unsuccessful. Upon his return to Chandax, Sachlikes served as a lawyer (*dikegoros*); he is mentioned in notarial documents in this capacity from ca.1382/3 until 1391.

His poetry, written in the VERNACULAR and political verse, reflects the bitter disillusionment of a disappointed man. Besides *A Curious Tale*, he composed several poems on his imprisonment. Two of his works, *The Pimps* (*Hoi Archemaulistres*) and *Council of the Prostitutes* (*Boule ton Politikon*), satirize women of loose morals. Other poems attack greedy and corrupt lawyers and fickle friends who abandoned him during his imprisonment. He finds little consolation in religion and laments the uncertainty of human fortunes. Sachlikes is noted as one of the earliest Greek poets to make occasional use of RHYME.

ED. Wagner, *Carmina* 62–105. S.D. Papadimitriu, "Stefan Sachlikis i ego stichotvorenie 'Aphegesis Paraxenos,'" *Letopis'* 3 (1896) 1–256. M. Vitti, "Il poema parenetico di Sachlikis nella tradizione inedita del cod. Napoletano," *KretChron* 14 (1960) 173–200.
LIT. A.F. van Gemert, "Ho Stephanos Sachlikes kai he epoche tou," *Thesaurismata* 17 (1980) 36–130. Ja.N. Ljubarskij, "Kritskij poet Stefan Sachlikis," *VizVrem* 16 (1959) 65–81 (mod. Gr. tr. by M.G. Nystazopoulou, *KretChron* 14 [1960] 308–34). Beck, *Volksliteratur* 200–202. –A.M.T.

SACIDAVA (Σκεδεβά in Prokopios, mod. Musait, near Constanţa in Rumania), a Roman fort erected at the end of the 3rd C. (on the site of an older settlement) on the right bank of the Danube, between DOROSTOLON and AXIOPOLIS. The name *Sacidava* is known from the *Notitia dignitatum* as well as from a 3rd-C. milestone found south of Axiopolis. Excavations on the hill above Musait have revealed a modest fortress, built of large blocks set in lime mortar mixed with crushed bricks; it was reinforced by rectangular towers. Coins from Aurelian to Theodosios II are numerous (more than 150 examples), whereas there are no coins from the second half of the 5th C. and only ten from the period of Anastasios I to Maurice (G.P. Bordea, *SCN* 6 [1975] 72–80). C. Scorpan (*infra*), however, insists on the continuity of Sacidava throughout the 5th C.

LIT. C. Scorpan, "Săpăturile arheologice de la Sacidava," *Pontica* 6 (1973) 267–331. Idem, "Sacidava—A New Roman Fortress on the Map of the Danube *Limes*," 9 *CEFR* (1972) 109–16. P. Diaconu, "Despre Sacidava şi 'stratigrafia' ei," *SCIV* 31 (1980) 125–30. –A.K.

SACRAMENTS (μυστήρια, lit. "mysteries"), liturgical rites believed to continue the mystery of Jesus' saving presence and action in his church through the Holy Spirit. Often described as "ineffable" and "awe-inspiring," sacraments were interpreted, like the Incarnation of Jesus, as being the visible side of a hidden reality perceptible only with the eyes of faith, windows through which the Sun of Justice (SOL JUSTITIAE) penetrates this shadowy world (W. Völker, *Die Sakramentsmystik des Nikolaus Kabasilas* [Wiesbaden 1977] 45–48).

Individual sacraments were not seen as isolated acts but as manifestations of the one divine economy of salvation, which included the entire ministry of the church; the customary list of seven sacraments thus appears in Byz. only quite late, in the Profession of Faith that Pope Clement IV (1265–68) required of Michael VIII in 1267. Byz. authors before this time give varying lists. John of Damascus includes the sign of the cross among the sacraments (*Imag.* 1:36.9–11, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 3:148). Theodore of Stoudios lists six: BAPTISM, EUCHARIST, *myron* (chrism), ordination, monastic profession, and the burial service (PG 99:1524B), though he also knew PENANCE (1504–16), and, apparently, UNCTION (325B). Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:177B) lists the by then traditional seven: baptism, chrismation, Eucharist, ordination, marriage (see MARRIAGE RITE), penance, and unction. But his contemporary, canonist Ioasaph of Ephesus, rejected the limitation to seven and listed ten: the usual seven plus burial, ENKAINIA, and monastic profession (*Kanoničeskie otvety Ioasafa*, ed. A.I. Almazov [Odessa 1903] 38).

Byz. liturgical books take no account of the theological distinction between sacraments and other prayers and rituals. They reserve the term MYSTERIA to the Eucharist or the eucharistic species; the EUCHOLOGION calls other rites, sacramental or not, simply "prayers" or AKOLOUTHIAI. Byz. sacramental mystagogy reached its classical expression in Kabasilas' *The Life in Christ* (*La vie en Christ*, ed. M.H. Congourdeau [Paris 1989–]).

Representation in Art. Depictions of the sacraments usually figure in narratives of sacred Scripture and the lives of the saints. The Eucharist is the only sacrament that from the 6th C. is depicted for its own sake. It is represented on liturgical vessels, e.g., the Riha paten (see KAPER KORAON TREASURE), and from the 11th C. on it has a place in the apse of the church (see LORD'S SUPPER). In all cases the Eucharist is depicted as the Communion of the Apostles with Christ giving the bread and wine, while the everyday scene of the faithful taking communion is never represented. Scenes of baptism, ordination, and last rites occur frequently in hagiographical illustrations, as in the lives of Gregory of Nazianzos and his father, of St. Basil in the 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY, or the 11th-C. MS, Jerusalem Taphou 14. Except for the unusual representations in the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES, marriage is represented in a symbolic manner with Christ rather than the priest joining the bride and groom. The rites of confirmation and penance are not depicted.

LIT. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 191–211. Arranz, "Les sacrements." R. Hotz, *Die Sakramente im Wechselspiel zwischen Ost und West* (Gütersloh 1979). P. de Meester, *Studi sui sacramenti amministrati secundo il rito bizantino* (Rome 1947). Walter, *Art & Ritual* 121–36, 184–96. –R.F.T., A.K., I.K.

SACRA PARALLELA (Lat., lit. "Holy Parallels"), a conventional title, introduced by M. Lequien in his edition of 1712, of a theological and ascetic FLORILEGIUM. No single MS contains the complete text of the *Sacra Parallela*; the common opinion, however, is that various preserved versions originate from a prototype entitled *Hiera* (the Sacred), an important *florilegium* now largely lost, but compiled in the 8th C., probably in Palestine and by JOHN OF DAMASCUS. John's authorship, however, is questionable (J.M. Hoeck, *OrChrP* 17 [1951] 29f) and a 10th-C. MS (Vat. gr. 1553) names the text's authors as "Leontios the priest and [an unidentified] John." Since the earliest fragments are dated in the 9th C., the *Sacra Parallela* could have been produced in the 8th C., probably to emulate the secular *gnomologium* of STOBAIOS.

The *Sacra Parallela* consists of three books, dealing respectively with God and the Trinity, man, and the theme of virtue and vice; the texts of the first two books are presented in a semialphabetical order (no strict sequence within individual letter-sections), while in the third book material is organized in logical pairs, each virtue followed by a contrasting vice. This third book is sometimes named *parallela* in MSS. The material is drawn from scriptural texts and church fathers (esp. Basil the Great and John Chrysostom); Philo and Josephus Flavius are also used. Eventually the *Sacra Parallela* was a source for the *florilegium* of pseudo-Maximos the Confessor and for the MELISSA.

The only illustrated copy of this work and the only illustrated Byz. *florilegium* known is a MS in Paris (B.N. gr. 923). Very large (35.6 × 16.5 cm), it now contains 394 folios of an original 424. The majority of its 1,658 marginal images are author portraits, but the images draw also on the books of the Old Testament, the Gospels, Acts, and homiletic and historical texts, including a few arranged in short narrative sequences. All are literal illustrations of the texts to which they are attached, with gold lavished on drapery, architecture, and occasionally scenery. The MS has been variously attributed to Palestine, Italy, and Constantinople. Its sloping UNCIAL script suggests a 9th-C. origin, although various attempts at greater precision on stylistic or iconographical grounds remain inconclusive. Several pages with text and illustrations missing in the Palaiologan period were then supplied. The MS was brought from Wallachia to the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris in 1730.

ED. PG 95:1041–1588, 96:9–544.

LIT. M. Richard, *DictSpir* 5 (1962) 476–86 (rp. in his *Opera minora*, vol. 1, pt.1). Idem, "Les 'Parallela' de saint Jean Damascène," 12 *CEB* (Belgrade 1964) 2:485–89. O. Wahl, *Die Prophetenzitate der Sacra Parallela*, 2 vols. (Munich 1965). K. Holl, *Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes Damascenus* (Leipzig 1896). K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela* (Princeton 1979). –E.M.J., A.K., A.C.

SACRIFICE. See EUCHARIST.

SACRILEGE (*ἱεροσυλία*), a crime against a sacred person, thing, or place. Sacrilege against persons is mistreatment of an individual who has dedicated himself or herself to God: it ranged from raping consecrated virgins (e.g., Gregory of Nazianzos, PG 37:341B) to the beating and imprisonment of clergymen or their arraignment in a secular court, a procedure from which even patriarchs were not protected. Sacrilege against things is the misuse of sacred objects such as the eucharistic elements or icons; the Iconoclasts and Iconodules exchanged accusations of sacrilege, the Iconoclasts accusing their opponents of idolatry, while the Iconodules charged their adversaries with attacking sacred icons. Attempts of the state to confiscate sacred vessels in times of crisis (under Herakleios or Alexios I) were interpreted by the opposition as sacrilege. SIMONY can also be viewed as a type of sacrilege against things. Sacrilege against places is a violation of a cemetery (see GRAVE-ROBBING) or church. The law of ASYLUM protected churches from violent intrusions, but Byz. authors report many cases of the sacrilegious treatment of church buildings by external enemies, heretics, or warring factions, and hagiographers relate stories of divine punishment for sacrilege against places. In theory, ecclesiastical lands were considered inalienable, but the perception of the seizure of church land as sacrilege contradicted the concept of state control over all lands of the empire, and canon law yielded to pressure from the state. An excessively luxurious lifestyle on the part of clergymen was also considered *hierosylia* (e.g., [pseudo-]Palladios, *Dialogus*, ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton [Cambridge 1928] 70.4).

LIT. N. Iung, *DTC* 14 (1939) 692–703. A. Christophilopoulos, *Hellenikon ekklesiastikon dikaion* 3 (Athens 1956) 49f. Troianos, *Poinalios* 12–16, 48–52. –A.K.

SAEWULF, English pilgrim who visited Palestine in 1102–03, probably a merchant by profession. The focus of his *Relatio*, written in Latin, is Jerusalem and the Holy Land with its monuments and relics, but on the way there and back Saewulf visited Cyprus, some islands in the Aegean, and Byz. cities. His information about these sites combines reality, Christian tradition, and scraps of ancient lore. We learn that "Galienus," whom Saewulf calls "the most highly esteemed physician," was born in "Anchos" (in fact Pergamon); that John the Evangelist was banished to Patmos; that Andros was famous for its production of precious silk cloth; and that Smyrna was a great city. The description stops at the "Arm of St. George" (here meaning the Hellespont) and the two cities on its opposite shores, which he calls "the keys of Constantinople," whence he sailed to Macedonia.

ED. and TR. The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Clifton in *PPTS* 4.2 (London 1896). Russ. tr. P. Bezobrazov in *PPSb* 9 (1885) 259–91.

LIT. Beazley, *Geography* 2:139–55. –A.K.

SAGAS. Written mainly in the 13th C. but based on oral tales and poetry composed from the 9th C. onward, the Icelandic sagas often set the exploits of their Scandinavian heroes, such as HAROLD HARDRADA, in Rus' (Gardariki) and in Constantinople (Mikligard, the Great Town). They rarely provide reliably precise historical information but can corroborate and supplement evidence for events in Byz. and Rus', esp. concerning the VARANGIANS. Some of their material and literary motifs probably emanated from a Varangian milieu. Stender-Petersen has suggested that parts of the POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET may also derive from Varangian sagas.

LIT. A. Stender-Petersen, *Die Varägersage als Quelle der altrussischen Chronik* (Copenhagen 1934). E.A. Rydzevskaja, *Drevnjaja Rus' i Skandinavija v IX–XIV vv.* (Moscow 1978). D. Fry, *Norse Sagas Translated into English: A Bibliography* (New York 1980). C.J. Clover, J. Lindow, *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: a Critical Guide* (Ithaca-London 1985). Davidson, *Road to Byz.* –S.C.F.

SAGION (*σαγίον*, Lat. *sagum*), term used for several varieties of cloak. It could be worn by soldiers: a military treatise of ca.600 (*Strat.Maurik.* XII B.1.8) prescribed that infantrymen should wear simple belts but no "Bulgarian *sagia*"; heavyweight *sagia* were used as blankets and tents (V.4.3–5). The term could also be used for the cloak of a hermit (John Moschos, PG 87:2908A). In the 12th C. the term appears in the *typikon* of the Kecharitomene nunnery (P. Gautier, *REB* 43 [1985] 75.1013) as a general term for monastic robes.

The *sagion* was also an element of court attire:

according to a 10th-C. ceremonial book, during the procession to the Church of St. Mokios, *patrikioi* wore red (*alethina*) *sagia*, while *protospatharioi* had red *spekia* (*De cer.* 99.1–3)—the latter being, according to R. Guilland (*REGr* 58 [1945] 196–201), a garment worn beneath the cloak. In the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 171.18–19), *protospatharioi* are clad in both *sagia* and *spekia*. D. Beljaev (*Byzantina*, vol. 2 [St. Petersburg 1893] 23f, n.2) suggested that the *sagion* was a "semi-festive" cloak, shorter than the CHLAMYS. The emperor wore the *sagion* over the SKARAMANGION (*De cer.* 192.3–4); it could be purple and have a gold-embroidered border and pearl ornament (ibid. 72.7, 634.14–16). In the Psalter of BASIL II the emperor's cloak, probably a *sagion*, is blue. E. Piltz (*Figura* n.s. 17 [1976] 13–26) wrongly associates *sagion* and SAKKOS.

LIT. J. Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (Paris 1917) 56f. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 25, n.75.
–A.K.

SAʿĪD IBN BAṬRĪQ. See EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA.

SAILOR (πλώϊμος, also πλωτής), the holder of a naval STRATEIA serving in the imperial NAVY or in the thematic fleets. Sailors fell into two categories: those who actually sailed the ship (rowers, steersmen) and the marines, who fought or launched GREEK FIRE or projectiles against the enemy (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 397–407). A novel of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos set the minimum property value sufficient to support a naval *strateia* in the maritime themes of SAMOS, AEGEAN SEA, and KIBYRRHAIOTAI at four pounds of gold; such a high value was necessary because these fleets, which saw more action, were self-equipped and rowed. Other thematic sailors or those of the imperial fleet (who received salaries) were to have property of at least two pounds of gold to support their *strateia* (Zepos, *Jus* 1:222.9–223.9). The naval *strateia* was among the less burdensome, however, falling between maintenance of the public post and infantrymen (Zon. 3:506.3–6); it was fiscalized during the 11th C. before being abolished by Manuel I Komnenos. –E.M.

SAINT (ἅγιος), or holy man (ὅσιος), synonymous titles given to Christians who by their death (MARTYR) or by their perfect life (CONFESSOR) made manifest their close linkage with the divine world. The Byz. did not have a formal procedure of CANONIZATION until very late in their history, and the acceptance of an individual as a saint was based on local traditions, reflected in the inclusion of the saint in the church CALENDAR and in SYNAXARIA. Essential characteristics of saints were their constant battle against DEMONS and their capacity for working MIRACLES. Saints belonged to all walks of life—from emperors (JOHN III VATATZES) and empresses (St. THEODORA [wife of Theophilos], St. THEOPHANO [wife of Leo VI]), to patriarchs, generals, craftsmen, and peasants, and even to freedmen (ANDREW THE FOOL), converted Jews (CONSTANTINE THE JEW), and reformed criminals (Moses the Black). Saints of the 4th to 6th C. apparently originated from and were closely connected to predominantly urban milieus whereas, beginning with NICHOLAS OF SION and THEODORE OF SYKEON, the countryside and then the capital assumed the leading role in producing saints.

The cult of saints included commemoration of their anniversaries (feastdays, the days of their death), composition of their VITAE, dedication of churches to them, veneration of their ICONS and RELICS; hymns in honor of the saints and readings from their vitae were included in the office. The saint was considered as the embodiment of Christian virtues, and in popular conception the image of the saint rivaled that of the emperor; the role of the saint was, however, questioned in the 12th C., at least by intellectuals (P. Magdalino in *Byz. Saint* 51–66). (See also HAGIOGRAPHY and HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION.)

LIT. *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, 12 vols. and indices (Rome 1961–70). D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*[2] (Oxford 1987). T. Baumeister, *RAC* 14 (1987) 96–150. H. Delehaye, *Sanctus* (Brussels 1927; rp. 1954). *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London 1981). P. Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1982). J. Seiber, *The Urban Saint in Early Byzantine Social History* (Oxford 1977).
–A.K.

SAINT'S LIFE. See VITA.

SAINTS' DAYS. See CALENDAR, CHURCH; FEAST.

SAKELLARIOS (σακελλάριος), the title of both an administrative and ecclesiastical official. The functions of the administrative *sakellarios* changed over the centuries. The first known official of this title was Paul, a former slave, appointed to the post by ZENO (Jones, *LRE* 3:162, n.7). The duties of the *sakellarios* in the early period were connected with the care of the imperial bedchamber; the official is simultaneously named *spatharios* and *sakellarios* (I. Ševčenko, *ZRVI* 12 [1970] 3) or *koubikoularios* and *sakellarios* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 737, 739–42, 744, 747). Under Justinian II the eunuch Stephen was appointed *sakellarios*. Despite the name of the office, which implies that the *sakellarios* was head of the SAKELLION, the functions of the *sakellarios* were not always financial. Herakleios sent the *sakellarios* Theodore at the head of an army; under Constans II a *sakellarios* conducted the examination of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR. Patr. Nikephoros I (Nikeph. 23.12, 37.12–13) calls both Theodore and Stephen "treasurers (*tamiai*) of the imperial funds." This passage indicates that by the early 8th C. the office had acquired fiscal responsibilities, but does not demonstrate (as Bury [*Adm. System* 85] suggested) that *sakellarioi* of the 7th C. were already treasurers. A seal of the early 9th C. seems to name the *patrikios* Basil as *chartoularios* of the imperial VESTIARION and *sakellarios* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.748).

By the mid-9th C. the *sakellarios* became a general comptroller, a high-ranking official who had notaries at every SEKRETON. From the end of the 11th C. the epithet *megas* was added to the designation of *sakellarios*. Dölger hypothesized that after 1094 the duties of the *sakellarios* were assumed by the *megas* LOGARIASTES; later, however, the *sakellarios* was restored. The *sakellarios* functioned until 1196 (the last mentioned in *Lavra* 1, nos. 67f).

The ecclesiastical *sakellarios* was a clerical official whose title probably originated in a connection between his office and a cathedral treasury (*sakellion*) analogous to the connection between the identically named imperial institutions. The patriarchal *sakellarios* rose to prominence at the end of the 11th C., acquired the epithet *megas*, displaced the (*megas*) SKEUOPHYLAX as the second ranking official on the staff of the patriarchate, and became closely involved in the reform of monastic patronage undertaken by Patr. Nicholas III Grammatikos and Emp. Alexios I. By this time, the office had lost any financial functions it may have had and carried responsibility for the supervision of the monasteries of Constantinople (Balsamon, Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:534.31–32), including, notably, the registration and execution of patriarchal acts entrusting monastic houses to the care of lay patrons (see EPHOROS; CHARISTIKION). Perhaps for a time in the 13th C. this role was restricted to convents. By this date, the institution was replicated throughout the provinces. A late 13th-C. act of the metropolitan of Thessalonike shows the local *megas sakellarios* fulfilling exactly the same functions as his counterpart in Constantinople (ed. P. Magdalino, *REB* 35 [1977] 285).

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 16–19. Oikonomides, *Listes* 312. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 310–14, 551, 556, 558, 561. Meester, *De monachico statu* 183–85. –A.K., P.M.

SAKELLION (σακέλλιον), or *sakelle*, or *sakella*; terms used for treasury, with three different meanings.

1. Imperial Treasury. The Byz. variously attempted to derive the etymology of the term. ANASTASIOS OF SINAI (PG 89:84CD) explained *sakella* as a Syriac word for "receiving," while BALSAMON (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:534.28–29) defined *sakellon* (*sic*) as "management and preservation." Dölger (*Beiträge* 25) equates *sakellion* with the *tamieion*, that is, the bureau of the COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM. The 7th-C. texts, however, do not have this specific meaning: in the Life of JOHN ELEEMON (ch.12.5–9), Leontios of Neapolis speaks of the *demosia* (state) *sakella*, to which special taxes would flow, and in the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE (2:9.10–11), the *sakellion* functions as a treasury to reward soldiers freed from captivity. The *sakellion* was a treasury of money, to be distinguished from the VESTIARION. It is generally assumed that the SAKELLARIOS was for a while a head of the *sakellion*, but already in the 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij he is distinguished from the CHARTOULARIOS of the *sakelle*, the latter having the rank of *patrikios*. Besides being a treasury, the *sakellion* accumulated varied functions, as can be concluded from the list of its staff which included, besides clerks, a ZYGOSTATES (controller of the weight [of coins]), *metretes* (controller of MEASURES), directors of philanthropic institutions, and a *domestikos tes thymeles*, responsible for expenditures on public amusement. By the 11th C. the *sakelle* was the place where the inventory (BREBION) of imperial monasteries and

their properties was registered (*Ivir.* 1, no.9.30). The *sekreton* was also called the "imperial *sakellion*," and its head *ho epi sakelliou*. The extant seals cover the period from the 8th/9th to the 11th/12th C. The last mention in written sources is of 1145 (MM 6:105.27).

2–3. Ecclesiastical Usages. *Sakellion* or *sakelle* was originally a treasury of the Great Church of Constantinople, analogous to the imperial *sakellion*. Possibly following imperial precedent, the officials associated with the patriarchal *sakellion* had, by the 1090s, lost their residual function as treasurers and become responsible for religious foundations under patriarchal jurisdiction: the *megas sakellarios* for monasteries and the *sakelliou* (*ho sakelliou*) for public churches.

Sakelle was also the name given to the jail of the Great Church for clerical offenders, first attested in the 10th C. (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 68.13).

LIT. **1.** Bury, *Adm. System* 93–95. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 737–83. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XVIII (1971), 412–14. –A.K.

LIT. **2–3.** Darrouzès, *Offikia* 62–64, 318–22. –P.M.

SAKKOS (*σάκκος*), a form of TUNIC; the word originally meant coarse sackcloth. In the late Roman empire the *sakkos* was a symbol of asceticism or penitence; *Sakkophoroi*, "those wearing sackcloth," became the name of a group of heretics who practiced an extreme asceticism. It is unknown how and when the word acquired the meaning of the Latin *dalmatica*, a T-shaped tunic with broad sleeves: it had a slit for the head and extended to the knees.

The imperial *sakkos* was the equivalent of or successor to the DIVETESION. According to a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 224.27, 256.25), the emperor wore the *sakkos* at his coronation at Hagia Sophia (where at one point it was covered by a MANDYAS), on Palm Sunday, and probably at the PROKYPSIS. On Christmas the emperor wore a black *sakkos*, interpreted by the same source (201.10–12) as symbolic of the "mystery of imperial power"; this color, however, might reflect the early meaning of the word as the garb of penitence and asceticism.

The *sakkos* was also a church vestment. According to Balsamon (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:478.26–33, 546.31), the wearing of the *sakkos* was a patriarchal prerogative, but by the 13th C. it was permitted to certain metropolitans, and its use was eventually extended to bishops as well. As a vestment it was richly ornamented; the most elaborate as well as the earliest surviving example is the so-called DALMATIC OF CHARLEMAGNE (14th C.). From the 14th C. onward, Christ is sometimes depicted wearing the *sakkos* in scenes of the Communion of the Apostles in apse decoration.

LIT. Papas, *Messgewände* 105–30. Walter, *Art & Ritual* 17–19, 216. E. Piltz, "Trois sakkoi byzantins," *Figura* n.s. 17 (1976) 13–26. –A.K.

SALADIN (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yusuf ibn Aiyūb), sultan of Egypt (from 1169), Damascus (from 1174), and Aleppo (from 1183), and suzerain of Mosul (from 1186); born Takrit 1138, died Damascus 4 Mar. 1193. Having reunified the lands of NŪR AL-DĪN, Saladin concentrated on war against the CRUSADER STATES. About 1185 ANDRONIKOS I allegedly asked him for an alliance. After Saladin conquered Jerusalem in 1187, ISAAC II requested his friendship and allowed the recognition of the ʿAbbāsid caliph in the mosque in Constantinople. Saladin's embassies to Constantinople (1188–89) sought information about the gathering Third Crusade and seemingly encouraged Isaac to resist Crusader armies that passed through Byz. Isaac probably sought favor for Greek Orthodoxy and possibly territorial grants in Saladin's realm. Isaac therefore tried to destroy the Crusade of FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA. In 1190–92 Isaac's frequent messages to Saladin seem to have gained an ineffectual alliance against ISAAC KOMNENOS, *basileus* of Cyprus. The relationship between Saladin and Isaac justified Westerners in depicting Byz. as pro-Muslim. Saladin founded the AYYŪBID dynasty.

LIT. M.C. Lyons, D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge 1982). H. Möhring, *Saladin und der dritte Kreuzzug: Aiyubidische Strategie und Diplomatie im Vergleich vornehmlich der arabischen mit den lateinischen Quellen* (Wiesbaden 1980). R.-J. Lilie, "Noch einmal zu dem Thema 'Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten,'" in *Varia*, vol. 1 (Bonn 1984) 142–63. –C.M.B.

SALAMIS. See CYPRUS.

SALE (*πρᾶσις*), a legal transaction in which rights of disposal are exchanged for money. In general, all THINGS (movable and immovable, animals) and rights (including state functions and DIGNITIES, the purchase of TITLES) could be the basis for a sale CONTRACT. Limitations arose as a result of various economic, political, and social concerns, for example, with regard to ecclesiastical or military property (STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA), in transactions involving politically sensitive goods (PURPLE dye, WEAPONRY), in the market regulations of big cities, in the PROTIMESIS of neighbors, in the prohibition against selling oneself, in the respect for slave families, etc. An admissible sale contract could be either oral or written. In the case of defects in the merchandise, the goods could be returned within six months or a reduction in the price could be demanded within a year. Special regulations governed the purchase of animals in the marketplace (*Bk. of Eparch* 21.5,6). The seller had to protect the buyer from legal deficiencies (*dephension*). If the seller did not succeed in the *dephension* and the item was lost, the buyer was entitled to double the sale price plus the value of improvements made to it (*beltiosis*). Apart from the *laesio enormis* (or *diplasiasmos*: if the sale price was less than half the value of the item), which was operative in every sale, price regulation is documented primarily for transactions involving the provisioning of Constantinople (see MONOPOLY).

Deeds of Purchase. Some Byz. FORMULARIES of deeds of purchase have survived (e.g., D. Simon, S. Troianos, *FM* 2 [1977] 267–71, 290f) as have actual documents, both originals and copies. The earlier documents are primarily papyri from Egypt, the ALBERTINI TABLETS, and RAVENNA PAPYRI; the later ones are charters in monastic archives. G. Ferrari (*Byzantinisches Archiv* 4 [1910] 100) stressed the uniformity that characterizes Byz. deeds of purchase and their similarity in structure with those from southern Italy; according to D. Simon (in *Flores legum H.J. Scheltema oblati* [Groningen 1971] 175), this uniformity originated in the 6th C. due to the activity of LAW SCHOOLS in Constantinople and Berytus. Byz. deeds of purchase from the 13th–14th C. show certain significant local variations, so that it is possible to distinguish the clauses or sections of documents from chancelleries in Thessalonike, Serres, Miletos, and Smyrna (Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 28–36).

LIT. D. Nörr, "Das Struktur des Kaufes nach den byzantinischen Rechtsbüchern," *ByzF* 1 (1966) 230–59. M. Sargenti, "La compravendita nel tardo diritto romano," *Studi Biscardi*, vol. 2 (Milan 1982) 341–63. J.-O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens*, vol. 2 (Stockholm 1982) 29–46. P. Zepos, "Paradosis engraphou e di'engraphou eis to byzantinon kai to metabyzantinon dikaion," in *Mneme G. Petropoulou*, vol. 1 (Athens 1984) 85–98. –A.K.

SALERNO (Σαλερινόν, in *De adm. imp.* 27.4), city in CAMPANIA on the southwest coast of Italy. It was captured by the Lombards probably after 625 (T.C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident* [Athens 1980] 107) and formed a part of the duchy of BENEVENTO. By 849 Salerno gained independence and formed a separate duchy. Like Benevento and CAPUA, Salerno was threatened by Arab attacks and by the end of the 9th C. had to acknowledge Byz. suzerainty. In 887 the Byz. confirmed the possessions of Guaimar I of Salerno within the borders of 849 and conferred upon him the title of *patrikios*; in 893/4 they even attempted to seize Salerno but failed (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 36f). After a victory over the Arabs at the GARIGLIANO in 915, the Byz. experienced a series of setbacks in the 920s that allowed Guaimar II of Salerno to strengthen his position and subjugate some territories in Lucania.

In the mid-10th C. a new element appeared on the scene in Italy—the Germany of OTTO I. Paldolf I Capodiferro of Capua became Otto's vassal and under his rule assembled Lombard lands in central Italy; in 977 Paldolf established his authority over Salerno. After Paldolf's death in 981, however, his great dominion disintegrated, and the inhabitants of Salerno accepted as their ruler the duke Manso of AMALFI (966–1004), an ally of Byz. Otto II besieged Salerno in 982; the city surrendered only after Otto had recognized Manso. Salerno continued to profit from the rivalry of the two empires that enabled Guaimar V (1027–52) to consolidate his rule; he united Capua, Amalfi, and Gaeta under his authority and, acting in concert with the Normans, shook off the last traces of Byz. suzerainty. It was to be only a temporary period of independence, however; Guaimar's son Gisulf II (1052–76), after desperate attempts to enlist the support of Amalfi and Constantinople, surrendered his city to the Normans in 1076. Salerno was one of the centers of Byz. cultural influence in Italy, esp. famous for its medical school, which developed Greek traditions.

Monuments of Salerno. The Lombard ruler Arechis II (758–87) repaired the city walls, built

a palace, and constructed a church dedicated to SS. Pietro e Paolo (Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity* 54, 171f, 197). The cathedral, sponsored by Archbp. Alfanus I (1058–85) and ROBERT GUISCARD, was consecrated in 1084. Byz. bronze DOORS were donated by Landulfo Butrumile and his wife. Fragmentary mosaics on the east wall of the transept were identified by Kitzinger as the work of Byz.-trained craftsmen from MONTECASSINO; more recently, however, A. Carucci reports restorations that in his opinion reveal that the mosaics must postdate the decoration of Alfanus I, putting the Cassinese connection in doubt.

LIT. C. Carucci, *Il principato di Salerno* (Salerno 1910). *Guida alla storia di Salerno*, ed. A. Leone, G. Vitole, 1 (Salerno 1982) 55–207. P. Delogu, *Mito di una città meridionale* (Naples 1977). A. Carucci, *I mosaici salernitani nella storia e nell'arte* (Cava dei Tirreni 1983). Kitzinger, *Art of Byzantium* 271–89. *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 5:552–54.
–A.K., D.K.

ṢĀLIḤIDS, the dominant group among Arab FOEDERATI in the 5th C., sometimes called the Zokomids. Their history is obscure and it is not entirely clear whence they wandered into Oriens and where they settled. Byz. sources have preserved the name of Zokomos, the first of their chiefs in the service of Byz., while Arabic sources cite Dāwūd (David), one of the last. The Ṣāliḥids fought for Theodosios II and participated in his two short Persian wars. They performed their function as christianized *foederati* until the GHASSĀNIDS eclipsed them as the dominant federate power, but they continued as Byz. allies until the Arab conquests. The first recorded instance of Arabic court poetry in Oriens is associated with the Ṣāliḥids; it was probably under their influence that a version of the Arabic script was developed in Oriens that made use of both the old Nabatean and new Syriac scripts.

LIT. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (5th c.)*. –I.A.Sh.

SALLOUSTIOS (Σαλ⟨λ⟩ούστιος), 4th-C. author of a Greek handbook of NEOPLATONISM entitled *On the Gods and the World*. He has been variously identified with Flavius Sallustius, consul in 363, and with Saturninius Secundus Salutius, praetorian prefect in the East in 361–67, a high political and intellectual confidant of JULIAN. Either way, his book can be understood as involved with Julian's anti-Christian policy.

ED. *Saloustios, Des dieux et du monde*, ed. G. Rochefort (Paris 1960), with Fr. tr. *Sallustius Concerning the Gods and the Universe*, ed. A.D. Nock (Cambridge 1926), with Eng. tr.

LIT. G. Rochefort, "Le *Peri theon kai kosmou* de Saloustios et l'influence de l'empereur Julien," *REGr* 69 (1956) 50–66. R. Étienne, "Flavius Sallustius et Secundus Salutius," *REA* 65 (1963) 104–13. –B.B.

SALONA (Σάλωνες, mod. Solin in Yugoslavia), a Roman *municipium* and port in Illyricum on the Dalmatian sea coast. Finds of coins and pottery suggest prosperity in the 4th C. despite the scarcity of building remains from this period (V. von Gonzenbach in *Excavations at Salona, Yugoslavia,* ed. C. Clairmont [Park Ridge, N.J., 1975] 134f). The mausoleum of Anastasios in the Marusinac cemetery may date as early as ca.300, while the first episcopal basilica, the southern part of Salona's twin cathedral, may be of the mid-4th C. (Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 180). The northern church, the *basilica urbana*, dates to the first quarter of the 5th C. In the 5th C. Salona was in the hands of the Ostrogoths, who contributed to the development of Arianism in the city. Dyggve (*infra*) suggests that at least one of the basilicas excavated in Salona was Arian. Salona became a metropolis and in 530 the site of a council, its bishop Honorius being called *archiepiscopus*. Reconquered by the Byz. under Justinian I ca.537, Salona was subjected to Slav and Avar attacks, but probably remained inhabited until the 630s (I. Marović in *Disputationes salonitanae,* vol. 2 [Split 1984] 293–314). Its population then migrated to nearby SPLIT, where the episcopal center was also transferred; the greatly venerated relics of the Salonitan martyrs, however, were carried to Rome. Only the mausoleum of Anastasios was able to survive the general destruction of Salona. The site was revived as Solin under Croatian rulers by the 11th C.; some new churches were built and in 1076 King Zvonimir was crowned there.

LIT. E. Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity* (Oslo 1951). I. Nikolajević, "Salona cristiana aux VIe et VIIe siècles," *Disputationes salonitanae,* vol. 1 (Split 1975) 91–95. E. Dyggve, R. Egger, *Der altchristliche Friedhof Marusinac* (Vienna 1939). E. Ceci, *I monumenti cristiani di Salona* (Milan 1963). –A.K.

SALT (ἅλας). This product, essential for the preservation of food and of life, was, in the medieval and early modern periods, an important item of trade and of revenues. In Byz., salt was produced in salines (*halyke*), and the state retained rights over its production and sale. An edict of Arkadios and Honorius (398) gave the managers of salines privileges over the sale and purchase of salt in the city of Rome; all others who wished to buy and sell salt could do so only if the managers (*mancipes*) were intermediaries (*Cod.Just.* IV 61.11). An edict of Justinian II (Sept. 688) granted to the Church of St. Demetrios, in gratitude for the saint's help in the wars against the Slavs, the revenues of a saline near Thessalonike (on the west coast of the Thermaic Bay [?]). The saline is called "entirely free," that is, it paid no taxes to the state; the clergy were exempted from giving contributions from the saline to any military person (Grégoire, *infra*). There were many salines near Thessalonike and in the rest of Macedonia. In 1415 there were in Thessalonike at least two guilds of workers in the saline, who drew an annual salary (*Dionys.*, no.14); they seem to have been quite an important group. Salines were granted by emperors to monasteries (*Xénoph.*, no.1.146). There were also salines on the Black Sea coasts, in Crete, Peloponnesos, and very important ones in Cyprus.

The export of salt to "barbarians" was forbidden (SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM K.10.1, *Basil.* 56.1.11). The first Palaiologan emperors tried to retain or reestablish state rights over the sale of salt. The Venetians and the Genoese could not sell salt from the Black Sea in Byz. territories. They were not even allowed to unload it in Constantinople and Pera (Belgrano, "Prima serie" 116–23). The Venetians were forbidden to buy or sell salt within the empire (G.M. Thomas, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum* [Venice 1880; rp. New York 1966] no.73, p.129.14). Salt from the Black Sea and the Italian possessions in Romania was an important item of trade for Venice and Genoa—but they seem to have adhered to the prohibition of selling it in Pera. Alexios APOKAUKOS made a fortune as manager of the state salt pans, whose revenues he was accused of appropriating (Kantak. 1:118.3–5; cf. Greg. 1:301.12).

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, "An Edict of the Emperor Justinian II, September, 688," *Speculum* 18 (1943) 1–13 (and comments by S. Kyriakides, *Makedonika* 2 [1941–52] 751–53). H. Grégoire, "Un édit de l'empereur Justinien II daté de septembre 688," *Byzantion* 17 (1944–45) 119–124a. K.-P. Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz* (Weimar 1981) 144–59. Balard, *Romanie génoise* 2:708–11. –A.L.

SALTOVO, a village in the Ukraine near the Siverskij Donec where in 1890–1900 an extensive complex of fortified (120 hectares) and open settlements (villages) were excavated; hence the newly discovered culture (8th–10th C.) was called "Saltovo" (or "Saltovo-Majacky"; Majackoe gorodišče is located at the confluence of the Tichaja Sosna and the Don). At present more than 300 Saltovo sites have been found in a vast territory extending from the basin of the Kama river to Dagestan, the Crimea, and Bulgaria. The two variants of Saltovo culture represent two basic "ethnic" components of the KHAZAR state: the "Alan" in the northern Caucasus and in the Donec-Don forest-steppe zone, and the "Proto-Bulgarian" (BULGAR) in the steppe zone as well as in the region of Phanagoria (Magna Bulgaria). The Alan type is characterized by large, permanent agricultural settlements (both fortified and open) with semi-subterranean dwellings and by catacomb burials with rich grave goods. The Proto-Bulgarians were nomads or seminomads who had temporary yurt-like dwellings and narrow-pitted burial grounds. They buried the dead with their horses and with only modest offerings.

Two characteristics common to both types of Saltovo culture are a particular yellow pottery made of clay mixed with grass and sand, and "castles" of white sand, 12 of which, including SARKEL, have been found in the Donec-Don region. Some of the pottery and other artifacts display Late Antique forms and subsequently follow contemporary Byz. patterns.

LIT. S.A. Pletneva, *Ot kočevij k gorodam* (Moscow 1967). Eadem, "Saltovo-Majackaja kul'tura," *Archeologija SSSR. Stepi Evrazii v epochu srednevekov'ja* (Moscow 1981) 62–75, 150–72. A. Bartha, *Hungarian Society in the 9th and 10th Centuries* (Budapest 1975). –O.P.

SALUTATORIUM, a conventional (Western) term for the reception room located at the entrance to the PALACE of a ruler, official, or bishop. There is little archaeological evidence for its architectural form. The circular, domed chamber at the entrance to Diocletian's palace at Split may have been a *salutatorium*, as is also possible for the 5th-C. MYRELAION rotunda and the rotunda of the Palace of Lausos in Constantinople.

LIT. E.B. Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton 1956) 135, 142. –M.J.

SALVAGE, RIGHT OF, a medieval custom that allowed the owners of coastal lands to take possession of cargo washed ashore after a shipwreck. The *Basilika* preserved the regulations of the *Digest* that prohibited such a seizure: thus *Basil.* 53.3.23 states that items found after a storm or wreck are not subject to the LONGI TEMPORIS PRAESCRIPTIO, since they do not "lack an owner" (*adespota*). The RHODIAN SEA LAW (par.45) permitted the person on shore who salvaged objects from a shipwreck to take as his reward (*misthos*) one-fifth of them (or of their prices). *Cod. Just.* XI 6.1 stresses that the fisc has no right to salvaged property; it belongs to its original owner. Actual practice, however, differed from law: Andronikos I opposed the old custom of plundering wrecked ships and introduced a severe penalty for such a crime (*Reg* 2, no.1566). International treaties protected ships that foundered in foreign waters: thus, the Russo-Byz. treaty of 911 prescribed that a Greek ship cast ashore in the land of Rus' should remain safe and inviolate and established a penalty for plundering such a ship.

LIT. M.Ja. Sjuzjumov, "Vnutrennjaja politika Andronika Komnina," *VizVrem* 12 (1957) 66, n.46. –A.K.

SALVATION (*σωτηρία*), the most generic concept of Christian SOTERIOLOGY, designating the final restoration of MANKIND to its status before original SIN, its deification (THEOSIS). Theodore of Mopsuestia (PG 66:828BC) defines it as "universal liberation from evil which will take place in the future age." The possibility of salvation was created by the mystery of REDEMPTION and it is received from God/Christ through the Scripture, sacraments, orthodox belief, and upright life. Whereas Augustine stressed the necessity of the church as an institution for salvation (as an agent officiating at baptism, Eucharist, extreme unction, exorcism), some Eastern theologians (SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, HESYCHASTS) emphasized the individual way of salvation via moral purification and complete submission to God's will.

The scope of salvation was discussed by the church fathers. The common opinion was that salvation was offered to all (e.g., Athanasios of Alexandria, PG 25:149C), but the "sons of lawlessness" were not to be saved; ORIGEN, on the other hand, taught that in the final account everybody would be granted salvation. It remained unclear when the fate of an individual was decided, whether it was immediately after death, while passing through multiple *teloneia* (as described in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER), or at the LAST JUDGMENT. Salvation was conceived as related to both soul and body, even though the physical dwelling in Christian PARADISE was not depicted in such graphic terms as that of Islam. The history of mankind was seen teleologically as a way toward salvation through several stages of development; Christian thinkers dwelt much on the vision of the period preceding the Last Judgment, but Byz. ESCHATOLOGY did not reach the level of Western concepts.

LIT. B. Studer, B. Daley, *Soteriologie in der Schrift und Patristik* (Freiburg im Breisgau–Basel–Vienna 1978). J.P. Burns, "The Economy of Salvation. Two Patristic Traditions," *TheolSt* 37 (1976) 598–619. J. Allen, "An Orthodox Perspective of 'Liberation,'" *GOrThR* 26 (1981) 71–80. A. Luneau, *L'histoire du salut chez les Pères de l'Eglise* (Paris 1964). J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition,* vol. 1 (Chicago–London 1971) 141–55, 232–36. –A.K.

SALVIAN, Latin ecclesiastical writer; born Trier? ca.400, died Marseilles ca.480. After separation from his wife, Salvian lived on the island of Lérins (off the French Riviera) from ca.424 and then ca.439 settled as a priest at Marseilles. His major work is the *Governance of God*, in the eight books of which he imitates Tacitus in contrasting barbarian virtue with Roman decadence, claiming their invasions to be God's punishment. Salvian can fairly be blamed for helping to propagate the myth of the noble savage, but his book is full of valuable secular and social history, with much on the collapse of urban life in the provinces, the barbarian impact, and passionate reflections on the poverty of the many and the oppression and decadence of the rich minority. A treatise on almsgiving, variously titled *To the Church* or *Against Avarice*, survives, as do nine letters that furnish some autobiographical details.

ED. *Oeuvres*, ed. G. Lagarrigue, 2 vols. (Paris 1971–75), with Fr. tr. *The Writings*, tr. J.F. O'Sullivan (Washington, D.C., 1947; rp. 1977).

LIT. J. Badewien, *Geschichtstheologie und Sozialkritik im Werk Salvians von Marseille* (Göttingen 1980). M. Pellegrino, *Salviano di Marsiglia* (Rome 1940). P. Lebeau, "Hérésie et Providence selon Salvien," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 65 (1963) 160–75. –B.B.

SĀMĀNIDS, a dynasty of Persian emirs (874/5–999) who ruled in Transoxiana and Persia. From their capital at Bukhara their power eventually reached to the southern shore of the Caspian Sea and the major part of modern Afghanistan. The Sāmānid state had trade relations with Iran, Khazaria, Rus', and China. Their court was a center of the revival of Persian literature.

In the course of the 10th C. the Sāmānids faced two problems before which they eventually succumbed. First, they relied very heavily on the GHULĀM system for much of their military power. These Turkish slave troops eventually separated from the state and founded a rival dynasty, the Ghaznavid. Second, the demographic pressure of the Karahānid (Ilek Hān) Turks created a new political threat to the Sāmānid state in the north. Before these two forces the Sāmānid state collapsed in 999, the Karahānids occupying Transoxiana and the Ghaznavids Khurāsān. Of ultimate importance for Byz. was the fact that the SELJUK nomads made their appearance here during the three-way struggle of Karahānids, Sāmānids, and Ghaznavids. In 1040 the Seljuks defeated the Ghaznavids at Dandanaqan, decided the fate of Khurāsān, and intensified the westward progress of the Turkish nomads who would conquer and settle Byz. Anatolia.

LIT. V.F. Büchner, *EI* 4:121–24. O. Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden," *Der Islam* 31 (1953) 17–68. C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids* (Beirut 1973). Vryonis, *Decline* 80–85. –S.V.

SAMARIA. See SEBASTE.

SAMARITANS (from Samaria in the mountains of central Israel), a strictly monotheistic sect, descended, according to the Pentateuch, from the ancient Israelite tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. Led by high priests (Aaronides), Samaritans rejected the prophets and writings of the Hebrew Bible and the centrality of Jerusalem in late biblical and rabbinic Judaism. Normative Jews in turn excommunicated them. Still, Samaritans enjoyed the Jewish status of *religio licita* until the time of Justinian I. Their primary settlement was near Nablus, with colonies in Egypt, Syria, Thessalonike, and Constantinople. Extremely rebellious toward Byz. policy in Palestine, they revolted frequently (e.g., in 451, 484, 529, 578) and were ruthlessly crushed. Justinian destroyed their synagogues and their altar on Mt. Gerizim and imposed severe restrictions (*Cod.Just.* I 5.17) that Justin II renewed in 572 (nov.144). Mentioned among rioting mobs in Constantinople in 580, Samaritans still appear in Byz. law codes even after Arabs conquered their homeland.

LIT. A.D. Crown, "The Samaritans in the Byzantine Orbit," *BullJRylandsLib* 69 (1986) 96–138. A.M. Rabello, *Giustiniano, Ebrei e Samaritani,* vol. 1 (Milan 1987). K.G. Holum, "Caesarea and the Samaritans," in *City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era* (New York 1982) 65–73. J. Kaplan, "A Samaritan Amulet from Corinth," *IEJ* 30 (1980) 196–98. S. Winkler, "Die Samariter in den Jahren 529/30," *Klio* 43/45 (1965) 435–57. –S.B.B.

SAMONAS (Σαμῶνας), a favorite of LEO VI; born Melitene, ca.875, died Constantinople? after 908. A captive Arab eunuch, Samonas served in the house of Stylianos ZAOUTZES and launched his career ca.900 by denouncing a plot of Zaoutzes' relatives against Leo (the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER erroneously presented Samonas as *parakoimomenos* already in 896). Circa 904 Samonas made an enigmatic flight toward the eastern frontier; he was, however, arrested by Constantine DOUKAS and brought to trial in the senate. Although not acquitted, Samonas managed to regain imperial favor. Jenkins (*infra*) hypothesized that the flight was a pretense and that Samonas intended to engage in espionage within the caliphate; the sources are too meager to prove it. The episode reflects, however, the conflict between the military aristocracy (the Doukas family) and Leo's officials. Samonas remained a staunch supporter of Leo VI during the dispute over the TETRAGAMY and was appointed *parakoimomenos* (probably after the deposition of NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS). His intrigue against the *patrikios* Constantine was a failure. With the help of CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, Samonas produced a letter offensive to the emperor and allegedly written by the *patrikios* Constantine. His plot was discovered, and in 908 Samonas was compelled to take the monastic habit. He is described with an apparent animosity in the vitae of both Basil the Younger and Patr. EUTHYMIOS; Janin adopted this negative approach, while Karlin-Hayter characterized Samonas as "a trusted and powerful minister of Leo's, particularly concerned with Security" (*Vita*

Euthym. 177). Samonas's career is recounted at length by John Skylitzes and depicted in a long sequence of miniatures in the illustrated version of this chronicle, Madrid, Bibl. Nac. vitr. 26-2 (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 251–52, 258, 261–63, 267–70).

LIT. R. Janin, "Un Arabe ministre à Byzance: Samonas," *EO* 34 (1935) 307–18. Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.X (1948), 217–35. –A.K., A.C.

SAMOS (Σάμος), island in the Aegean Sea off the west coast of Asia Minor, part of the province of the Islands (Insulae). Excavations have revealed building activity of the 4th C. in the city of Samos: a peristyle house on Kastro Tigani (R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Samos* 14 [1974] 83–89) and the bath complex on the site of the former gymnasium, with coins through 352 or 354. In the 5th C. a basilica was erected (*ibid.* 92–105). The bath was inhabited in the 6th–7th C. (W. Martini, *Samos* 16 [1984] 264), and a cistern in the Heraion was active to ca.538 (H.P. Isler, *MDAI AA* 84 [1969] 229). Thereafter many sites along the coast were abandoned, and settlement concentrated in the interior at sites such as Kastrovouni and in the vicinity of Karlovasi. The remains of many churches of the 4th–6th C. are preserved on the island. A 7th-C. fort has been identified at Kastro Lazarou.

In the 7th C. Samos was in an area subject to Arab attacks. A later tradition preserved in Chalkokondyles says that Samos was subdued by the caliphs of Cairo and forced to provide them with ships. The theme of Samos was formed by the end of the 9th C. and is first mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos; it included considerable territory on the mainland, and the capital was Smyrna. It was divided into two *tourmai*, Ephesus and Atramyttion. In the 10th C. Samos was used as a base both by the Arabs in their inroads in the Aegean Sea and by the Byz. for attacks on Crete; Tzachas temporarily occupied the island. Despite all the hardships of warfare Samos flourished in the 12th C.: Daniil Igumen praises its wealth, esp. in fish, and al-Idrīsī describes it as a pleasant place rich in cows and sheep. In 1204 Samos was granted to Baldwin of Flanders, but it was seized by John III Vatatzes ca.1225. It was surrendered to the Genoese in 1304, recovered briefly by the Byz. between 1329 and 1346, then ruled again by the Genoese until 1475.

Legends connect the christianization of Samos with St. Paul, but no bishop is known before the 5th or even the 7th C. The bishop of Samos was the first suffragan of Rhodes (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:530–34). The Church of the Panagia Sarandaskaliotissa west of Marathokambos was built by Paul of Latros.

LIT. G. Shipley, *A History of Samos, 800–188 B.C.* (Oxford 1987) 249–68. A.M. Schneider, "Samos in frühchristlicher und byzantinischer Zeit," *MDAI AA* 54 (1929) 96–141. I. Siderokastrou, *He ekklesia tes Samou* (Samos 1967). K. Tsakos, "Symbole ste palaiochristianike kai proime byzantine mnemeiographia tes Samou," *ArchEph* (1979) 11–25. –T.E.G.

SAMOSATA (Σαμόσατα, Ar. Sumaysāṭ, now Samsat in Turkey), city on the north bank of the Euphrates. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc. 14.8.7), it was one of the largest cities of the province of Euphratensis. During the Persian wars Samosata was often a campsite for the Byz. army on the way to Persia, but it did not play any decisive role in events. The city was an important center of Christianity: many martyrs of the 3rd C. originated there as well as Lucian of Samosata, the teacher of Arius, and Paul of Samosata, a defender of the idea of strong episcopal power. Arians prospered in Samosata, and its bishop Eusebios tried in vain to oppose them; killed by an Arian woman in 380, he was allegedly proclaimed a "holy victim" by Gregory of Nazianzos (F. Halkin, *AB* 85 [1967] 15.10–12). Eusebios's tomb in the cathedral became the center of a cult.

After being occupied by the Arabs in 639, Samosata early became the target of Byz. raids: in 700 the Byz. under Tiberios II took booty and captives in the region of Samosata. Expeditions continued throughout the 9th and 10th C. The 10th-C. *Taktikon* of Beneševič mentions the *katepano* of Samosata, but it is unclear whether this was Samosata on the Euphrates or Samosata in Armenia (Oikonomides, *Listes* 360). Samosata was probably a part of the theme of "the *poleis* on the Euphrates" that existed in the 11th C. In 1070 it was included in the region between Edessa and Antioch controlled by Philaretos Brachamios.

LIT. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 134–37. –A.K.

SAMOTHRACE (Σαμοθράκη), mountainous island in the northeastern Aegean Sea, a city of Macedonia I in the 6th C. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 1.57, ed. Pertusi 86) describes it as part of the *eparchia* of Thrace. Pseudo-Symeon Magistros (*TheophCont* 706.4–8) calls it a Thracian peninsula and suggests a fantastic etymology of its name (opulent with beasts and colonized by Samians). Some churches, graves, and minor objects (lamps, weights, etc.) of the 5th–6th C. have been discovered on Samothrace (K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *AJA* 43 [1939] 141f) as has an inscription mentioning restoration of a bath by Justinian (probably Justinian I: G. Downey, *Hesperia* 19 [1950] 21f). A biographer of Theophanes the Confessor (who was exiled to Samothrace) describes the island as situated in the sea of Maroneia and calls it a horrible and arid place (Theoph. 2:12.13–16). In 945 Constantine Lekapenos, son of Romanos I, was exiled to Samothrace, where he was accused of an attempt at usurpation and murdered (*TheophCont* 438.2–5).

After 1204 Samothrace was given to the Latin emperor of Constantinople but returned to Byz. in 1261. Circa 1330 the island was attacked by the emir of Smyrna and Ephesus (Lemerle, *Aydin* 72f). During the Civil War of 1341–47 John V Palaiologos seized Samothrace together with Lemnos, Imbros, and Lesbos (Greg. 3:226.10–13). Circa 1431 Samothrace was in the hands of Palamede Gattilusio, the lord of Ainos, who built a new fortress there, as witnessed by two inscriptions on its walls. The island, called Sanctus Mandrachi by the Latins, was famous for its honey and goats (Miller, *Essays* 326f). John Laskaris Rhyndakenos governed Samothrace from 1444 to 1455; the Gattilusi came back for a short time, but in 1456 the Turkish fleet annexed the island. A papal navy under the command of Cardinal Scarampi, patriarch of Aquileia, was sent to incite a revolt on the island; the Greek *archon* of Kastro captured Samothrace and it remained under papal jurisdiction until 1459, when it was recaptured by the Turks. In 1460 Mehmed II granted a part of Samothrace to Demetrios Palaiologos, former *despotes* of the Morea.

LIT. S.N. Papageorgiou, *Samothrake* (Athens 1982) 51–64. P.W. Lehmann, D. Spittle, *The Temenos* (Princeton 1982) 297–301. –T.E.G.

SAMPSON. See Priene.

SAMPSON THE XENODOCHOS, legendary saint; feastday 27 June. He is thought by some to be of the 6th C., although the notice on Zotikos in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 359.44) calls him a contemporary of Constantine I. T. Miller argues that Sampson (Σαμψών) may in fact have lived in the 4th C. According to his vita, Sampson was born in Rome to a noble family and emigrated to Constantinople during the patriarchate of Menas (536–52), who ordained him to the priesthood. He was also a physician who reportedly healed Justinian I and founded the Constantinopolitan hospital (*xenon*) that bore his name. Sampson was considered the patron of physicians, who would march in procession on his feastday to the Church of St. Mokios, where his relics allegedly reposed. His vita is known only in the version of Symeon Metaphrastes, which contains abundant information concerning the activity of the *xenon* in the 10th C. and esp. about the misbehavior of its officials, whom the saint castigated in a posthumous appearance. Later Constantine Akropolites wrote a panegyric of Sampson (unpublished), and Manuel Philes called him a model of generosity. During the Latin occupation of Constantinople the *xenon* was taken over by the Templars.

In illustrated MSS of the *menologion* of Metaphrastes, Sampson is portrayed as an elderly priest with a short round beard, holding a book; one of these MSS shows him in a church being laid out on a bier (Paris, B.N. gr. 1528, fol.47v).

SOURCE. PG 115:277–308. *Synax.CP* 773–76.
LIT. *BHG* 1614z–1615d. D. Stiernon, *Bibl.Sanct.* 11 (1968) 636–38. T. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore-London 1985) 80–83. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 191–95. Janin, *Églises CP* 574f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

SAMSUN. See Amisos.

SAMUEL OF ANI, chronicler and priest. Of his life nothing is known, save that an Armenian patriarch of Cilicia, Gregory (probably Gregory III, 1113–66), requested a chronicle from him. The first part of this chronicle is based on the *Canon* of Eusebios of Caesarea and on Moses Xorenac'i. The second part, from the birth of

Christ to 1179, gives chronological tables, correlating events in Armenia with the reigns of Byz. emperors. It is a useful source for Byz. policy in Anatolia and was frequently quoted by Armenian writers of the 13th C. and later. The narrative was later continued down to 1665.

ED. *Hawak'munk'i groc' Patmagrac'*, ed. A. Ter-Mikaelean (Ejmiacin 1893). Lat. tr. PG 19:607–742. Partial Fr. tr. in M.F. Brosset, *Collection des historiens arméniens*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg 1876; rp. Amsterdam 1979) 340–483.

LIT. M. Brosset, "Samouel d'Ani: revue générale de sa chronologie," *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de St. Petersbourg* 18 (1873) 402–42. –R.T.

SAMUEL OF BULGARIA, seemingly the youngest of the KOMETOPOULOI; tsar of BULGARIA; died Prilep 6 Oct. 1014. He ruled the area of Ohrid with his brothers, then alone after 987 or 988—as *basileus* after 996 or 997. He reestablished the Bulgarian patriarchate at Ohrid. Primarily, he struggled for independence against Byz. P. Tivčev (*BBulg* 3 [1969] 42) hypothesizes that ca.981 Samuel invaded Greece, then (between 982 and 986, according to G. Litavrin, *Kek.* 512) Thessaly, where he seized Larissa. Exploiting Basil II's involvement in the struggle with Bardas SKLEROS and Bardas PHOKAS, Samuel expanded his realm. The peak of his success was his victory over Basil at TRAJAN'S GATE. From 991 Basil waged systematic war against Samuel. Despite the victory of Nikephoros OURANOS over Samuel at the Spercheios River (996 or 997), the struggle was indecisive. Basil tried to attract the Serbs as allies against him (G. Ostrogorsky, *Byzantion* 19 [1949] 187–94) and made generous promises to Bulgarian aristocrats. From 1001 the Byz. offensive was continuous. Basil invaded the regions of Serdica, Macedonia, Vidin, Skopje (1004), and Dyrrachion (1005). The decisive blow fell in July 1014, when Basil annihilated the Bulgarian army at Belasica (Gr. Kleidion); allegedly 14,000 captives were blinded and sent to Samuel. Unable to endure the sight of this sorrowful procession, he died in two days. The controversy over whether Samuel created a Macedonian, West Bulgarian, or Bulgarian state is ahistorical, as it projects modern ethnic distinctions onto the past.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1. 2:643–743. S. Antoljak, *Samoilovata država* (Skopje 1971). R. Ljubinković, "L'Illyricum et la question romaine à la fin du Xe et au début du XIe siècle," *La chiesa greca in Italia*, vol. 3 (Padua 1973) 927–69. –A.K., C.M.B.

SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY, conventional name for a small red box (24 × 18.5 × 4 cm) in the Vatican filled with bits of earth, wood, and cloth. Manufactured in Palestine ca.600, it entered the Museo Sacro from the Treasure of the Sancta Sanctorum in the early 20th C. The box contains EULOGIAI from the Holy Land, some of which still have legible labels (e.g., "from Sion"). The inside of its sliding cover bears five scenes of events from the life of Christ. They read from lower left to upper right: Nativity, Baptism, Crucifixion, Myrrophoroi, and the Ascension. Their figure style and arrangement parallels that of contemporary Palestinian icons preserved in the monastery of St. CATHERINE at Mt. Sinai. The pictures document the sacred origin of the *eulogiai* contained in the box, but only in a general way: some *eulogiai* lack pictures, and vice versa. Not all scenes correspond accurately to the biblical text: the MYRROPHOROI, for example, shows a complex architectural ensemble modeled on the Holy Sepulchre and the Anastasis Rotunda instead of the rock-hewn cave of the Gospel account. Iconographically, this cycle is part of a group that includes pilgrims' AMPULLAE, octagonal gold marriage RINGS, PILGRIM TOKENS, and silver amuletic ARMBANDS. They repeat some or all of a distinctively PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE developed in the 6th C. in response to the pilgrim trade.

LIT. C.R. Morey, "The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum," in *Festschrift Paul Clemen* (Düsseldorf-Bonn 1926) 150–67. K. Weitzmann, "*Loca Sancta* and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *DOP* 28 (1974) 31–55. –G.V.

SANCTIO PRAGMATICA, law issued 13 Aug. 554 by Justinian I, officially at the request of Pope VIGILIUS but addressed to NARSES as well as to the prefect Antiochos. Its aim was the restoration, after the reconquest of Italy, of the Roman order. Preserving the acts of such Ostrogothic rulers as AMALASUNTHA and THEODAHAD, the *Sanctio Pragmatica* annulled the measures of TOTILA: former owners recovered their estates, slaves (including those emancipated by Totila), and herds of cattle; the *Sanctio Pragmatica* confirmed senators' titles to their estates and enhanced their control over tenant farmers; it cancelled any contracts extorted on behalf of Totila or his partisans. The *Sanctio Pragmatica* also restored Roman administration and the privileges of both senate and church, allowed civilians to be tried only by civil judges, and guaranteed traditional rations and salaries to grammarians, rhetors, doctors, and jurists. It reestablished funds for the repair of aqueducts and public buildings. Some local privileges were also emphasized: the election of provincial governors was reserved to local bishops and primates, and governors' salaries were abolished. The law protected landowners from the abuses in *coemptio* (see SYNONE), the forced purchase of agricultural products. The *Sanctio Pragmatica* was similar to the decrees issued after the conquest of Africa in 534; but, unlike Africa, which was a single military unit, Italy consisted of several independent districts. The *Sanctio Pragmatica* also tried to protect provincial governors from the interference of central departments in tax collection.

LIT. G. Archi, "Pragmatica sanctio pro petitione Vigili," in *Festschrift für Franz Wieacker* (Göttingen 1978) 11–36. Z.V. Udal'cova, "Pragmatičeskaja sankcija Justiniana ob ustrojstve Italii," *SovArch* 28 (1958) 317–32. T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers* (Rome 1984) 8f, 33, 198. –W.E.K.

SANCTUARY. See BEMA.

SANTABARENOS, THEODORE, a supporter of PHOTIOS; born Santabaris, Phrygia, died Constantinople? between 914 and 919. Santabarenos (Σανταβαρηνός; Sandabarenos in Skylitzes) originated from a "Manichaean" milieu; Caesar BARDAS placed him in the STOUDIOS monastery, where, after the deposition of NICHOLAS OF STOUDIOS, Santabarenos became *hegoumenos* temporarily; he was expelled from Stoudios after the fall of Photios. During his second patriarchate, Photios promoted Santabarenos to the post of metropolitan of Euchaita and ca.880 introduced him to BASIL I. Santabarenos acquired Basil's favor by showing him—magically—the image of his deceased son CONSTANTINE. In the plot against the future emperor LEO VI, Santabarenos played a decisive role, arranging the deposition of ANDREW THE SCYTHIAN as well. Vogt ("Léon VI," 420f) connects Santabarenos's slandering of Leo with the mutiny of John KOURKOUAS against Basil I and considers Kourkouas a relative of Photios. Leo's reconciliation with his father (in memory of which a feastday was established on 20 July) and then Basil's death ended Santabarenos's career; he was brought to trial, and Leo personally flogged him. Exiled to Athens, Santabarenos was eventually blinded and then banished to the east. Later Leo recalled him and granted him a pension (*siteresion*) from the Nea Ekklesia.

LIT. *Vita Euthym.* 40–53. –A.K.

SANT'ANGELO IN FORMIS, church of the monastery donated to MONTECASSINO by Prince Richard I of Capua in 1072. Located to the northeast of Capua, it preserves an extensive fresco decoration generally believed to be the most authentic extant reflection of the work of the Byz. artists brought to Italy by Abbot Desiderius (1058–87). Sadly damaged by restoration, the murals include a portrait of Desiderius as donor in the apse, three registers of New Testament scenes above the nave colonnades, Old Testament scenes in the aisles, and a Last Judgment on the west wall. It is a reasonable presumption that the church was painted shortly after 1072, but some scholars assign the murals to a later period because of contradictions in the written documentation. In style and quality these paintings are almost unique in their local context; de' Maffei (*infra*) attributes them to Desiderius's mosaicists, though some may be by local artists emulating Byz. effects. In the porch, which was rebuilt in the 12th C., are paintings in a different style, including an image of the Virgin as queen with a Greek inscription (*o despena theotoke*), unanimously attributed to a Byz. painter.

LIT. O. Morisani, *Gli affreschi di S. Angelo in Formis* (Naples 1962). *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 4:468f, 480–87. F. de' Maffei, "Sant'Angelo in Formis," *Commentari* n.s. 27 (1976) 143–78; n.s. 28 (1977) 26–57, 195–235. –D.K.

SANTA SEVERINA (Ἁγία Σεβερίνη, Σεβεριάνη), city in CALABRIA near Crotone. The name of this Calabrian town derives from ancient Siberine; a saint Severina is unknown to the Greek and Roman calendars. The town is first mentioned in 885/6, when the Byz. general Nikephoros Phokas the Elder took it from the Arabs. Medieval sources do not confirm the 16th-C. legend that the Greek pope ZACHARIAS originated there. Shortly after the Byz. conquest Santa Severina became a metropolitan see, with Umbriatico, Cerenzia, Gallipoli, and Isola Capo Rizzuto as suffragans. A 10th-C. seal of the metropolitan

Stephen has survived (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.912). Between 1060 and 1072 the town was conquered by the NORMANS. In 1089, its Greek metropolitan submitted himself to the papacy, but as the local population was predominantly Greek, Greeks continued to occupy the see until 1251.

Two extant churches have votive inscriptions in Greek. A rotunda of unknown function (now a baptistery) adjoining the 13th-C. cathedral has inscriptions of Archbp. John and of Theodore, also archbishop or, in the reading of Castelfranchi Falla, *exeparchon*. The building is a Late Antique type (resembling S. Costanza in ROME) but almost certainly erected after 885. The old cathedral (rebuilt as the Addolorata) has a foundation inscription of Archbp. Ambrose dated 1036 and an inscription of the *spatharokandidatos* Staurakios. A third church, S. Filomena, is undocumented but of byzantinizing form, two-storied with a very elongated cupola before the apse.

LIT. P. Orsi, *Le chiese basiliane della Calabria* (Florence 1929) 189–239. V. Laurent, "A propos de la métropole de Santa Severina en Calabre," *REB* 22 (1964) 176–83. M. Castelfranchi Falla, " 'He Aghia Seberiane': Note sul cosidetto Battistero," *Magna Graecia* 12, nos. 1–2 (1977) 5–8. *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 4:314f. A. Jacob, "Le Vat. gr. 1238 et le diocèse de Paléocastro," *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 25 (1977) 516–23. –V.v.F., D.K.

SANUDO TORSELLO, MARINO ("the Elder"), Venetian businessman, diplomat, and historian; born ca.1270, died after 9 Mar. 1343. Born to an aristocratic Venetian family, Sanudo traveled widely (from 1289 until his last trip to Constantinople in 1333) in the eastern Mediterranean, particularly in Venetian Romania, where his relatives held the duchy of NAXOS. He zealously promoted a crusade against Egypt and, to this end, ecclesiastical union with Constantinople. Over the years he revised and expanded his treatise advocating a crusade, *Secreta fidelium crucis* (Secrets for True Crusaders), whose first version was composed between Mar. 1306 and Jan. 1307. Presented to Pope CLEMENT V, it provided the data necessary for a successful economic blockade of Egypt (e.g., substituting Cypriot or Rhodian sugar for European needs, *Secreta* 1,1,2 [ed. Bongars 2:24.5–10]). Book 2 was written in 1312–13 at Clarenza (Chlemoutsi) in the Morea and discussed logistical difficulties facing such an expedition. It also included a short history of the Holy Land that Sanudo later (1318–21) revised and expanded down to 1307 to include a geography of the Levant; Sanudo continued to add marginalia to his copy in later years. The new version was presented to Pope John XXII (1316–34), while a French version went to Charles IV the Fair, the king of France (1294–1328).

Between 1326 and 1333 Sanudo composed a valuable Latin history of the Frankish principalities and Byz. that survives only in a Venetian translation, *Istoria del regno di Romania*, which sheds unique light, for example, on Michael VIII's reconquest of Constantinople. Also ascribed to Sanudo is a brief Latin account of the poverty and collapse of the Latin Empire of Constantinople and the efforts of BALDWIN II to promote a new reconquest. This work was apparently intended to continue Geoffrey VILLEHARDOUIN. Perhaps the most remarkable testimony of all comes from Sanudo's 42 surviving letters (1323–1336/7), addressed, for example, to Andronikos II Palaiologos, the *sebastokrator* Stephen Syropoulos, and Jerome, Franciscan bishop of Kaffa, on church union and an anti-Turkish alliance; they reflect Sanudo's extensive personal experience and contacts as well as the development of Venetian policy (cf. A. Laiou, *Speculum* 45 [1970] 374–92).

ED. [J. Bongars], *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. 2 (Hanau 1611) 1–316. Tr. A. Stewart, *Part XIV. of Book III. of Marino Sanuto's Secrets for True Crusaders to Help Them Recover the Holy Land* [PPTS 12] (London 1896). C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes* (Berlin 1873) 99–170. F. Kunstmann, "Studien über Marino Sanudo den Älteren," *ABAW*, Hist. Kl. 7 (Munich 1855) 695–819. C. de la Roncière, L. Dorez, "Lettres inédites et mémoires de Marino Sanudo l'Ancien," *BECh* 56 (1895) 21–44. A. Cerlini, "Nuove lettere di Marino Sanudo il vecchio," *La bibliofilia* 42 (1940) 321–59. Tr. S. Roddy, "The Correspondence of Marino Sanudo Torsello" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1971) 109–309.

LIT. Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.V (1974), 217–61. R.-J. Loenertz, "Pour une édition nouvelle de l'Historia del Regno di Romania de Marin Sanudo l'Ancien," *StVen* 16 (1974) 33–66. Ch. Maltezou, "Ho Marin Sanudo pege dia ten meleten dyo agnoston Byzantinon gegonoton," *Thesaurismata* 4 (1967) 20–37. –M.McC.

SAPPHO, Greek lyric poet; born Lesbos ca.600 B.C. Despite an early Christian attack against Sappho as a depraved woman (cf. Tatian, PG 6:873C), Sappho continued to be read by pagan (Julian the Apostate) and Christian (Gregory of Nazianzos) authors alike; most of the preserved fragments of her poems were transmitted through papyri of the 7th C. (*BKT* V 2). After a period of silence Sappho reappears at the end of the 10th C., when the *Souda* includes her biography and passages from the original poems, noting that she had been accused of "shameful friendship" with her female companions. Symeon Metaphrastes uses her vocabulary to characterize the beauty of St. Euphemia (S. Costanza, *Orpheus* n.s. 1 [1980] 106–14). Sappho was esp. popular in the 12th C., even though Isaac Tzetzes (Cramer, *Anec.Gr.Paris.* 1:63.20–21) claims that her works had disappeared; it is impossible to say whether scholarly acquaintance with Sappho was direct or derived from reference works. Scholars praised "Sappho's grace" (Mich.Ital. 158.20) and often used her verses to describe women's excellence or a wedding celebration. Niketas CHONIATES (*Orationes* 43.26–28), in good Byz. fashion, evokes Sappho's *chairetismos* praising the bride and the bridegroom (*nymphios*—in the original, *gambros*—but Choniates revised the line). Interest in Sappho diminished after the 12th C., although Planoudes, Moschopoulos, and Metochites were apparently familiar with her verses (K. Nickau, *ZPapEpig* 14 [1974] 15–17).

LIT. Moravcsik, *Studia Byzantina* 408–13, with add. Q. Cataudella, *REGr* 78 (1965) 66–69. Garzya, *Storia*, pt.XV (1971), 1–5. I. Ševčenko, "A New Fragment of Sappho?," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 1 (1951) 150–52. –A.C.H., A.K.

SAQQĀRA, pagan necropolis of the city of Memphis in Egypt, used for burials well into the Christian period, and the site of a 6th–9th-C. monastery founded by Apa Jeremias. The early monastic community settled in abandoned mausolea; their first church was a modest mudbrick chapel, which was gradually enlarged down to the mid-7th C. The Arab conquest caused many wealthy Christian families to leave Egypt and to abandon their richly decorated mausolea, which the monks dismantled for use in new monastic buildings. Within the necropolis only the so-called Tomb church (building no.1823), the three-aisled superstructure of an earlier hypogeum, remained to serve as the monks' burial place. The new main church (late 7th C.) was a large basilica with a narthex, a tripartite sanctuary, and an early example of a *khūruṣ* (choir, narrow transverse hall) before the sanctuary. Spolia of at least five earlier buildings were used to build this church. The new refectory was a three-aisled hall with an attached four-column chapel. (The earlier refectory had only one aisle with two rows of circular benches.) The monks' cells were collected into larger complexes with an irregular internal organization; the individual rooms within these complexes are often fitted with prayer-niches, and some have fine paintings of saints and famous monks.

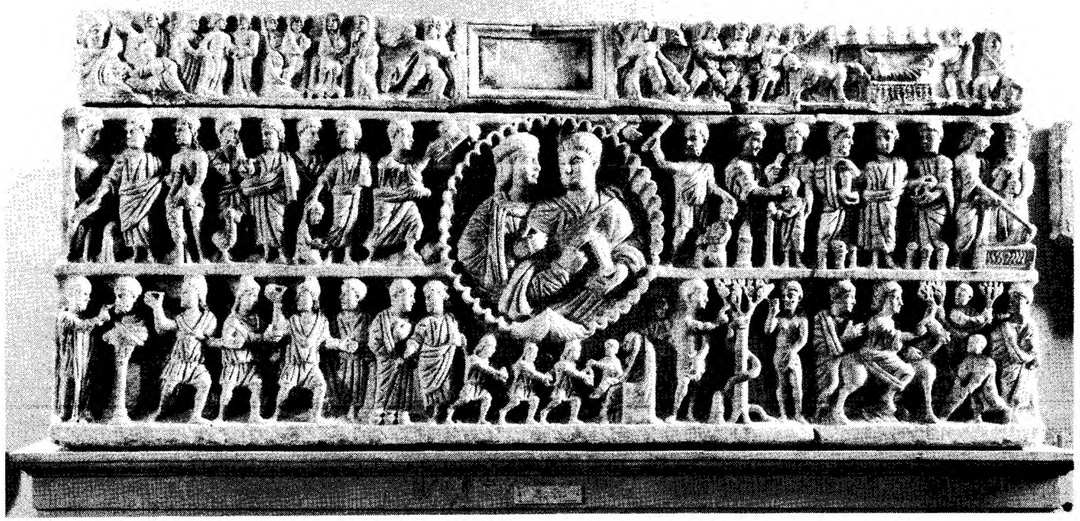
LIT. J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, vols. 3–4 (Cairo 1909–12). P. Grossmann, H.-G. Severin, "Reinigungsarbeiten im Jeremiaskloster bei Saqqara," *MDAI K* 28 (1972) 145–52; 38 (1982) 155–93. M. Rassart-Debergh et al., "Miscellanea Coptica: Baouit et Saqqara," *ActaNorv* 9 (1981) 9–220. –P.G.

SARAÇHANE. See POLYEUKTOS, CHURCH OF SAINT.

SARANTENOS. See KARANTENOS, MANUEL.

SARCOPHAGUS (*σαρκοφάγος*, lit. "flesh-eater"), trough-shaped stone coffin in widespread use for BURIAL of the dead up to the late 5th C. Christians first took up the form, which had roots deep in antiquity, in the 3rd C. and decorated it with the imagery of the CATACOMBS, embodying, above all, a belief in personal salvation. After Christianity was granted toleration ca.311–13 (see EDICT OF MILAN), sarcophagi came to be embellished with more elaborate and varied programs, for example, the TRADITIO LEGIS, including outright quotations from other works of art (e.g., apse decoration). In the middle of the 4th C. the method of producing sarcophagi changed fundamentally. Previously mass-produced and thus widely available to even a relatively modest clientele, they became much less common and were mainly custom-made affairs for the very rich. Thus the later history of the form from the 4th to the 10th C. concerns largely a few extraordinarily luxurious pieces (Vatican, Junius Bassus Sarcophagus; Milan, S. Ambrogio—Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pls. 41–43, 46f). These were often of PORPHYRY, as for the emperors buried in the HOLY APOSTLES in Constantinople (Grierson, "Tombs & Obits"), which served as an imperial mausoleum until the reign of Constantine VIII.

Later emperors were also interred in sarcophagi. Using the term *nekrodegmona* ("death receptacle"), Choniates (Nik.Chon. 256.59) reports this manner of burial for Manuel I. The sarcophagus of THEODORA OF ARTA depicts the saint and her son blessed by the HAND OF GOD, but the vast



SARCOPHAGUS. The Adelphia sarcophagus; mid-4th C. National Archaeological Museum, Syracuse. Portraits of the deceased with her husband are flanked by scenes from the Old and New Testaments.

majority of examples of the 11th C. and later—often mere slabs enclosing a space within an ARCOSOLIUM and therefore sometimes called pseudo-sarcophagi—are simpler affairs characteristically decorated with crosses, birds, and trees.

LIT. F.W. Deichmann, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden 1967). G. Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, 3 vols. (Vatican-Rome 1929–36). O. Feld, "Mittelbyzantinische Sarkophage," *RQ* 65 (1970) 158–84. Th. Pazaras, *Anaglyphes sarkophagoi kai epitaphies plakes tes meses kai hysteres byzantines periodou sten Hellada* (Athens 1988). –W.T., A.C.

SARDICA. See SERDICA.

SARDINIA (Σαρδινία, Σαρδώ), Mediterranean island west of Italy. Under Diocletian it formed a province under the command of a *praeses*. The Vandals occupied it ca.455. In 466–68 the *comes* Marcellinus, sent by Emp. Leo I, temporarily drove the Vandals out of Sardinia, but after Marcellinus's murder and the defeat of BASILISKOS in Africa, Leo recognized their right to Sardinia (the treaty of 474). Circa 530, Godas, a former slave of the Vandal king GELIMER, administered Sardinia. He then proclaimed himself king of Sardinia and started negotiations with Justinian I, who was preparing to attack the Vandals of Africa and welcomed the alliance with Godas. Tzatzon, Gelimer's brother, recovered control of Sardinia, but in 534 Carthage fell to the Byz., Tzatzon was killed in battle, and the Byz. commander Cyril brought Tzatzon's head to Sardinia, thus persuading the Vandals to surrender without resistance. During the Gothic war in Italy, TOTILA managed to occupy Sardinia temporarily in 551/2, but soon it was reconquered by John TROGLITA.

Sardinia resisted the Lombard attacks of the mid-7th C. and remained in Byz. hands. An inscription from the reign of either Constans II or Constantine IV praised the emperor as triumphant over the Lombards (S. Mazzarino, *Epigraphica* 2 [1940] 292–313). By the end of the 7th C. Byz. power on the island was nominal. Theodotos, the *hypatos* and *doux* of Sardinia, is mentioned on a seal (of the 9th C.?), and to the 9th C. belongs the Greek seal of Arsenios, archbishop of Sardinia (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.917). Papal authority over the island was strong from the time of Pope Gregory I. Pope Leo IV, in a letter dated sometime between 850 and 854, demanded that John, archbishop of Cagliari, destroy an altar that had been dedicated to the archangel Michael by the archbishop Arsenios (perhaps the one whose seal was mentioned above), whom the pope accused of heresy. A hoard of Byz. and Arab coins dating to the 9th C. indicates continuing commercial activity on the island (A. Taramelli, *NS*[5] 19 [1922] 294–96).

Numerous attacks by the Arabs failed to seize Sardinia but resulted in the island's virtual independence until the early 11th C., when the Arabs finally achieved their goal. In 1016, however, a fleet from Genoa and Pisa defeated the Arabs and expelled them from Sardinia. By this time Byz. control over the island had ended; the precise date and circumstances of the Byz. departure are unknown.

Monuments of Sardinia. Few buildings of the Byz. period survive on the island. All are churches and can be characterized as small in size, constructed of ashlar masonry, and, usually, domed. Among those dating to the 5th and 6th C. the most common form is that of a Greek or Latin cross plan with the crossing surmounted by a dome or tower. Most important among these is the church of S. Saturnino in Cagliari, originally a square baldachinlike structure to which four arms were added in the 6th C. Similar, though smaller, churches are S. Maria at Bonarcade, S. Giovanni at Sinis, and S. Elia at Nuxis. Dating to the 10th C. is S. Giovanni at Assemini, erected according to an inscription by Torkotorios, described as "*archon* of Sardinia," and his wife. It is a variation on the cross-in-square plan type with L-shaped piers carrying a small dome. Remains of another Byz. church with a tripartite sanctuary have been recently identified at Is Mortorius near Cagliari.

LIT. E. Besta, *La Sardegna medioevale*, 2 vols. (Palermo 1908; rp. Bologna 1966). E. Pais, *Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica sotto il domino romano* (Rome 1923). C. Bellieni, *La Sardegna e i Sardi nella civilta dell'Alto Medioevo*, 2 vols. (Cagliari 1973). M.L. Wagner, "Die Beziehungen des Griechentums zu Sardinien," *BNJbb* 1 (1920) 158–69. A. Boscolo, *La Sardegna bizantina e alto-giudicale* (Sassari 1978). L. Pani Ermini, "La Sardegna e l'Africa nel periodo vandalico," *Africa romana* 2 (1985) 105–22. Idem, "La città sarde tra tarda antichità e medioevo," *Africa romana* 5 (1988) 431–33. R. Delogu, *L'architettura del medioevo in Sardegna* (Rome 1953) 6–44. R. Serra, "La chiesa quadrifida di S. Elia a Nuxis," *Studi sardi* 21 (1968–70) 30–64. –A.K., R.B.H., M.J.

SARDIS (Σάρδεις), civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of LYDIA in western Asia Minor, a place of considerable wealth from natural resources and its location on major highways; headquarters of an imperial weapons factory. Sardis was attacked by the Goths in 399 but flourished continuously until the early 7th C. In the 4th C. a philosophical school arose there, known from the works of EUNAPIOS. Excavations have revealed details of late antique urban life, with maintenance of classical public buildings, construction of churches (including a large domed basilica of Justinian I), abandonment of temples, and growth of a new residential district. The gymnasium basically maintained its function, but one hall was taken over by the hellenized Jewish community and became the largest SYNAGOGUE known in the ancient world; a row of shops was added outside in the 4th C. Some parts of Sardis may have declined in the 6th C. The excavated civic and private buildings perished ca.616, possibly as the result of a Sasanian attack, and were never restored. The ruined city served as a quarry for the fortress on the acropolis built in the mid-7th C. Medieval Sardis, which consisted of the fortress and small settlements scattered among the ruins, was a city of the THRAKESION theme. It was taken by the Arabs in 716, by TZACHAS in 1092, and reconquered by the Byz. in 1098. Sardis grew in importance under the Laskarids, who built a five-domed church over the ruins of a 4th-C. basilica. Threatened by the Turks in the late 13th C., its citadel was divided with them in 1304; Sardis definitively fell to Saruhan ca.1315.

LIT. C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976). G.M.A. Hanfmann et al., *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983). –C.F.

SARKEL (Σάρκελ), Khazar name that ought to be written "Šarkel," meaning "White House" or "White Tower." A fort on the Don, Sarkel is now identified with the ruins discovered near the township of Cimljanskaja. The early fort existed on the right bank of the Don in the 8th and beginning of the 9th C. and controlled the ford

crossing the river; its population belonged to the culture of SALTOVO. After the destruction of the right-bank fort, the khagan of the KHAZARS asked Emp. Theophilos to build the *kastron* of Sarkel (*De adm. imp.* 42.22–56). Around 833 the *spatharokandidatos* Petronas Kamateros (his identification with the general PETRONAS is groundless) came to "the Tanais river" and erected a fortress of bricks baked on the spot with mortar made of tiny river shells. Sarkel had a garrison of 300 men who were relieved annually. The Sarkel of Petronas was on the left bank of the Don. Excavations there brought to light a fort with a citadel, surrounded by walls with towers built of local white bricks of excellent quality. The fort was square in shape, 193.5 by 133.5 m; the walls were 3.75 m thick; the brick stamps differ from Byz. types. Archaeological data show that the fortifications fell into disuse after only a few decades and Sarkel became an ordinary settlement. The fort was destroyed by SVJATOSLAV in 965, but the settlement there survived until the campaign of VLADIMIR MONOMACH in 1116/17. The early 10th-C. geographer Ibn Khurdādhbeh probably refers to Sarkel when he states that a Khazar governor resided on the Don and collected a tithe from the Rus' merchants (O. Pritsak, *Folia Orientalia* 12 [1971] 241–59).

LIT. *Trudy Volgo-Donskoj archeologičeskoj ekspedicii*, 3 vols. (Moscow 1958–63). M.I. Artamonov, *Istorija Chazar* (Leningrad 1962) 297–323. S.A. Pletneva, *Ot kočevij k gorodam* (Moscow 1967) 43–48. –O.P.

SARMATIANS (Σαρμάται), also Sauromatoi, nomadic tribal groups that replaced the SCYTHIANS in the steppe north of the Black Sea. They used the East Iranian lingua franca. Among their tribes were the ALANS. PTOLEMY's concept of two Sarmatias, the European and the Asian, enjoyed great popularity in the Middle Ages, both in Christian (esp. Armenian) and Muslim geography.

The Sarmatian state was weakened by the GOTHS in the 3rd C., and the character of the ethnic substrate indicated by the name *Sarmatian* became confused. A. Vasiliev (*Goths in the Crimea* [Cambridge, Mass., 1936] 22f) suggests that the Sarmatians on the shores of the Maeotis (the Azov Sea) mentioned by Zosimos were Goths. Chronicles of the 4th C. speak of the revolt of slaves against their Sarmatian masters; the latter escaped to the empire and were settled by Constantine I and then Constantius II in Thrace, Scythia Minor, Macedonia, Italy, and other provinces (K. Kretschmer, *RE* 2.R. 1 [1920] 2547). Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 53.2–123) was familiar with the legend of the Sarmatian attack on Asia Minor; when CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS was sent against them, he invited the inhabitants of Cherson to join him in a coalition. Swept up by the Hunnic invasions, some Sarmatians emerged in the early 5th C. in Illyricum, where they are said to have contested Theodoric's power over Singidunum. The latest event connected with the Sarmatians is their participation in the Lombard march into Italy, mentioned by Paulus Diaconus.

Some Byz. authors (esp. in the 11th–12th C.) used "Sauromatoi" as an archaizing term for the Hungarians, Pechenegs, Uzes, and later the Ottomans (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:270) and Tatars. Gregoras, Plethon, and Chalkokondyles identify Sarmatia with "Rhosia."

LIT. Ditten, *Russland-Exkurs* 90–94. G. Bichir, "Sarmaşii şi relaşiile lor cu Geto-Dacii," *Revista de istorie* 38 (1985) 1043–57, 1164–77. –O.P.

SARUHAN (Σαρχάνης), a Turkish emirate that emerged from the breakup of the SELJUK sultanate of RŪM; it was named after its founder. It extended over the region of Nymphaion and the fertile plain of Mainomenos/Menemen; its capital was Magnesia, conquered ca.1313. It exported grain, and there was an important slave market in Magnesia. The lords of Saruhan, whose territories bordered the alum-producing region of PHOKAIA, extracted an annual tribute from the Genoese established there. This relationship brought them into a rapprochement with the Byz. In 1329 Andronikos III Palaiologos expelled the Genoese lord of Chios, ZACCARIA; compelled the Genoese of Phokaia to recognize his suzerainty; and then concluded a treaty with the emir of Saruhan. Around 1335 the emperor signed another treaty with the emir, who gave him military aid against the rebel Genoese governor of Phokaia, Cattaneo; ca.1358, when John V Palaiologos liberated the Ottoman prince Halil, who had been kept in captivity in Phokaia, another peace treaty was concluded between Byz. and Saruhan with the emir's children taken as hostages to Constantinople. On the other hand, the Saruhan Turks carried out naval raids in the Aegean, some of them jointly with the AYDIN Turks. The emirate was temporarily annexed by the OTTOMANS from 1390 to 1402 and permanently in 1410.

LIT. Ç.Uluçay, *Islâm Ansiklopedisi* 10:239–44. Zachariadou, *Menteshe & Aydin*. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:269f. –E.A.Z.

SASANIANS, Iranian dynasty (226–651) that arose from among other minor dynasties in Parthia recognizing ARSACID suzerainty. Ardashīr I (224–40) defeated and slew the last Arsacid monarch, Artabanus V (224), and captured the capital of Ctesiphon. The formation of the Sasanian state replaced the degenerating congeries of insubordinate kinglets, vaguely acknowledging the Arsacids, with a much more powerful empire that henceforth contested control of Mesopotamia, Armenia, and the Caucasus with the late Roman Empire and Byz. Sasanian society was characterized by divine monarchy, an officially authorized version of the ZOROASTRIAN religion, and the seven great Persian noble families, the totality being organized according to a rigidly structured caste system. Internally the system was threatened by MANICHAEANISM in the early centuries and by the movement of MAZDAK.

The long series of exhausting wars with Byz. brought the Sasanians some victories, but no enduring territorial acquisitions. Emp. Julian fell in battle with the Persians, and King Shāpūr II (r.309–79) was able to sign an advantageous treaty with Emp. Jovian. Peaceful relations in the 5th C. were interrupted by short wars that led to the treaties of 422 and then 442. KAVĀD resumed warfare in 502. In 532 CHOSROES I signed the "eternal peace" with Justinian I but soon reopened military actions. Justinian was compelled to pay tribute; when Justin II refused to continue payments the war broke out again. Emp. Maurice used the internal struggle in Persia in order to establish an alliance with CHOSROES II, but the coup of Phokas in 602 created a new excuse for Persian interference in the affairs of Constantinople. The Persian generals SHAHRBARĀZ and SHĀHĪN were temporarily victorious, but Emp. Herakleios shattered the Sasanian state; in 628 KAVĀD-SHĪRŪYA was forced to conclude a truce. The land was unable to recover: political troubles, plague, ruin of the irrigation system, and famine caused Sasanian Persia to fall to the Arab armies at Qādisīya (627) and Nihāwand (642). Under YAZDGIRD III (died 651) Sasanian rule came to an end. (For a list of Sasanian rulers, see table.)

Christianity in Sasanian Iran. Christianity penetrated early into IRAN; probably in the 3rd C. some elements of ecclesiastical hierarchy were established, with the center in Ctesiphon. Constantine I's alliance with Christianity and probably his attempts to gain the support of Christian subjects of the Sasanian state (thus, T.D. Barnes, *JRS* 75 [1985] 126–36) provoked a series of persecutions during the reign of Shāpūr II that were exaggerated in Greek vitae of Persian saints. This anti-Christian wave subsided at the end of the 4th C., and in 410 the first local council was convened in Ctesiphon. Nestorians (see NESTORIANISM) from the Roman Empire found refuge in Persian cities, and in the 5th–6th C. Christian culture flourished

Rulers of the Sasanian Dynasty

Ruler	*Reign Dates*	*Ruler*	*Reign Dates*	*Ruler*	*Reign Dates*
Ardashīr I	224–240	Bahrām IV	388–399	Hurmazd IV	579–590
Shāpūr I	240–270	Yazdgird I	399–420	CHOSROES (Khusrau) II (first reign)	590
Hurmazd I (Hurmazd-Ardashīr)	270–271	Bahrām V	420–438	Bahrām VI Chobīn	590–591
Bahrām I	271–274	Yazdgird II	438–457	Chosroes (Khusrau) II (second reign)	591–628
Bahrām II	274–293	Hurmazd III	457–459?	KAVĀD II (Shīrūya)	628
Bahrām III	293	Pērōz	459–484	Ardashīr III	628–629
Narseh	293–302	Balāsh	484–488	SHAHRBARĀZ	629
Hurmazd II	302–309	KAVĀD I (first reign)	488–496	Bōrāndukht	630–631
Shāpūr II	309–379	Zāmāsp	496–498	YAZDGIRD III	632–651
Ardashīr II	379–383	Kavād I (second reign)	498–531		
Shāpūr III	383–388	CHOSROES (Khusrau) I	531–579		

Source: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3.1, ed. E. Yarshater (Cambridge 1983) 178.

in centers such as NISIBIS. On the other hand, Persian Christianity began to lose its ascetic radicalism, typical of the earlier period, partly under the pressure of official Zoroastrianism, which was hostile toward eremitism, partly because of the threat of more radical movements, such as Manichaeanism or Mazdakism. The Nestorian church, which enjoyed a relative tolerance and occasionally even the sympathy of individual Persian rulers, expanded its influence eastward to CENTRAL ASIA and CHINA, but the Arab conquest of the early 7th C. ended the policy of toleration.

LIT. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2] (Copenhagen 1944). *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. E. Yarshater, vol. 3.1–2 (Cambridge 1983). R. Ghirschman, *Iran. Parthians and Sassanians* (London 1962). N. Pigulevskaja, *Vizantija i Iran na rubeže VI i VII vekov* (Moscow-Leningrad 1946). J. Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire perse*[2] (Paris 1904). S. Gero, "Die Kirche des Ostens," *OstkSt* 30 (1981) 22–27. G. Blum, "Zur religionspolitischen Situation der persischen Kirche im 3. und 4. Jahrhundert," *ZKirch* 91 (1980) 11–32. –S.V., A.K.

SATALA (Σάταλα, now Sadak), city north of Erzincan between the upper Euphrates and the Lykos on the best route across northern Anatolia. Satala was one of the greatest bastions of the eastern frontier through the 6th C. It was the headquarters of a legion and became a bishopric and city of Armenia I. The fortress played a role in Justinian I's wars with Persia; he rebuilt it completely after the Persian attack of 529. Following its capture by Chosroes II in 610, Satala fell into obscurity, but its bishops are attested through the 11th C. The site preserves the dilapidated remains of Justinian's fortress, as well as a bath and aqueduct belonging to the civil settlement.

LIT. T. Mitford, "Biliotti's Excavations at Satala," *AnatSt* 24 (1974) 221–44. Idem, "Cappadocia and Armenia Minor," *ANRW* 7.2:1169–228. F. & E. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, vol. 2 (Brussels 1908) 343–51. –C.F.

SATIRE, critical treatment in verse or prose, often by way of exaggeration or caricature, of the foibles of individuals, institutions, or society as a whole. Important in classical antiquity, satire was revived in Byz. literature and rhetoric in the 11th C., but remained a minor genre, which could take many forms, including PARODY and ALLEGORY. Intentionality and not literary form determine what is satire. Satire in the learned language often conceals its true target beneath a timeless veil of classicism, which was easily penetrable by contemporary readers. Thus the CHARIDEMOS imitates a Platonic dialogue, and both the PHILOPATRIS and the TIMARION have been mistaken for genuine works of Lucian, despite the clear allusions in the latter to early 12th-C. personages. MAZARIS's *Journey to Hades* betrays its 15th-C. context more directly. The *Katomyomachia*, probably by Theodore PRODROMOS, is a parody of classical tragedy with a strong satirical element. PTOCHOPRODROMOS's satires on a nagging wife, a downtrodden monk, and a poor scholar are firmly rooted in their 12th-C. context, without any classicizing veneer. Satirical motifs become prominent in vernacular verse texts of the 14th C., for example, on social contradictions in the POULOLOGOS, SYNAXARION OF THE HONORABLE DONKEY, and DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON; on the imperial court and the judiciary in the PORIKOLOGOS and the OPSAROLOGOS; and on the church in the scatological *Mass of the Beardless Man* (SPANOS).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 25–28, 101–05, 193–96. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:149–58. B. Baldwin, "A Talent to Abuse: Some Aspects of Byzantine Satire," *ByzF* 8 (1982) 19–28. T.M. Sokolova, "Vizantijskaja Satira," in *Vizantijskaja Literatura*, ed. S.S. Averincev (Moscow 1974) 122–58. H. Eideneier, *Spanos: Eine byzantinische Satire in der Form einer Parodie* (Berlin–New York 1977) 29–56. H.F. Tozer, "Byzantine Satire," *JHS* 2 (1881) 233–70. –E.M.J., R.B.

SATRAPIES (Lat. *gentes*), conventional name usually given to a group of Armenian autonomous principalities lying along the Euphrates-Arsanias River and including ANZITENE, Ingilene, Asthianene, Sophene, Sophanene, and Balabitene. All the information concerning them comes from Greek and Latin, not Armenian sources. The satrapies passed to the Roman sphere of influence after the peace of Nisibis of 298, though Jovian returned some of them to Persia in 363 (Amm.Marc. 25:7.9). In Roman law, the satrapies originally had the status of *civitates foederatae liberae et immunes*, their hereditary rulers paying no tribute and receiving their regalia (see INSIGNIA), including the imperial red shoes, from Constantinople (Prokopios, *Buildings* 3.1.17–27). These sovereign rights were first curtailed after the satraps' support of the revolt against Zeno in 485. Thereafter, these rulers were appointed by the emperor, and taxes apparently paid. Finally, a decree of Justinian I in 529 (*Cod.Just.* I 29.5) abrogated all rights of the satrapies; novel 31:1.3 (536) combined them to form ARMENIA IV.

LIT. N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* (Lisbon 1970) 25–37, 87–93. –N.G.G.

SATURDAY. See SUNDAY.

SATYR, zoomorphic companion of DIONYSOS. In his company, and usually that of MAENADS, satyrs are commonplace on late antique silver, textiles, and ivory boxes (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 122–24, 130). In literary sources they appear mostly as soldiers of the god, in connection with his expeditions to India and his attempt to seize the throne of Thebes. They are called *skirtoi* (leapers) and come from the land of Bessica (Malal. 43.1–3). In the *Vita Basilii*, the companions of Michael III were compared to satyrs (*TheophCont* 200.16). Various entries of the *Souda* mention satyrs. A rare etymology is found in MALALAS (Malal. 49.16–17), where *satyros* in Boeotian dialect stands for metempsychosis to a lower corporeal form. Theodore PRODROMOS (*Rodanthe and Dosikles* 4:365–77), within the *ekphrasis* of a drinking cup, describes a Dionysiac vintage and the god's revelry with maenads and drunken satyrs. Though they are almost nonexistent in post-Iconoclastic art, one satyr appears with warriors on a 10th-C. bone casket in Milan (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, no.8).

On the Asian shore of the Bosporos, an ancient temple of a satyr gave its name to an EMPORION, a harbor in which the Arab fleet sought refuge in 718. The ruins of the temple were used by Theophilos to build the palace at BRYAS and, probably, by Patr. Ignatios, who constructed in 873/4 a monastery of Michael Archangel "tou Satyrou," in which he was eventually buried (Janin, *Églises centres* 42f).

LIT. S. Reinert, "The Image of Dionysus in Malalas' Chronicle," in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos* (Malibu 1985) 10f. –P.A.A., A.K., A.C.

SAVA OF SERBIA, founder and organizer of the autocephalous Serbian church; saint; baptismal name Rastko; born 1175, died Tŭrnovo 14 Jan. 1235. Youngest son of STEFAN NEMANJA, he was allotted an appanage by his father, but fled to Mt. Athos, where he became a monk, first in Panteleemon monastery, later in Vatopedi. In 1198 his father, who had himself become an Athonite monk, sent Sava to Constantinople, where he obtained authority from Emp. Alexios III to found a Serbian monastery at HILANDAR on Athos. In 1208, after Athos came under Latin control, he migrated to STUDENICA in Serbia, taking his father's relics with him. As superior he tried to resolve the power struggle between his brothers. He returned to Hilandar in 1217 in protest against the coronation of his brother Stefan the First-Crowned by a papal legate. In 1219 Sava was consecrated first archbishop of the autocephalous church of Serbia by the Nicaean patriarch Manuel I Sarantenos (1216–22). Subsequently Sava organized the church hierarchy and defended the independence of the Serbian church with determination and subtlety against papal claims, BOGOMIL influence from Bosnia, and the persistent efforts of Demetrios CHOMATENOS, Epirot archbishop of Ohrid, to subject Serbia to his diocese. As a churchman Sava continued his father's policy of creating a viable Serbian state. In pursuit of this policy he undertook missions to Nicaea and elsewhere and twice visited Jerusalem (1230, 1234). His wealth and social position enabled him to become founder or benefactor of churches and monasteries in Serbia, on Athos, in Thessalonike, Constantinople, and the Holy Land. He wrote a Life of his father and edited monastic *typika*, liturgical texts, and the Serbian *Nomokanon*. A contemporary fresco portrait of him survives in the MILEŠEVA monastery.

ED. Vita of Stefan Nemanja—ed. V. Ćorović, *Spisi svetoga Save* (Belgrade-Sremski Karlovci 1928) 151–75. For other ed., see Dj.S. Radojičić, *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* 7 (Zagreb 1968) 146.

LIT. S. Stanojević, *Sveti Sava i nezavisnost Srpske crkve* (Belgrade 1934). *Sveti Sava: Spomenica povodom osamstogodišnjice rodjenja 1175–1975* (Belgrade 1977). *Sava Nemanjić-Sveti Sava: Istorija i predanje*, ed. V. Djurić (Belgrade 1979). Jo. Taranidis, "Kult svetog Save i svetog Simeona kod Grka," *HilZb* 5 (1983) 101–78. D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 115–72. –R.B.

SAVCI BEG (Σαβούτζιος, Σαουζῆς), Ottoman prince; died Bursa (formerly PROUSA) 1385 ?. Savci was the eldest son of the Ottoman sultan MURAD I and ally of ANDRONIKOS IV, son of JOHN V, in a joint rebellion that contemporary Greek and Italian sources date to spring 1373, when Savci was probably the prince governor of Rumeli. Sometime in 1373, and under obscure circum-

stances, Savci and Andronikos formed a conspiracy to overthrow their fathers and establish themselves respectively as sultan and *basileus*. Their rebellion actually materialized, it seems, after John V discovered their plans—evidently early in May. Then, on 6 May, Andronikos escaped from Constantinople and hastened probably to Derkos, where he joined forces with Savci. Meanwhile John V appealed to Murad I for help; the latter crossed into Thrace with Byz. help on 11 May and proceeded to Constantinople. On 25 May a battle occurred between fathers and sons in the suburb of Pikridion. Although Andronikos's troops fought well, many of Savci's men defected to Murad and others fled. Savci retreated to Didymoteichon, while Andronikos submitted to John (30 May). Savci held out until 29 Sept., when Murad captured and blinded him. Contemporary sources do not reveal Savci's end, but imply that he survived his blinding for some time.

Sixteenth-century Ottoman historians date Savci's uprising to 1385; locate it in Bithynia, without mentioning Andronikos IV's role; and claim that Murad first blinded, then executed Savci. The value of this version in conjunction with the early accounts remains speculative.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 19–21. P. Charanis, "The Strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370–1402," *Byzantion* 16 (1942–43 [1944]) 293–95. F. Dölger, "Zum Aufstand des Andronikos IV. gegen seinen Vater Johannes V. im Mai 1373," *REB* 19 (1961) 328–32. M. Gökbilgin, *İA* 10:251–53. R. Loenertz, "La première insurrection d'Andronic IV Paléologue (1373)," *EO* 38 (1939) 334–45. Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken* 2:304–07. –S.W.R.

SAYF AL-DAWLA, Ḥamdānid lord of Aleppo; born June 916, died Aleppo 25 Jan. 967. After asserting his power over Aleppo and Damascus and failing in his advance against Egypt, Sayf al-Dawla concentrated his efforts on invasions of Byz. His first raid in 936 proved a failure, and his war against John Kourkouas had varied success: in 938 Sayf al-Dawla advanced into Byz. territory and seized enormous booty, and the next year he attempted to conquer Armenia, but in the 940s Kourkouas began a successful offensive. Kourkouas's replacement by a certain Pantherios (Skyl. 230.44) permitted Sayf al-Dawla to win the day: Pantherios was defeated near Aleppo in Dec. 944 (Vasiliev [p.305f] named the *domestikos ton scholon* not Pantherios, but Bardas Phokas). The Byz. offensive, however, continued under Bardas and Leo Phokas, and the Byz. government tried to attract Egypt as an ally. In 953 Sayf al-Dawla achieved a major success when he captured Constantine, son of Bardas Phokas, but in 958 John (I) Tzimiskes defeated the Ḥamdānid emir near Aleppo. In 962 Nikephoros (II) Phokas seized and plundered Aleppo. Although paralyzed in the hand and foot, Sayf al-Dawla resisted and even won a victory near Aleppo, but his death paved the way for the Byz. invasion of Syria and Mesopotamia.

SOURCES. *Sayf al-Daula. Recueil de textes relatifs à l'émir Sayf al Daula le Hamdanide*, ed. M. Canard (Algiers 1934).
LIT. G.W. Freytag, "Geschichte der Dynastien der Hamdaniden in Mosul und Aleppo," *ZDMG* 11 (1857) 177–225. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:273–95, 311–20, 341–65. M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides de Jazîra et de Syrie* (Algiers 1951) 595–663. –A.K.

SBEITLA. See Sufetula.

SCALE, a set of gradations in a work of art by which relative position and size, as well as relative theological and political importance, is conveyed to the beholder. Early Byz. artists perpetuated Hellenistic schemes in which figures are too large with respect to their architectural or landscape settings: on his diptychs the consul is many times larger than the figures in the arena below him. Not until the Palaiologan period do relatively tiny figures appear in such contexts, a scale that contributes greatly to the beetling settings in the wall paintings at the Chora and Mistra. Images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and emperors generally tower over their ministrants (sometimes with the aid of a throne or footstool). On the Cross, Christ's body dwarfs those who stand below it, while Mary on her deathbed in the Dormition is often much larger than her mourners. Attendants of all sorts are customarily arranged according to principles of hierarchy and isocephaly. Figures in proskynesis are invariably smaller than the object of their veneration. On coins as on works of art, the emperor's preeminence over his spouse and heir is indicated as much by his greater height as by their position always to his left. –A.C.

SCALES. See Balance Scales; Coin Scales; Steelyard.

SCEPTER (*σκῆπτρον*), a symbol of the power and authority of Roman consuls, which was adopted by the emperors in their function as consuls. The consular scepter was a staff surmounted by an eagle, as can be seen on consular diptychs (e.g., Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, pls. 7, 20). The eagle-topped scepter is held by emperors on some coins, the latest examples being Maurice, Phokas, and after a considerable interval Philippikos in the early 8th C. Another type of scepter was surmounted by a cross: A. Alföldi (*Schweizer Münzblätter* 4 [1954] 81–86) erroneously interpreted a spear in images of Constantine I as a cross-topped scepter, but this type did not come into use until Theodosios II. Scepters seem to have played a minor role in Byz. ceremonial, at least before the 11th C.; when they do occur on coins, they are symbols of imperial authority rather than representations of tangible objects. *De ceremoniis* applied the term *skeptron* to insignia borne by various imperial attendants.

The scepter as a real object with various shapes is depicted on coins beginning with Nikephoros II Phokas. Some 11th-C. coins were called *skeptrata* (Hendy, *Coinage* 29f). A cross from the treasury of the cathedral at Tournai, decorated with pearls and enamel, was identified by M. Ross as the top of a scepter and dated to the 10th C. (*JÖB* 9 [1960] 91–95). An ivory fragment from the Dahlem Museum in Berlin, depicting an emperor crowned by the Virgin and accompanied by the Archangel Gabriel, has been identified as the top of the scepter of Leo VI (K. Corrigan, *ArtB* 69 [1978] 407–16).

LIT. *DOC* 2.1: 87f; 3.1:138–41. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:398–403. –A.K.

SCHEDOGRAPHIA (*σχεδογραφία*, *σχεδουργία*, from *schedos*, with a postclassical meaning of "note, composition"), a system of educational exercises introduced probably ca. 1000; in any case the young Psellos studied *schedographia*. It flourished in the 11th and 12th C. and met with severe criticism: Anna Komnene despised *schedographia*, "the new invention of our generation" (An.Komn. 3:218.3–25), and Christopher of Mytilene (*Gedichte*, no. 11) punned on a teacher who was selling *schede* and thus transformed the school at Chalkoprateia into a *schedoprateion*, "a composition shop." According to Garzya (*infra*), this criticism resulted from the conflict between the old *schedographia*, which consisted of simple grammatical analysis (word-by-word) of selected texts, and the "new" or "second" *schedographia*, the writing of short paradoxical compositions, such as the 12th-C. parody, "Notes (*schede*) of the Mouse." These playful exercises probably went out of fashion in the 13th C.: a short tract by Manuel Moschopoulos, *On the Schede*, written before 1288/9, uses for grammatical analysis standardized material drawn from biblical and Homeric topics; another handbook was ascribed to Basil the Great; also a *Schedographic Lexikon* was produced. *Schede* used material similar to epimerisms.

LIT. Krumbacher, *GBL* 590–93. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:24–29. A. Garzya, *Storia e interpretazione di testi bizantini* (London 1974), pt.VII (1973), 1–14. J. Keaney, "Moschopoulea," *BZ* 64 (1971) 303–13. Browning, *Studies*, pt.XVI (1976), 21–34. –A.K.

SCHEMA (*σχῆμα*, lit. "form, shape"), the habit of monks and nuns, which took two forms: the *mikron schema*, or "lesser habit," and the *mega schema* (or *angelikon schema*), the "greater habit," which symbolized the highest level of monastic profession. The monastic costume of the *megaloschemos* monk was differentiated from that of the *mikroschemos* by the *koukoulion* (cowl) and *analabos* (scapular). The distinction between *mikroschemoi* (or *staurophoroi*) and *megaloschemoi* monks is first mentioned in the *Diatheke* of Theodore of Stoudios, who disapproved of this hierarchical differentiation, "because there is only one habit, just as there is only one baptism" (PG 99:941C). Most monastic *typika* ignore the distinction, although there are exceptions: the 12th-C. *typikon* for the Kecharitomene nunnery provides that female novices who wish to be *mikroschemoi* need wait only six months, whereas those who wish to be *megaloschemoi* must wait three years. Sometimes a monk took a second monastic name when he became *megaloschemos*; thus the future patriarch Athanasios I, who was baptized Alexios, assumed the monastic name Akakios but changed it to Athanasios when he donned the greater habit (Theoktistos the Stoudite, *Vita Ath.* 4.24, 10.1–3).

LIT. Konidares, *Nomike theorese* 111–13. M. Wawryk, *Initiatio monastica in liturgia byzantina: Officiorum schematis magni et parvi necnon rasophoratus exordia et evolutio* (Rome 1968). Panagiotakos, *Dikaion* 89–103. Meester, *De monachico statu* 82–86. –A.M.T.

SCHEMATA. See RHETORICAL FIGURES; TROPES.

SCHILTBERGER, JOHANN, German author of memoirs relating his adventures and travels in the East; born Freising 1380. He participated in the crusade of 1396 and was captured at Nikopolis. In the service of the Turks and (after 1402) the Mongols, he visited Asia Minor, Egypt, and the Crimea; he finally escaped, with other Christian captives, via Batumi to Constantinople (1427), where he stayed three months. Schiltberger described the palace and Hagia Sophia; he expatiated on Greek Orthodoxy and the Greeks' hostility to the Armenians, whom he characterized as "a brave people"; he also emphasized that in Constantinople the emperor appointed patriarchs. The memoirs contain evidence concerning a visit by DEMETRIOS PALAIOLOGOS to Sigismund of Hungary.

ED. *Reisebuch,* ed. V. Langmantel (Tübingen 1885). Eng. tr. by J.B. Telfer, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger* (London 1879; rp. New York 1970).

LIT. E. Kislinger, "Johann Schiltberger und Demetrios Palaiologos," *Byzantiaka* 4 (1984) 97–111. –A.K.

SCHISM (*σχίσμα*), term found in the New Testament designating a split in the Christian community. Basil the Great of Caesarea applies the term "to those who had separated from the rest for some reasons of church policy and questions capable of adjustment" (PG 32:665A). He distinguishes "schism" from HERESY, a division on doctrinal grounds. Schisms have occurred during the entire history of Christianity, and many within the boundaries of the Byz. world were eventually resolved (e.g., the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY, the schism between Photios and Ignatios, the one connected with the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, the ARSENITE schism). Other ecclesiastical splits became permanent: the deposition of DIOSKOROS of Alexandria at Chalcedon (451), originally motivated by disciplinary reasons only (*ACO* 2:1,2, pp.41 [237]–42 [238], 124 [320]), resulted in doctrinal division between Chalcedonians and Monophysites.

Most frequently and specifically, the term is applied to the division between the Eastern and the Western churches and the focal incident of 1054. Although, from the beginning of the FILIOQUE controversy (8th–9th C.), doctrinal elements were involved in the split, so that many, on both sides, spoke of their adversaries' "heresy," there remained, at least until the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE (1438–39), a substantial consensus on the point that the division was "capable of adjustment" and therefore was covered by the concept of "schism," as defined by Basil of Caesarea. This provided the basis for numerous union attempts.

The existence of different interpretations of both the PRIMACY of Rome and the position of other important Christian centers was evident already in the 4th C. The First Council of Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), representing the Eastern view, attributed to the bishop of the new capital "the privileges of honor next to the bishop of Rome, because that city is a New Rome" (canon 3). A similar sociopolitical definition appears in 451 and is applied to the "old Rome" as well: "The Fathers rightly granted privileges to the throne of old Rome, because it was the imperial city," and now "equal privileges are granted to the most holy throne of New Rome . . . , which is honored with the presence of the emperor and the senate" (Council of Chalcedon, canon 28).

Such statements were obviously incompatible with the view expressed by Roman popes such as Damasus (366–84), LEO I (457–74), GELASIUS (492–96), and HORMISDAS (514–23) that the authority of Rome lies with the words addressed by Jesus to Peter (Mt 16:18) and not with the political structure of the empire. The estrangement provoked by such differing views on primacy manifested itself repeatedly in connection with several ecclesiastical conflicts, for example, the various positions concerning the resolution of the crisis over ARIANISM (late 4th C.) and the diverging attitudes toward the MONOPHYSITES (AKAKIAN SCHISM, 484–519). Although some Byz. churchmen (MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, THEODORE OF STOUDIOS) occasionally referred to Roman "apostolicity" to gain Rome's support against Byz. emperors, the estrangement was deepened by the political involvement of Pope Stephen II (752–57) with the Franks (754) and the *filioque* dispute begun by Charlemagne. The *filioque* issue added a doctrinal dimension to the jurisdictional conflict between Photios and Pope NICHOLAS I (858–67). Remarkably, however, none of these early confrontations resulted in final schism, because neither side was pushing its position to the point of ultimate rupture.

A substantially new situation prevailed by the mid-11th C. The *filioque* had been added to the creed in Rome itself (presumably in 1014) and the papal throne was occupied by German popes (since 1046). Formal contacts between the patriarchate of Constantinople—at the zenith of its medieval power—and a decadent papacy were allowed to lapse. In southern Italy, Frankish and Greek clergy were in conflict over discipline (clerical CELIBACY imposed by the Franks) and LITURGY (Latin use of AZYMES). A reconciliation attempt, sponsored by Emp. CONSTANTINE IX, included the invitation of a papal delegation to Constantinople. The total intransigence of both Cardinal HUMBERT and Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS led to mutual anathemas (1054). The anathemas, however, referred to the immediate participants, i.e., the legates and the patriarch, and not to the churches at large, so that relations remained unclear for years. The "reformed papacy" of GREGORY VII (1073–85) could hardly have improved the situation; neither could it make concessions to Byz. ecclesiological patterns.

Nevertheless, when legates of URBAN II visited Constantinople (1089), the patriarchate, at the request of Emp. Alexios I Komnenos, declared that its files contained no evidence of formal schism and that unity could be restored on the basis of the pope's confession of Orthodox faith. There is evidence that, in the following years, intercommunion was taking place locally between Latins and Greeks and that many still considered the situation as a temporary quarrel between patriarch and pope. In reality, however, the Latin and the Greek worlds were drifting apart institutionally, culturally, and theologically.

During the CRUSADES, the estrangement became open conflict. After conquering Antioch (1098) and Jerusalem (1099) and initially recognizing the authority of the local Greek patriarchs, the Crusaders had them replaced with Latin incumbents. After the Crusaders captured Constantinople in 1204, Pope INNOCENT III condoned the election of the Venetian THOMAS MOROSINI as patriarch of Constantinople. Thereafter the schism could be considered as final, since the Greek pretender to the see, MICHAEL IV AUTOREIANOS, elected in Nicaea in 1208, was recognized as legitimate by the entire Orthodox world. However, negotiations for UNION OF THE CHURCHES—made urgent by the Turkish danger—continued, almost without interruption, during the Palaiologan period. The union councils of LYONS and Ferrara-Florence failed to overcome either the theological issues dividing the churches or the cultural animosity that opposed the peoples. Only a handful of Greeks were ready to accept the Latin doctrine of the *filioque*, or the "full power" (*plena potestas*) of the pope, as defined in Florence. The fall of Constantinople to the Turks ended negotiations.

LIT. S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford 1955). F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958). Idem, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York 1966; rp. 1979). P. Lemerle, "L'Orthodoxie byzantine et l'oecuménisme médiéval: Les origines du 'schisme' des Églises," *BullBudé* (1965) 228–46. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 91–114. –J.M.

SCHOINION (*σχοινίον*, lit. "rope"), a measure of length for the survey of land, also called *geometrikon schoinion*, *schoinometrion*, and *sokarion*.

1. In the survey of vineyards and fields with better soil, the *schoinion* of 10 ORGYIAI was used; until the time of Michael IV this was 21.1 m, and thereafter 21.7 m. As a measure used by the EPOPTES, it was sometimes called *epoptikon metron*. A square *schoinion* corresponded to 1/2 *thalassios* MODIOS = 445 sq. m.

2. For fields with poor soil, or when the summary method of survey by *periorismos* was used, the *schoinion* of 12 *orgyiai* [= 25.3 m] was used. The corresponding square *schoinion* was 640 sq. m.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 28–30. –E. Sch.

SCHOLAE PALATINAE, imperial guard created by Diocletian or Constantine I. According to the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, it included five regiments in the West and seven in the East, each regiment being about 500 men strong. In Constantine's time they were mainly Franks and Alemanni, although the emperors of the 4th C. required religious orthodoxy from their bodyguards. The *scholae palatinae* served under the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM both as elite troops and as a vehicle of political control. In the mid-5th C. they ceased to play an active military role and became ceremonial troops, their function of protecting the emperor entrusted to a small body of 300 *exkoubitores* (see DOMESTIKOS TON EXKOUBITON). More prestigious than the COMITATENSES, the *scholae* attracted aristocratic youths, and posts there were often obtained through purchase. In the early 6th C. Justin I introduced four more regiments, aim-

ing primarily at an increase in state income; Justinian I, however, attempted to send the *scholae palatinae*, along with the PROTIKTORES, into actual battle. The 6th-C. *scholae palatinae* were billeted in and around Constantinople and were enrolled from the native population. They retained their parade role probably until Constantine V placed them under the command of the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON; thereupon they became one of the most important TAGMATA.

LIT. R.I. Frank, *Scholae Palatinae* (Rome 1969). Haldon, *Praetorians*. –A.K.

SCHOLASTICISM, a system of thought that was a main element of Latin philosophy and theology in the Middle Ages. Its beginnings can be traced to works such as the *Monologium* and *Proslogium* of Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109) and the *Sic et non* and *Theologia christiana* of Peter Abelard (1079–1142). As a teaching method, scholasticism submitted problems in philosophy, theology, and the sciences to a rational, dialectical examination that relied principally on the logic of ARISTOTLE. Its goal was to investigate questions from opposing points of view and, by means of logic, to formulate solutions consonant with reason as well as with Christian faith and the patristic tradition.

The scholastic theology of Hugo ETERIANO was influential in Christological discussions at the local council of Constantinople of 1166–67 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Beginning in the 13th C., Greek translations of Latin treatises broadened the influence of scholastic theology in Byz. Scholars including Maximos PLANOUDES, Prochoros KYDONES, Demetrios KYDONES, Manuel KALEKAS, and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS translated works such as Anselm of Canterbury's *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* and *On the Azymes*, Thomas Aquinas's *Summa contra gentiles* and *Summa theologiae*, Ricoldo da Monte Croce's *Refutation of the Koran*, and a number of pseudo-Augustinian works. The theology of Latin scholastic writers, esp. that of Thomas AQUINAS (Thomism), became both a tool and an issue in the 13th- and 14th-C. polemical debates in Byz. between supporters and opponents of intellectual and political rapprochement with western Europe.

LIT. Podskalsky, *Theologie* 180–230. P. Classen, "Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner," *BZ* 48 (1955) 339–68. –F.K.

SCHOLASTIKOS (σχολαστικός). Already in the Roman Republic a "student" educated in rhetoric was called a *scholastikos*. From the 4th C. onward the term became a title. It was favored by LAWYERS and rhetors without, however, becoming a technical term for the person who appeared in court or in public in some other way. It is therefore a term that the educated person used of himself; on the basis of his education he could hope to improve his official and social standing. After the 8th C. the term disappears from the sources.

LIT. A. Claus, *Ho scholastikos* (Cologne 1965), with rev. by D. Simon, *BZ* 59 (1966) 158–61. –D.S.

SCHOLIA (sing. σχόλιον), line-by-line commentaries on literary or scientific texts, usually written on the margin of the text to which they refer. Many of them originated from Hellenistic commentaries, the debris of which were gathered and padded out primarily by Byz. scholiasts of the 9th-10th C., notably ARETHAS OF CAESAREA. The frequent occurrence one after the other of two or more versions of the same note demonstrates the compilatory character of most of these so-called Scholia Vetera. Some later scholia, for example, those of John TZETZES or Demetrios TRIKLINIOS, show learning and independence of judgment, but most are mechanical and unimaginative compilations. Bodies of scholia exist on HOMER (particularly rich), the Attic tragedians, ARISTOPHANES, PLATO, LUCIAN, and many other ancient writers, as well as scientists such as EUCLID, ARCHIMEDES, PTOLEMY, HEPHAISTION OF THEBES, the Hippokratic corpus, and grammarians (DIONYSIOS THRAX). The same technique was applied for commenting on the church fathers (CATENAE) as well as on legal texts, primarily the BASILIKA. Tzetzes created an original genre of verse commentary (*The Histories*) on his own letters and added marginal scholia to the poem. Scholia are linked to their text either by a LEMMA or word from the text standing at the head of each note, or by arbitrary reference signs placed over words in the texts; sometimes the scholiast deliberately used a different script to distinguish scholia from the text (E. Granstrem, *VizVrem* 13 [1958] 239f). Scholia provide valuable information on ancient literature and science, on lost states of the transmission of the text; they also may contain political judgments and unique data on Byz. history.

LIT. A. Gudeman, *RE* 2.R. 2 (1923) 625–705. Wilson, *Scholars* 33–36, 120–35, 249–56. L.D. Reynolds, N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*[2] (Oxford 1974) 10–15, 58f, 67f. –R.B.

SCHOOL (σχολή). In the later Roman Empire there was, in theory, a three-tier structure of schools: the school of letters directed by the *grammatistes*, the school of GRAMMAR under the GRAMMATIKOS, and the school of RHETORIC. In practice, however, this clear-cut distinction gave way to more complicated gradations, partly due to local circumstances, partly to social differentiation (R. Kaster, *TAPA* 113 [1983] 323–46). Christian society made only occasional and incidental changes in this inherited pattern. Monastic education provided elementary knowledge to illiterate brethren and to children who intended to become monks and nuns; John Chrysostom's proposal to entrust secular education to monks met with little success.

While children were often taught to read and write by parents, priests, or notaries, elementary schools, usually with a single TEACHER, are occasionally attested after the 6th C. The secondary school, which furnished the *enkyklios paideia*, was private, although the state and church (but not the city) had some control over it. According to the correspondence of the 10th-C. anonymous teacher (see TEACHER, ANONYMOUS), he had under his charge STUDENTS of various ages; the more advanced instructed the younger ones.

The state took over from the *polis* responsibility for higher education. Theodosios II founded the UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE, which does not appear to have lasted long. In the mid-9th C. a school of secondary and higher education was established in the palace and revived or refounded by Constantine VII. Constantine IX founded schools of philosophy and law (see LAW SCHOOLS) in Constantinople. In the 12th C. a school of rhetoric and theology existed under patriarchal authority, the so-called PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL. Instances of imperial patronage of higher education are found in the late 13th and 14th C. Most Byz. schools remained as before, however, private or semiprivate.

LIT. Marrou, *Education* 451–71. Lemerle, *Humanism* 281–308. R. Browning, "Byzantinische Schulen und Schulmeister," *Das Altertum* 9 (1963) 105–18. M. Pavan, *La crisi della scuola nel IV secolo d.C.* (Bari 1952). Speck, *Univ. von KP* 29–55. –R.B.

SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS, ILLUSTRATION OF. Scientific MSS illustrated in Byz. comprise texts by Heron of Alexandria and his anonymous paraphraser, Heron of Byzantium; DIOSKORIDES; NIKANDER; PTOLEMY; KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES; and the *Kynegetika* of pseudo-OPPIAN. The basic illustration consisted of simple diagrams or plant pictures and probably repeated ancient designs, since the images were essential to the meaning of the text. Lavish MSS include the Dioskorides MSS in Vienna and New York, the Vatican Ptolemy (Vat. gr. 1291), the Paris Nikander, a collection of medical texts in Florence, and the Venice MS of the *Kynegetika*. In the 10th C. and later, human figures were added to demonstrate the effects or use of the object. Illustrations in Greek MSS influenced the decoration of Arabic translations, although Muslim artists greatly extended the notion of the explanatory figure. (See also HIPPIATRICA.)

LIT. K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge, Mass. 1959). Idem, *Studies* 20–44. –R.S.N.

SCIENTIFIC TRADITION. There are two separate scientific traditions in Byz., those of "high" and "low" science. The first is represented by the "Little Astronomy," which was taught throughout the existence of the empire, and by the advanced texts on MATHEMATICS and ASTRONOMY that were taught in the 4th–7th C. in Alexandria, Athens, Constantinople, and the monasteries of Syria. The second is represented by ALCHEMY and ASTROLOGY, which in the same period were widely practiced in the same intellectual centers, but seldom officially taught. The difference between these two traditions is clearly reflected in the ways in which the texts were transmitted in Byz.

The "Little Astronomy" was taught from a collection of treatises (perhaps originated by THEON, but not put into its present, expanded form before the 6th C.), which is found in a 9th-C. codex, Vat. gr. 204, and at least 28 later MSS. The Vatican codex includes works by EUCLID and EUTOKIOS (D. Pingree, *Gnomon* 40 [1968] 13–17). The more advanced mathematical and astronomical texts are also represented by a series of magnificent 9th-C. copies. Manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Almagest* are the uncial Paris, B.N. gr. 2389 and the minuscule Vat. gr. 1594; manuscripts of the *Handy Tables*, the uncial Vat. gr. 1291 (now claimed

to be of ca.753 by D.H. Wright [*BZ* 78 (1985) 355–62]) and Leiden B.P.G. 78. The Leiden codex also contains a fragment of six folios of Theon's *Little Commentary* on the *Handy Tables* from another MS written in the 9th or 10th C. The archetypal MS of his *Great Commentary* is the 9th-C. Vat. gr. 190, which also contains Euclid's *Elements* (in their original version) and *Data*, both with scholia and the latter with Marinos's commentary as well. Theon's and Pappos's commentaries on the *Almagest* are preserved, though incompletely, in Florence, Laur. 28, 18. The role played by LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN in the production of any of these codices remains very problematic; but in any case they attest to a general reawakening of admiration for these sciences in the 9th C., which the extant copies prove to have continued into the 10th (Wilson, *Scholars* 85f). The TRANSLITERATION OF TEXTS from uncial to minuscule apparently began with scientific MSS.

In the 12th–13th C., however, some of these MSS were taken to the West, and the texts they contained were lost to Byz. Thus the Papal Library at Viterbo included by 1295 Florence, Laur. 28, 18 and Vat. gr. 218; the unique 10th-C. copy of Anthemios's *On Burning Mirrors* and the archetype of all other MSS of Pappos's *Collections*; two now lost MSS of ARCHIMEDES, one of which also contained works by PTOLEMY, pseudo-Ptolemy, and Eutokios; MSS of the "Little Astronomy"; part of Theon's commentary on the *Almagest*; and the *Almagest* itself (Jones, "Papal Manuscripts"). Some of these MSS were at Viterbo by 1269 when WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE used them as the basis of his Latin translations.

The efforts of early Palaiologan scholars such as PACHYMERES, PLANOUDES, METOCHITES, and GREGORAS rescued many of the remaining advanced scientific treatises from being lost. They and their successors produced a voluminous treasury of copies of them.

Among the "low" sciences, the alchemical texts were gathered together in a corpus, perhaps in the late 9th or in the 10th C., that is preserved primarily in the 10th-C. codex, Venice, Marc. gr. 299. Most early Byz. alchemy can be recovered only from the Syriac and Arabic translations; the texts were lost to Byz. when the Arabs overran Egypt and Syria in the 7th C.

The case of astrology is much more complicated. Very few late antique astrological texts survived intact till the 9th C.; one can cite only Ptolemy's *Astrological Effects*, the anonymous 3rd-C. commentary on it, Porphyrios's *Introduction*, Paul of Alexandria's *Introduction*, and pseudo-Proklos's *Treatment*. Astrological literature was preserved primarily by practicing astrologers, who were few in number in Constantinople in the 7th and 8th C. and who tended to make compendia of material they thought would be useful to their business rather than to preserve texts intact. The practice of making compendia is already evident in the *Astrological Effects* by HEPHAISTION OF THEBES. Even more important for Byz. astrological collections was the work of RHETORIOS OF EGYPT in the early 7th C. The result is that, though we know that Leo the Mathematician had MSS of Ptolemy, Paul of Alexandria, Hephaistion, and John Lydos, the only 9th-C. astrological MS extant is an incomplete copy of the poems of Manetho and Maximus, Florence, Laur. 28, 27, that was copied by the scribe of the valuable *Almagest*, Vat. gr. 1594. From the 10th C. survive two codices: Vat. gr. 1453, which contains the pseudo-Proklian *Treatment*, and an influential compendium in Florence, Laur. 28, 34. Other compendia were produced in the Komnenian period and are now preserved in such later copies as Paris, B.N. gr. 2506; Vat. gr. 1056; and Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr. 115. From them we can gather together, in often transformed excerpts, the scattered fragments of ancient and Byz. astrology, which must be supplemented by the equally scattered material in Arabic compendia.

The last of the Byz. compendia was that concocted by Eleutherios Zebelenos and attributed by him to Palchos, the unnamed "translator from Balkh" once mentioned by Abū Maʿshar. Eleutherios was a prominent member of the School of John ABRAMIOS, which systematically rewrote much of earlier classical and Byz. astrological literature between 1370 and 1400; their efforts have thoroughly perverted the texts on which they worked and until recently obscured the history of Greek astrology.

During the 4th to the 7th C. the Byz. taught and preserved the texts of "high" science so that many of them were still recoverable in the 9th C., either to be transliterated from uncial into minuscule or to be translated into Arabic. Though many MSS were lost to Byz. scholars during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, some of them were by chance preserved in Italy; those remaining were eagerly sought out and vigorously copied under the Palaiologoi. The texts of "low" science fared much worse and present many more difficulties of reconstruction and interpretation. Though alchemy and astrology certainly attracted the interest of the powerful and wealthy from time to time, the practitioners of these sciences were on the fringes of intellectual society and failed to treat the literature they read with the respect that professors and potentates paid to the treatises of the famous scientists of the past. It is not surprising, then, that the astrological works associated with the names of Ptolemy, Porphyrios, and Proklos can still be read in their entirety, while those of Vettius Valens, Hephaistion, John Lydos, and Rhetorios cannot. –D.P.

SCRIBE (*καλλιγράφος*, lit. "one who writes beautifully"), the copyist of a MS text. COLOPHONS are our main source of information on scribes: the first scribe of an existing codex to be mentioned by name is Nicholas, who copied the USPENSKIJ GOSPEL BOOK dated 835. In addition to scribes known only by name and status (e.g., monk or priest), some well-known authors worked as copyists or left us autograph MSS or scholia (e.g., ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, Maximos PLANOUDES, Nikephoros GREGORAS). A. Cutler, on the basis of Vogel-Gardthausen (*BZ* 74 [1981] 328–34), has calculated that in the 10th–11th C. 50 percent of scribes were monks; he concluded that thereafter the percentage of monastic scribes declined (to 16 percent in the 15th C.), to be replaced by an increasing proportion of laymen (39 percent in the 15th C.). Only a very few women scribes, such as Theodora RAOULAINA and Irene, daughter of the scribe Theodore Hagiopetrites (A.W. Carr, *Scriptorium* 35 [1981] 287–90) are documented. Some scribes specialized in TACHYGRAPHY or in certain kinds of MSS; e.g., the 14th-C. Ioasaph, of the HODEGON monastery, copied primarily New Testament and liturgical codices. Occasionally a scribe might also paint miniatures (Buchthal-Belting, *Patronage* 54).

It took a scribe about four months to copy a MS of 350 folios (Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 50); in the 9th–10th C. Arethas paid 13–20 nomismata for the copying of slightly longer books. A 10th-C. copyist is known to have earned 900 nomismata from 28 years' work (*Synax.CP* 727.40f). Verse colophons written by scribes stress their inadequacy for the task (see MODESTY, TOPOS OF), the hardships of copying a text, and their relief at completing an assignment. The vita of Michael MALEINOS (p.566f) tells of a scribe who drove himself so hard to transcribe a book that he suffered a massive hemorrhage. The Rule of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS included a list of punishments for careless monastic scribes (PG 99:1740B–D).

LIT. M. Vogel, V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig 1909; rp. Hildesheim 1966). Gamillscheg-Harlfinger, *Repertorium*. L.D. Reynolds, N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*[2] (Oxford 1974).
–E.G., A.M.T.

SCRIPT. See PALAEOGRAPHY.

SCRIPTOR INCERTUS (lit. "writer unknown"), conventional Latin title of an anonymous 9th-C. historical work from which two fragments are preserved: one, in Vat. gr. 2014 (13th C.), where it is placed between descriptions of the sieges of Constantinople of 626 and 717 and several hagiographical texts; the second, in Paris, B.N. gr. 1711 (dated 1013), is accompanied in the MS by the so-called chronicle of Leo Grammatikos (see SYMEON LOGOTHETE). Grégoire (*infra*), on the grounds of stylistic similarity, hypothesized that the two fragments belong to the same chronicle; his hypothesis is commonly accepted, although stylistic similarity is an unreliable basis for identification. The first fragment treats Nikephoros I's unsuccessful expedition against Bulgaria (811); the second describes the reigns of Michael I and Leo V. Both texts give details not in THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR or THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS. Grégoire also hypothesized, again on the basis of stylistic similarity, that the fragments formed part of a lost continuation of MALALAS. The date of compilation is questionable: the vividness of the description led to the conclusion that a contemporary wrote it. L. Tomić (*ZRVI* 1 [1952] 81) dates the text after 864, however, because it alludes to the eventual baptism of the Bulgarians (Dujčev, *infra*, p.216.83); her critics describe this allusion as a later editorial gloss. Pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS evidently used the second fragment, but, according to Browning (*infra* 406–11), there is no trace

of a similar source in the section on the period from Leo III to Michael I.

ED. I. Dujčev, "La chronique byzantine de l'an 811," *TM* 1 (1965) 210–16. *Leo Grammaticus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1842) 335–62, corr. R. Browning, *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 391–406.

LIT. H. Grégoire, "Un nouveau fragment du 'Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio,' " *Byzantion* 11 (1936) 417–20. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:333f. –A.K.

SCRIPTORIUM, a center for book production. Attribution of Byz. MSS to scriptoria is based on COLOPHONS and on palaeographical and codicological evidence; due in part to the dearth of material, however, our knowledge of Byz. scriptoria lags far behind that of Western centers. Best known are the scriptoria located at monasteries, such as STOUDIOS, where the rules of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS included regulations for SCRIBES (PG 99:1740B–D). The *protokalligraphos* distributed the work; the monks copied the models into QUIRES. Many of the MSS copied at Stoudios (ascetical works, rules of the founder, liturgical books, monastic literature, and commentaries on the Scriptures) were for the use of the Stoudite monks (N.F. Kavrus, *VizVrem* 44 [1983] 98–111). Other monastic scriptoria accepted commissions from outside clients; some specialized in certain kinds of MSS, for example, deluxe liturgical codices at the HODEGON MONASTERY in Constantinople. Scriptoria also existed at such Constantinopolitan monasteries as the Prodromos in PETRA and EUERGETIS. Scriptoria outside the capital included those at the monastery of the Prodromos on Mt. MENOIKEION or on Mt. Athos, esp. at Lavra, Iveron (J. Irigoin, *Scriptorium* 13 [1959] 195–204), and Philotheou.

The existence of an imperial scriptorium is attested as early as the reign of Constantius II, who commissioned scribes to copy works of ancient Greek literature (Lemerle, *Humanism* 58f). Under Constantine VII an imperial scriptorium is also well attested (J. Irigoin, *supra* 177–81). The best-known private scriptorium is that of the *anagnostes* Theodore Hagiopetrites, who specialized ca.1300 (perhaps in Thessalonike) in the production of liturgical MSS, esp. of the New Testament (R.S. Nelson, *JÖB* 32.4 [1982] 79–85).

MS decorations aid further in identifying and understanding the nature of the scriptorium. Some scriptoria, such as the Stoudios monastery in the 11th C., maintained resident ILLUMINATORS, as may be deduced from subscriptions and illuminations. Many, however, worked with independent outside illuminators. Often when MSS related by script are assembled, their decoration differs, and vice-versa, as has been shown for MSS of the 10th–14th C. (R.S. Nelson, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 [1987] 58f). For example, the scribe Ioasaph of the Hodegon monastery worked with various illuminators in the 14th C. (H. Buchthal, *Art of the Mediterranean World AD 100 to 1400* [Washington, D.C., 1983] 157–70).

LIT. J. Irigoin, "Centres de copie et bibliothèques," in *Books & Bookmen* 17–27. L. Politis, "Quelques centres de copie monastiques au XIVe siècle," in *PGEB* 291–302. S. Dufrenne, "Problèmes des ateliers de miniaturistes byzantins," *JÖB* 31 (1981) 445–70. B.L. Fonkić, "*Scriptoria* bizantine," *RSBN* 17–19 (1980–82) 73–118. –E.G., R.S.N., A.M.T.

SCULPTURE (λιθοξοϊκή, γλυπτική). Sculpture in the round was largely reduced to RELIEF in Byz., with the exception of imperial statuary and that of dignitaries; the last honorific statue to be erected in Constantinople was that of a cousin of Emp. Herakleios ca.614 (Mango in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:30f). The disappearance of statuary may be connected with a gradual process of dematerialization, also evident in sculpture intended for gardens or TOMBS. Relief PORTRAITS appear already on early imperial monuments: the Arch of Constantine, the columns of Theodosios I and Arkadios, and the Obelisk of Theodosios I, offer examples of high-quality relief.

Tombs containing SARCOPHAGI or sarcophagus slabs provide the best recorded group of 4th- and 5th-C. sculpture, with Rome and Ravenna as the main centers of production; Alexandrian workshops furnished the imperial PORPHYRY sarcophagi. Church furniture, including AMBOS, CIBORIA, and episcopal THRONES, is closely related to architectural sculpture and was often exported from the same Constantinopolitan workshops all around the Mediterranean. Peripheral workshops included Thessalonike, an ambo from there (J.-P. Sodini, *BCH* 100 [1976] 493–510) being an outstanding example with figural decoration. A gradual shift from the Graeco-Roman heritage toward truly Byz. forms, with a new ornamental vocabulary partially indebted to Sasanian influence, appears in architectural sculpture (Church of St. POLYEUKTOS) in the time of Justinian I.

From the 8th C. onward, sculpture in the round was no longer being created, although Byz. writers (the anonymous author of PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI, Niketas CHONIATES) continued to notice Constantinople's heritage of bronze statues. A new type of monumental sculpture appeared in 10th-C. Constantinople—the relief ICON, many extant examples of which were transported to S. Marco, Venice. The development of architectural sculpture can be found in numerous monuments in Constantinople, along the coast of Asia Minor, and in Greece. Late 9th–11th-C. TEMPLA, CAPITALS, CORNICES, slabs, ICON FRAMES, and doorframes display a limited vocabulary of crosses, geometric patterns, stylized floral ornament, a few animals or birds, and bosses. From the 12th C., however, a resurgent interest in sculpture is accompanied by increased PLASTICITY and a repertory that now included mythological subjects, heraldic compositions, and ANIMAL COMBAT, the human form being only rarely employed, mainly in Palaiologan Constantinople (H. Belting, *MünchJb*^{3} 23 [1972] 63–100). The same ornamental repertory is adopted in the rare preserved examples of church furniture and the numerous funerary monuments of the period, mainly built sarcophagi faced with marble slabs. A more ambitious type of funerary monument, dressed in marble, appears in 14th-C. Constantinople, with rich sculptural decoration around the arch of the niche (Ø. Hjort, *DOP* 33 [1979] 248–63). (See also OXYRHYNCHUS SCULPTURE.)

LIT. A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople (IVe–Xe siècle)* (Paris 1963). Idem, *Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge II (XIe–XIVe siècle)* (Paris 1976). F.W. Deichmann, *Einführung in die christliche Archäologie* (Darmstadt 1983) 289–322. V. Korać, "Beleška o načinu rada vizantijskih klesara u XI veku," *Zograf* 7 (1977) 11–16. –L.Ph.B.

SCYPHATE, a term often wrongly applied to Byz. concave coins (TRACHEA) of the 11th–14th C. in the belief that the word *scyphatus* found in southern Italian documents of the 11th–12th C. had this meaning. This word derived not from Greek σκύφος, "cup," but from the Arabic word *shafah*, "edge" or "rim" (adjectival *shiff*), and was used with reference to the conspicuous border of early HISTAMENA and not to the concavity that characterized the later coins (P. Grierson, *NChron*^{7} 11 [1971] 253–60). –Ph.G.

SCYTHIA MINOR, a province south of the Danube estuary, separated in the 4th C. from MOESIA II. Its autochthonous population was comprised of DACO-GETANS, whose material culture dominated the countryside through the 6th C. (G. Scorpan, *Pontica* 4 [1971] 137–53); Roman villas are also known in Scythia Minor (V.H. Baumann, *Ferma romana din Dobrogea* [Tulcea 1983]). The numerous cities of Scythia Minor can be divided into two groups: old Greek colonies on the Black Sea (TOMIS, which was the capital, HISTRIA, KALLATIS, etc.) and Roman fortresses, primarily on the Danube (DOROSTOLON, AXIOPOLIS, DINOGETIA, NOVIODUNUM, etc.). Located away from the main routes of barbarian invasions, Scythia Minor seems to have flourished in the 4th–6th C. Christian inscriptions are abundant. Among leading theologians of the time were the "Scythians" John CASSIAN and DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS (I. Coman, *Klieronomia* 7 [1975] 27–48). A serious threat to Scythia Minor arose at the end of the 6th C., when it was invaded by the AVARS and Slavs. The fate of the Geto-Roman population in the 7th C. is under discussion: A. Petre (*RESEE* 19 [1981] 555–68) insists on its continuity; A. Poulter (in *Classical Tradition* 198–204) asserts that archaeological data show a material decline of Scythia Minor and a progressive weakening of Byz. control that did not survive the reign of Herakleios.

LIT. A. Barnea, "Aspetti della vita economica della Scythia Minor," *Quaderni Catanesi di studi classici e medievali* 4 (1980) 519–47. E. Popescu, "Zur Geschichte der Stadt in Kleinskythien in der Spätantike," *Dacia* 19 (1975) 173–82. H. Gajewska, *Topographie des fortifications romaines en Dobroudja* (Wroclaw 1974) 125–44. –A.K.

SCYTHIANS (Σκύθαι), nomadic tribal groups of the Eurasian steppe. Forced out of their habitat north of the Black Sea by the SARMATIANS, they temporarily retained Dobrudja, where the Roman province was officially called "SCYTHIA MINOR," and the interior of Crimea; the Scythians, however, were dispersed among the local population.

Byz. writers used the term *Scythians* as an archaism denoting all nomadic peoples whom they

encountered, beginning in the 4th C. with the Huns (ASTERIOS OF AMASEIA) and in the 6th C. with COTRIGURS AND UTRIGURS and the Old Turks. The usage continued throughout the empire's history; the name *Scythian* was later applied to the Avars, Khazars, Bulgars, Hungarians, Pechenegs, Uzes, Cumans, Seljuks, Mongols, and Ottomans. Sometimes the term included the Slavs; the Rus' were also called "Scythians" or "Tauroscythians." Chalkokondyles (Chalk. 1:8.3–6) uses the term *Scythian* to designate "the people speaking the same tongue and equipped in the same way" who occupied the territory from the Don (Tanais) to Sarmatia (Poland), but indiscriminately transfers this name also to the Tatars.

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:279–83. I. Dujčev, "Slavjani-skiti," *Slavia* 29 (1960) 109–14. Ditten, *Russland-Exkurs* 94f. –O.P.

SEALING IMPLEMENTS. For sealing with lead three items were required: a *boulloterion*, a blank, and a piece of cord. Blanks were cast in slate molds, as evidenced by examples recovered from excavations at Corinth (cf. Davidson, *Minor Objects*, pl.134). The molds featured circular wells with grooves; wire was placed in the grooves and when molten lead was poured into a mold it traveled into the wells and hardened into blanks. In the last phases the wire was removed to produce a hollow channel and to accomodate a cord by which the seal was attached to a document. The blank was placed between the two engraved heads of a *boulloterion*, a pliers-like instrument, and, when pressure was applied to the *boulloterion*, the blank received the imprint of the dies and the channel closed around the cord. It might be noted that since *boulloteria* were made from iron—a metal that corrodes relatively quickly after burial—only a small group has survived. Two extant examples (Zacos, *Seals* 1, pls. 1–4) appear somewhat flattened, suggesting that pressure was applied to a blank, not by squeezing the handles of the *boulloterion*, but rather by striking one of its heads with a hammer.

For sealing with wax a *boulloterion* might take the form of either a signet RING or a small stamp. Wax had the advantage over lead in that it could be more easily manipulated; also it added little weight when the owner was away from his desk or traveling. For these reasons, signet rings were used throughout the entire Byz. period for the protection of letters and for the security of such household items as chests and cabinets. (See also SEALS, BIVALVE and SEALS, CONE OR PYRAMID.)

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 10–25. C. Morrisson, "Numismatique et sigillographie," in *Byz. Sigillography* 1–25. –J.W.N.

SEALS, BIVALVE, conventional term for seals with which two incised surfaces of matching dimensions but contrasting devices may be impressed on opposite sides of a single sealing, usually with a cord incorporated. Two variant bivalve types belong to the same family as the signet RING and the cone seal, since they were obviously intended for use with wax, pitch, or clay and produce impressions of comparable size and iconography to those made by rings and cones. One, a clamshell-like seal, is made of bronze and consists of a pair of hinged, shell-like disks with intaglio devices on their inner faces and a suspension loop above. The other, a disk-like seal, is usually made of STEATITE and has its two devices carved into the opposite faces of a single disk. Both of these SEALING IMPLEMENTS are characteristically (but not exclusively) of the 10th–12th C., steatite specimens being quite rare. Not surprisingly, both disks and clamshells draw on the same repertoire of sealing devices as contemporary rings, including monograms, invocations, icons, and narrative scenes. Bivalves were used in both the private and public sectors of Byz.; an early specimen found in Sicily, for example, belonged to a notary. Moreover, the imperial wax seal was sometimes referred to as *diptychos* ("two-fold"; *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.13.42), suggesting that not one but two sides were impressed with seals—very possibly by a clamshell bivalve.

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 23f. –G.V.

SEALS, CONE OR PYRAMID, conventional terms for a seal that was a functional twin to the signet ring, with the intaglio sealing device cut into the bezel-like base of a small cone or pyramid, and with a tiny loop at the apex for suspension. Apparently without antecedent in Western Roman society, the cone seal represents instead an absorption and adaptation, in Byz. Anatolia, of a characteristically Persian SEALING IMPLEMENT. Early specimens tend to be of stone (e.g., rock crystal), with uninscribed figures or animals, while those of the 10th C. or later are almost universally bronze. For the most part they bear standard invocational formulas ("Lord, help . . ."), although some carry images or zoomorphic motifs. Like signet rings and bivalve SEALS, cone seals could only have been used with a pliant medium such as wax or clay. Official titles appear only very rarely, which suggests that their primary role was in the home.

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 20–23. –G.V.

SEALS AND SEALINGS. Lead seal of Basil, *hypatos* and imperial *notarios* (787–815). Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. The Virgin Hodegetria is depicted on the obverse of the seal; the reverse bears the inscription naming Basil.

SEALS AND SEALINGS. Technically speaking, a seal (*σφραγίς*, Lat. *sigillum*) is an implement, while sealings are the objects produced, but following common English usage we refer to the object as a "seal" and use the word *bulla* in the same sense. Seals were made of lead, gold, silver, and wax; they are found to vary in diameter from approximately 15 to 80 mm; most seals, however, range in size from approximately 23 to 28 mm. Seals were used to authenticate the signature of the person responsible for the issuance of a document; they were also used in place of a countersignature, an indication of the responsibility of a senior official for the issuance of a document when he was not present as signator but approved of its issuance by a subordinate. In addition, seals of both wax and lead were employed to preserve the integrity of correspondence. After being folded, a letter was tied with a string, the security of the small bundle assured by the application of a wax seal to paper and string or the placement of the two ends of the string within the channel of a lead seal. Finally, lead seals were used to secure tied bundles, as indicated by numerous seals carrying the imprint of burlap. Lead bullae were used at least as early as the 4th C. (e.g., Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, nos. 1–5), but such seals are rare; the earliest bullae to be recovered in large numbers are examples of the 6th C. They continued to be employed until 1453, although large collections reflect a significant decline in use after 1200 (possibly because of a shortage of lead or perhaps simply a decline in population).

All segments of society used seals: emperors and their chanceries employed ones made of gold, wax, and lead. We know from pseudo-KODINOS (p.175.26–32) that an emperor would employ wax seals when writing to members of his immediate family, his mother, wife, or son. The use of wax seals in the imperial chancery is exemplified by a wax seal of the *sebastokrator* Nikephoros Petraliphas, still suspended on a document of 1200 (preserved on Mt. Athos at the Xeropotamou Monastery and illustrated in Oikonomides, *Seals*, fig.10). The use of gold bullae may have originated as early as the 8th C. (Grierson, *DOP* 20 [1966] 240), but over the course of centuries their method of manufacture underwent alteration. At first they were made in a casting mold, like lead seals; in the mid-11th C. the chancery began to make them out of two separate roundels of gold held together by solder; and in the 14th–15th C. they consisted simply of two thin sheets of gold bound together with wax.

The weight of gold seals was reckoned in solidi and the *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.* 686.5–10, bk.2, ch.48) reports that the pope should receive a gold seal equal in weight to two gold coins, but the patri-

archs of Antioch and Jerusalem should be honored with bullae equal to three solidi. Silver seals were issued by the *despotai* of Epiros and Morea during the 13th–14th C.; an example of this very rare type is attached to a charter of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS, dating from ca.1251 (T. Bertelè, *Numismatica* 17–18 [1951–52] 17). Lead seals were used at every level of the central and provincial administration, by emperors, officials, ecclesiastics, and men and women from all walks of life. The rarity of titles on signet rings or small stamps may simply indicate that (nonimperial) wax seals were usually employed in private situations, where the formality of title was dropped, but it is difficult to assess the status of persons using wax for sealing.

The majority of seals from before 700 simply carry MONOGRAMS and/or inscriptions. Some monograms are invocative, requesting the help of Christ or the Virgin; others express the name of the seal's owner or his name and title. On the other hand, for the sake of clarity, the name and title might be expressed in the form of a linear inscription. Although comprising a much smaller percentage, iconographic seals were used; the most popular depiction was the Virgin, followed by Christ and the saints. During Iconoclasm, iconography was eschewed, but, after the victory of the Iconodules, depictions of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints returned. By the 11th C., seals with iconography comprise a much higher percentage of extant specimens than in the earlier period. Although depictions of animals (birds and griffins in particular) were used to ornament seals in the 6th–7th C., this type of motif is more commonly met among 10th-C. seals. On occasion seals carry portraits of their owners, but such instances are relatively rare. The vast majority of Byz. seals are inscribed in Greek. In the 6th C., however, Latin was occasionally used, esp. among officials governing in the West. From the 10th to 11th C. there survives a small group of seals inscribed with legends in Syriac or Arabic; Dumbarton Oaks, for example, preserves 80 such objects. (See also SIGILLOGRAPHY and SEALING IMPLEMENTS.)

LIT. N.P. Lichačev, *Istoričeskoe značenie Italo-Grečeskoj ikonopisi* (St. Petersburg 1911). N. Oikonomides, "The Usual Lead Seal," *DOP* 37 (1983) 147–57. W. Seibt, "Die Darstellung der Theotokos auf byzantinischen Bleisiegeln, besonders im 11. Jahrhundert," in *Byz. Sigillography* 35–56. –J.W.N.

SEA ROUTES. From Roman times and through the 6th C., the most important sea routes were those that linked the eastern Mediterranean with Italy, going either from the west coast of Asia Minor to the Greek coast and then along the Peloponnesos to Italy and Sicily, or from the southern coast of Asia Minor, Syria, or Palestine to Crete and then to Sicily, or from Alexandria along the North African coast to Sicily to Italy. These east-west routes were significantly disturbed by the establishment of Muslim sea power, after the capture of Crete and Sicily. From then until the 11th C., coastal navigation along the Asia Minor and Greek shores became usual, the Aegean islands playing the role of relay stations. Thus GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS sailed from Ephesus to Prokonnesos, to Ainos and Christoupolis. From Thessalonike he continued to Corinth, Reggio, Naples, and finally to Rome (*Vita* 53–56). Arab sources show a transverse route between Pelousion in Egypt and Constantinople, through the Cretan sea (9th–10th C.), and a route from Tripoli (in North Africa) to Byz. (10th C.). Also important were the Black Sea coastal routes, both along the north-south axis and from Trebizond to Constantinople.

After the 11th C., the east-west routes became open once again, primarily under the influence of the Italian traders. In the Black Sea, navigation in the open sea continued. IBN BAṬṬŪṬA took a Greek ship from Sinope to Vosporo (Kerch) on his way to Kaffa (*Travels* 141f); the party of Ignatij of Smolensk sailed from Surož (Sougdaia) to Constantinople in 13 days in June 1389 (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 86–90, 401–03).

As for the length of TRAVEL, the vita of Blasios of Amorion gives 12 days between Rome and Methone (*AASS* Nov. 4:666B), while 20 days from the southern coast of Asia Minor to Bari (in 1087) may have been unusually short. The Geniza documents show 18 days between Alexandria and Constantinople, and in the 12th C. it took 10 days from Constantinople to Cyprus (A.L. Udovitch, *SettStu* 25.2 [1978] 510–12). The transport of commodities by sea was usually cheaper than by land. (See also LAND ROUTES.)

LIT. P. Schreiner, "Zivilschiffahrt und Handelsschiffahrt in Byzanz: Quellen und Probleme bezüglich der dort tätigen Personen," in *Le Genti del mare Mediterraneo*, ed. R. Ragosta, vol. 1 (Naples 1981) 9–25. H. Ahrweiler, "Les ports byzantins (VII^{e}–IX^{e} siècles)," *SettStu* 25.1 (1978) 259–83. J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'Empire romain* (Paris 1966) 84–93. T. Lewicki, "Les voies maritimes de la Méditerranée dans le haut Moyen Age d'après les sources arabes," *SettStu* 25.2 (1978) 439–69. –A.L.

SEASONS, PERSONIFICATIONS OF. These symbols of the quarterly divisions of the year, like those of the MONTHS, were common as decorative motifs in Late Antique floor mosaics; on occasion they can be interpreted as elements in a cosmic scheme (Maguire, *Earth & Ocean* 36). On the Parabiago plate (*Age of Spirit.*, no.164), the representation of the Seasons as fruit-bearing children associated with Kybele and Attis suggests that they refer to death and resurrection. Similar concerns are evident on sarcophagi (ibid., no.386) where the Seasons appear as *erotes*. Their role as aspects of a comprehensive attitude toward CREATION, suggested in the *Ekphrasis* of JOHN OF GAZA, received its fullest treatment in art of the 11th C. and later. In most of the illustrated OCTATEUCHS, differing versions of the Seasons attend God's promise to Noah (Gen 8:22): thus in Vat. gr. 746, fol.57r, DAY and NIGHT turn an ovoid wheel containing a sower (Spring), a man gathering flowers (Summer), a thresher (Autumn), and an old man warming himself by a fire (Winter).

SEASONS, PERSONIFICATIONS OF. The four seasons. Detail of a miniature in an Octateuch manuscript (Vat. gr. 746, fol.57r); 12th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

LIT. G. Galavaris, *RBK* 3:510–19. G.M.A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951; rp. New York–London 1971) 262–74. –A.C.

SEBASTE (Σεβαστή, Ar. Sebasṭīyah, now Shomeron in Israel), city in the province of Palestina I under CAESAREA MARITIMA and bishopric under the patriarch of JERUSALEM; situated just northwest of NEAPOLIS. Called Samaria in antiquity, the city was rebuilt and renamed Sebaste by Herod. The discovery here during the reign of Julian of John the Baptist's tomb and relics was the occasion of a pagan riot. Veneration of the relics, and of those of the prophets Elisha and Obadiah found nearby, nevertheless persisted, and Sebaste became a pilgrimage center, with legends claiming it as the site of John's death. Two churches were built to honor him; a 12th-C. pilgrim reports that one of them, the cathedral, was then being replaced by a Crusader church, while the other (of the 6th C.?), then part of a Greek monastery, had been partly rebuilt in the 11th C. as a Byz. domed church and was remodeled in the 12th C. in mixed Latin and Byz. style. Frescoes from the last two phases have been found. Crowfoot's association of the second of these phases with restoration in the Holy Land supported by Manuel I Komnenos has been challenged by Hunt, who suggests that these paintings were done by a Byz. artist working in the 1140s for the Knights of the Order of St. John.

LIT. J.W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Bosra and Samaria-Sebaste* (London 1937) 24–39. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 169. Ovadiah, *Corpus* 157–59. *EAEHL* 4:1049f. L.-A. Hunt, "Damascus Gate, Jerusalem and Crusader Wallpainting of the Mid-Twelfth Century," in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda (Jerusalem 1982) 191–213. –M.M.M., G.V.

SEBASTEIA (Σεβάστεια, mod. Sivas), city of northeastern Cappadocia on the Halys at the junction of major roads; civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of Armenia I from the early 5th C. Justinian I rebuilt its walls, but Chosroes I surprised and burned it in 575. Under Arab attack from the late 7th C., when it appears as a city of ARMENIAKON, Sebasteia became a KLEISOURA under Leo VI and by 911 a separate THEME that stretched

to TEPHRIKE and MELITENE before being reduced later in the 10th C.; it subsisted through the 11th C. So many Armenians immigrated to the city in the 10th C. that they predominated in the population: Sebasteia was an Armenian bishopric from 986 and in 1019 was given to Senacherim ARCRUNI, whose successors administered it first as Byz. vassals, then independently after 1074 until the Turkish conquest, ca.1090. The last years of Byz. rule were marked by increasing hostility between Greeks and Armenians. The walls of Sebasteia have disappeared, but a Byz. inscribed-cross church survives as a mosque. (See also FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA.)

LIT. *TIB* 2:274–76. –C.F.

SEBASTOKRATOR (*σεβαστοκράτωρ*), word formed from a combination of SEBASTOS and AUTOKRATOR, a title created by Alexios I for his brother Isaac KOMNENOS. Under the Komnenoi, *sebastokrator* was the highest title (following that of co-emperor and later DESPOTES) conferred on the emperor's sons and brothers. After 1204 the title was assumed also in the Latin Empire. The emperors of Nicaea bestowed it on some semi-independent (?) landlords such as Sabas ASIDENOS. The title *sebastokrator* was granted primarily to the emperor's relatives. The last known holder of this title is Demetrios Kantakouzenos under John V. The title was used in Bulgaria during the 13th–14th C. (E. Savčeva, *EtBalk* [1979] no.3, 53–71). Blue was the color that distinguished the *sebastokrator*, who had the right to sign his documents with blue ink and to attach his seal with a blue silk cord; he wore blue shoes but was allowed to have a coronet in red and gold and a red tunic. The *sebastokrator*'s wife was the *sebastokratorissa*.

LIT. B. Ferjančić, "Sevastokratori u Vizantiji," *ZRVI* 11 (1968) 141–92; with add. A. Kazhdan, *ZRVI* 14–15 (1973) 41. Dölger, *Schatz.* 90. –A.K.

SEBASTOPHOROS (*σεβαστοφόρος*), an office or title mentioned in the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escurial. Oikonomides (*infra*) suggested that it was introduced between 963 and 975 and conferred primarily on eunuchs. The functions of the *sebastophoros* are not clear—the etymology of the word implies that he may have carried the emperor's banner. The first *sebastophoros* was probably Romanos LEKAPENOS, son of the ephemeral *basileus* in 944–45, Stephen Lekapenos (Skyl. 238.43–44); other *sebastophoroi* included such influential persons as Stephen Pergamenos and NIKEPHORITZES. The Georgian hagiographer of St. John and Euthymios the Iberian (P. Peeters, *AB* 36–37 [1917–19] 20.12–13) defines an anonymous *sebastophoros* as one of the most significant "princes" of the palace. On seals, *sebastophoroi* combine their title with relatively modest functions of the *logothetes ton agelon, vestiarios*, or *droungarios ton ploimon* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 587, 710, 961). The seal of the monk and *sebastophoros* Basil (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.383) is enigmatic, unless we hypothesize that *monachos* is his second name or sobriquet like that of Basil Monachos, governor of Bulgaria in the mid-11th C. The title does not appear after the 12th C. In antiquarian texts, such as the *Souda* or a scholion to the *Patria of Constantinople*, the term *sebastophoroi* designates "the district chiefs" (*regeonarchai*) who performed dances in honor of the emperor.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XVI (1963), 199–207, with corr. and add. by Oikonomides, *Listes* 308, n.107, and G. Litavrin in Kek. 552. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 318. –A.K.

SEBASTOPOLIS (*Σεβαστούπολις*), ancient Dioscurias, a fortified town on the east coast of the Black Sea, near the modern Suchumi. STRABO (11.2.14–16) describes the great variety of languages spoken in the area (near the older town of Dioscurias) and Pliny (*Natural History* 6.5.15) notes that 130 interpreters were needed. Under Justinian I, Sebastopolis and the nearby Pityus (modern Pitzunda) were reconstructed (Prokopios, *Buildings* 3.7.8–9). By the 8th C. a tradition had developed that the apostle Andrew had visited Sebastopolis (F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* [Cambridge, Mass., 1958] 208). Until the end of the 8th C. Sebastopolis remained an important base for Byz.

LIT. Iu.N. Voronov, *Dioskuriada-Sevastopolis-Cchum* (Moscow 1980) 89–112. –R.T.

SEBASTOS (*σεβαστός*, lit. "venerable"), term that in the works of Greek authors of the 1st–2nd C. served to render the Lat. *augustus*. It reappeared in the 11th C. as an honorific epithet: Constantine IX proclaimed his mistress SKLERAINA *sebaste*, and soon thereafter Alexios (I) and Isaac Komnenos acquired the title. Constantine, nephew of Patr. Michael I Keroularios, was also *sebastos* before 1081. The term became the foundation of Alexios I's reform of TITLES: it served as the root for the highest titles, SEBASTOKRATOR, PANHYPERSEBASTOS, and PROTOSEBASTOS, and was itself conferred on the nobility, primarily relatives of the Komnenian dynasty—according to Stiernon (*infra* 229), more than 90 percent of *sebastoi* belonged to the ruling family. The title was debased by the end of the 12th C. (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 114f), and in a 14th-C. ceremonial book *sebastos* occupies a low rank, following the *droungarios* (pseudo-Kod. 139.30). The formulary of Sathas (*MB* 6:651.6–11) preserves the type of imperial *prostaxis* granting the *sebastaton*, or the dignity of *sebastos*. The *sebastoi* of the 12th C., called *pansebastoi sebastoi*, formed two groups: *sebastoi* GAMBROI and simple *sebastoi*. The title could be conferred on foreign princes. In the 13th–14th C. *sebastoi* were the commanders of ethnic units (H. Ahrweiler in *Polychronion* 34–38). Adopted by the Bulgarians in the 12th C., the term designated, according to P. Petrov (*VizVrem* 16 [1959] 52–64), the ruler of a district, whereas in Serbia it was known from the end of the 13th C. and used for officials of various functions.

LIT. L. Stiernon, "Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Sébaste et gambros," *REB* 23 (1965) 226–32. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 311–18. –A.K.

SEBEOS, the author of a 7th-C. Armenian *History of Herakleios*, according to 11th-C. Armenian writers. The surviving MS of 1672, however—the basis of later copies and of printed editions of "Sebeos"—lacks both title and author's name. Whether the surviving text is in fact the *History of Herakleios* by "Sebeos" is unclear. Nevertheless, this history is particularly valuable as a source for the Byz.-Persian wars from the reign of Maurice to the accession of Muʿāwiya as caliph (591–661). Besides providing information on military and political matters, it describes the unsuccessful attempts of Byz. rulers to enforce a reunion of the churches of Constantinople and Armenia. The beginning of the extant text contains brief sections on the original settlement of Armenia (the *Primary History*, MOSES XORENAC'I) and the early history of Armenia (based on authors as late as the 11th C.). These, however, have no connection with the *History of Herakleios*.

ED. *Patmut'iwn*, ed. G.V. Abgaryan (Erevan 1979). *Histoire d'Héraclius*, tr. F. Macler (Paris 1904).

LIT. G. Abgarian, "Remarques sur l'histoire de Sébéos," *REArm* n.s. 1 (1964) 203–15, with add. in *Banber Matenadarani* 10 (1971) 425–74. R.H. Hewsen, "The Synchronistic Table of Bishop Eusebius (Ps. Sebēos): A Reexamination of its Chronological Data," *REArm* n.s. 15 (1981) 59–72. M.K. Krikorian, "Sebēos, Historian of the Seventh Century," in *Classical Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1979) 52–67. J.-P. Mahé, "Critical Remarks on the Newly Edited Excerpts from Sebeos," in *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1984) 218–39. –R.T.

SECONDARY TAXES. In the Byz. FISCAL SYSTEM, a considerable part was played by various secondary taxes and obligations, theoretically required for a limited time and in order to meet a specific need. They affected the wealthy as well as the poor. Many were outlays in kind or consisted of a service, but often, through COMMUTATION, they were turned into payments in money, thereby losing their exceptional character and becoming regular fiscal obligations. Their total burden upon the taxpayer cannot be evaluated with any certainty. Probably under normal conditions the sum of these obligations in the 10th C. was not much heavier than the STRATEIA. Large landowners claimed, often successfully, exemption for their domains, obviously because secondary taxes represented a sizable fiscal burden: because of their exceptional character, secondary taxes were more likely to be claimed arbitrarily, with increased frequency, by TAX COLLECTORS (mainly tax farmers), and thus could become a major and unpredictable fiscal burden. They were called by pejorative generic names, such as *munera sordida* (dirty services), *bare* (burdens), and EPEREIAI (vexations).

First Period (4th to 7th C.). The old taxes in money (unimportant, because of the 3rd-C. crisis) and those initiated after Constantine I's monetary reform were collected by the office of the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM. The *comes* also collected such odd taxes as the *aurum coronarium* (theoretically voluntary but in fact a regular contribution of the cities for the emperor's accession to the throne) and the *aurum oblaticium* (a similar payment made by the senate); he also collected CITY TAXES and taxes initiated in the 4th C. such as the *collatio glebalis* (paid by senators proportionately to their property), the *collatio lustralis* (CHRYSARGYRON), and the *aurum tironicum*, a gold levy in commutation for recruits. The PRAETORIAN PRE-

FECT, normally responsible for collecting the main tax and the extraordinary ones (KANON, INDICTION, *superindictiones*), also exacted the various *munera sordida*: grinding grain and baking bread for the troops; furnishing animals and services for the post; billeting of traveling soldiers or officials; burning lime, providing timber and charcoal; providing craftsmen for public works; and maintaining roads, bridges, and fortresses. Moreover, as the commutation of contributions in kind prevailed, the state introduced the *coemptio* (SYNONE), i.e., the obligation for farmers to sell part of their crops to the state at a fixed price (it would later become through commutation a kind of HEARTH TAX paid in cash by well-off farmers).

Second Period (8th to 12th C.). The taxes collected previously by the *sacrae largitiones* disappeared almost completely, while the *munera sordida* considerably increased in number and importance; together with new secondary taxes, they reached a peak in the late 11th C. (very long lists are to be found in imperial CHRYSOBULLS granting exemptions), at a time when collectors were predominantly tax farmers. Next to various hearth taxes and TITHES are several new secondary taxes, such as the OIKOMODION, taxes paid for the PAROIKOI (*paroikiatikon*), sometimes according to their means (ZEUGARATIKION, *aktemonitikion* for AKTEMONES). Moreover the equivalent of most of the above *munera sordida* and some new ones are found: the obligation to offer winter quarters to Byz. and (mostly) foreign mercenaries (MITATON) or alternatively to make payment in order to avoid the inconvenience (*antimitatikion*); the offer of short-term billeting to (APLEKTON) or residence for (KATHISMA) military or civil officials; to provide food and forage (*diatrophe, ekbole chreion kai chortasmaton*); mandatory sale of one's produce to the state at a fixed price (this is the equivalent of the old *synone*, now called *exonesis*); requisition of part of the crops for the army or for storage in a fortress (*sitarkesis*); requisition of horses and mules from the wealthy contributors of a province (*monoprosopon*); and several CORVÉES—first the ANGAREIA, then providing timber or coal, making bread for the army (PSOMOZEMIA), and building or maintaining roads (*hodostrosia*), bridges (*gephyroktisia*), fortresses (KASTROKTISIA), or ships for the navy (*karabopoiia*, later *katergoktisia*). Other obligations are directly related to the army: providing or equipping policemen (*taxatoi*), light soldiers (archers, mounted archers, footsoldiers armed with spears, maces, or axes), or sailors (*ploimoi*); providing blacksmiths (*komodromikon*) with nails and horseshoes, etc.

Third Period (12th to 15th C.). The long lists of secondary taxes disappear in the 12th C. but several of these taxes survive with the same or new names, while others are introduced, inspired by new conditions or foreign influence. In the 12th C. appears the *zeugologion*, the nature of which is unclear (related to the ZEUGARION); it is still attested in the 15th C. In the empire of Nicaea, the SITARKIA became a very important tax on farmers possessing a pair of oxen, while the *agape* was presumably paid by those who had none. Most services mentioned above survived well into the 14th C. The Palaiologan period, however, brought several innovations: surtaxes, such as the *opheleia* (10 percent increase of the OIKOUMENON of the *paroikoi*); ABIOTIKION; fiscalized fines such as the AER; and supplementary taxes such as the DIMODAION, the *vigliatikon* (service of watchman, which could be commuted to a cash payment), the *syndosia* (contribution?), the *phloriatikon* (see KASTROKTISIA), the *kapeliatikon* (tax on the sale of wine), the *kokkiatikon* (contribution in grain for the biscuit rations of the fleet at the beginning of the 15th C.), and several other taxes and rights, such as the ones levied for the rights of fishing in rivers or lakes. The number of secondary taxes and corvées dropped drastically in early 15th-C. Chalkidike, where a fiscal system influenced by the Ottomans was established.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 427–35. Karayannopulos, *Finanzwesen* 168–82. N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:159–65. Angold, *Byz. Government* 202–36. Oikonomides, "Ottoman Influence" 5–10, 16–24. F. Dölger, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Speyer 1953; rp. Darmstadt 1964) 232–60. –N.O.

SECOND COMING. See PAROUSIA.

SECOND ECUMENICAL COUNCIL. See CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF: Constantinople I.

SECOND SOPHISTIC (δευτέρα σοφιστική), term introduced by Philostratos (ca.200) to designate the branch of RHETORIC that emphasized social and political aspects of life rather than morals and philosophy (*Opera*, ed. C.L. Kayser [Leipzig 1871; rp. Hildesheim 1964] 2:2f). The term *Second Sophistic* is now applied to a literary movement of the 2nd–6th C. closely connected with the cultural activity of urban intellectuals. From the 4th C. onward, sophists such as THEMISTIOS were esp. concerned with preserving or even restoring ancient virtues. Unlike Philostratos, EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS, a biographer of the 4th-C. sophists, presented them as both orators and philosophers, often involved in imperial administration. He also dwelt on the rivalry between various groups of sophists who would accuse each other of tyranny. The chief categories into which sophistic oratory in its developed form could be divided, and its stylistic techniques, were listed in handbooks (HERMOGENES, MENANDER RHETOR, APHTHONIOS, NICHOLAS OF MYRA) that significantly influenced Byz. literary theory. The greatest church orators (JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, GREGORY OF NYSSA) used these techniques (metaphors of secular origin, bizarre comparisons, alliterations, *homoeoteleuta*, etc.) in their practice. In Byz. the term *sophistes* meant an eloquent man, esp. a teacher of eloquence (e.g., Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 255.30), as well as a shrewd person.

LIT. G. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969). L.C. Ruggini, "Sofisti greci nell'Impero Romano," *Athenaeum* 49 (1971) 402–25. T.E. Ameringer, *The Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Panegyrical Sermons of St. John Chrysostom* (Washington, D.C., 1921). L. Méridier, *L'influence de la seconde sophistique sur l'oeuvre de Grégoire de Nysse* (Paris 1906). A. Kélessidou, "Critique de la sophistique par Plethon," *Revue de philosophie ancienne* no.2 (1984) 29–40. E. des Places, "La seconde sophistique au service d'apologétique chrétienne: Le *Contre Hiéroclès* d'Eusèbe de Césarée," *CRAI* (Apr.–June 1985) 423–27. –A.K., E.M.J.

SEIDES, NIKETAS, theologian of the first half of 12th C., possibly from Ikonion; his name, Σείδης, may be a Greek version of Arabic-Turkish Sa'īd. In one MS he is described as a rhetorician; Browning hypothesizes that he was a teacher in Constantinople ("Patriarchal School" 25). In 1112 he participated in the dispute against Peter GROSSOLANO. Seides counted 32 discrepancies between the Greek and Latin churches, but concentrated on three major points—the FILIOQUE, AZYMES, and papal PRIMACY. This last point was raised probably for the first time since the dispute of 1054. In 1117 Seides attacked EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA, accusing him of "atheism."

ED. R. Gahbauer, *Gegen den Primat des Papstes: Studien zu Niketas Seides* (Munich 1975). Darrouzès, *Ecclés.* 306–09 (republ. with corr. by Th.N. Zeses, *Kleronomia* 8 [1976] 77–82).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 617f. O. Schissel, "Niketas Seidos: Eine Handschriftenstudie," *Divus Thomas* 15 (1937) 78–90. –A.K.

SEKOUNDINOS, NICHOLAS, writer and diplomat; born Chalkis, Euboea, 1402, died Venice, 22/3 Mar. 1464. Born to a Greek family, Sekoundinos (Σεκουνδινός, Lat. Sagundinus) received an excellent classical education. In 1430 he was captured by the Turks during their conquest of Thessalonike. After his release he was appointed by Venice as *advocatus curiae* at Chalkis (1434–37). Sekoundinos was bilingual in Greek and Latin and served as official translator at the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE (1438–39). A supporter of Union, he converted to Catholicism after the Council. Following a period (1439–41?) as papal secretary to EUGENIUS IV, he returned to Euboea as secretary (*cancelliere*) to the Venetian *bailo*. In 1453 he became ducal secretary in Venice and spent the rest of his life on missions in Italy, Spain, Greece, and Turkey.

Sekoundinos left a substantial number of works, mostly in Latin and still unpublished. They include 66 letters (addressed mainly to his family and Italian humanist friends); minor treatises on philosophy, theology, and rhetoric; and a summary of Ottoman history, *Othomanorum familia*, which was commissioned in 1456 by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini. Sekoundinos also translated into Latin ancient Greek authors such as Demosthenes, Onesander (the *Strategikos*), Plutarch, and Arrian.

ED. For complete list, see Mastrodemetres, *infra* 115–223.

LIT. P.D. Mastrodemetres, *Nikolaos Sekoundinos (1402–1464). Bios kai ergon* (Athens 1970). F. Babinger, "Nikolaos Sagoundinos, ein griechisch-venedischer Humanist des 15. Jhdts.," *Charisterion eis Anastasion Orlandon*, vol. 1 (Athens 1965) 198–212. –A.M.T.

SEKRETIKOI (σεκρετικοί), generic term used in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS to designate one of three categories of civil officials (*sekretikoi*, JUDGES, *demokratai*); they included the SAKELLARIOS, several LOGOTHETAI and CHARTOULARIOI, PROTASEKRETIS, *epi tou eidikou* (see EIDIKON), KOURATORES, and ORPHANOTROPHOS. Their major, though not exclusive, duties were financial; an obscure passage in an 11th-C. historian about

sekretika zetemata, "sekretikal exactions" (Attal. 76.8), does not show (as Oikonomides, *Listes* 309, n.121, argued) that Attaleiates characterized their functions as purely fiscal. Patriarchal *sekretikoi* are also known (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 33, n.1).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 78–105. –A.K.

SEKRETON (*σέκρετον*), a bureau or department. The term, in the form *secretarium*, appeared first in 303 to describe the tribunals investigating accusations against Christians (Lactant., *De mort. pers.* 15.5); it underscored the secrecy of the procedures, in contrast to the open sessions of regular Roman courts. As these sessions fell into disuse, the term *secretarium* came to be identified with *judicium*, the external mark of which was the curtain (VELUM) used to separate the court from the public. *Sekreton* was also occasionally used as a term for the CONSISTORIUM, and in the *De ceremoniis* it designated the entire body of higher officials. The late 9th-C. *Kletorologion of Philotheos* (e.g., Oikonomides, *Listes* 113.24) uses *sekreton* as a technical term for the bureau of a government official; from it the terms SEKRETIKOI and ASEKRETIS as well as *logothetes ton sekreton* (known through the 12th C.) were dervied. A bureau consisted of various subordinate officials, some of whom Philotheos calls CHARTOULARIOI of the *sekreton* and imperial NOTARIES of the *sekreton*.

In the 14th and 15h C. the imperial or *katholikon sekreton* (cf. KRITAI KATHOLIKOI) designated the supreme judicial court, the decisions of which could not be appealed (*Koutloum.*, no.34.110–11, a.1375); a text of 1334 identifies the imperial *sekreton* as the tribunal of *katholikoi kritai* (*Esphig.*, no.19.12). An act of Patr. Joseph II from 1426 juxtaposes "the *sekreton* of the holy *basileus*" and the synodal court (*Kastam.*, no.6.22), and a document of 1377 speaks of the *archontes* of the imperial and ecclesiastical *sekreta* (*Lavra* 3, no.148.8).

From the 7th C. onward the term *sekreton* was applied to both the patriarchal court or council and the patriarch's council hall; later the patriarchal *sekreton* was identified with the bureau of the CHARTOPHYLAX (MM 4:310.16–17), but the term could be extended to other departments of the patriarchate.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 83f. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 427. O. Seeck, *RE* 2.R. 2 (1923) 979–81. –A.K.

SELEUKEIA (*Σελεύκεια*, mod. Silifke), coastal city of ISAURIA. As ecclesiastical metropolis, Seleukeia was the site of a synod that discussed Arianism in 359. Seleukeia was headquarters of a civil governor and a military commander, *comes Isauriae*. It was an active port and the site of an imperial factory that manufactured cloth for the army and officials. Local conditions are revealed in the miracles of St. THEKLA, whose shrine lay outside Seleukeia at MERIAMLIK. In 616 Herakleios established a mint at Seleukeia during his campaigns against the Persians; its transfer to ISAURA in 617 suggests that Seleukeia was taken. Seleukeia was seat of the *droungarios* of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme, then capital of the theme of Seleukeia (ISAURIA). After a temporary loss to the Turks, Seleukeia was recovered and refortified in 1099. It had a prosperous Jewish community in the mid-12th C. and was the base for Manuel I's temporary reconquest of Cilicia in 1159. It fell to the Armenians soon after 1180. Seleukeia contains ruins of a church converted from a temple and a fortress with some Byz. walls.

LIT. H. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit* (Bonn 1976) 249–54. S. Goitein, "A Letter from Seleucia (Cilicia)," *Speculum* 39 (1964) 298–303. –C.F.

SELEUKEIA PIERIA (now the two sites of Kapısuyu and Mağaracık in Turkey), city and bishopric in the province of Syria I and port serving ANTIOCH until at least the 7th C. Seleukeia Pieria was rebuilt and its harbor enlarged in 345/6 by Emp. Constantius II (Theoph. 38.6–7), who was residing at Antioch. In 524, 64 arches and breakwaters of the harbor were altered, and three bridges between Seleukeia Pieria and Antioch were built by Ephrem, *comes Orientis* (*IGLSyr* 3, no.1142). Justinian I gave the city a grant in 528 and reduced its taxes to finance the repair of earthquake damage (Malal. 443.8–444.4). In 540 Seleukeia Pieria, like the suburb of Daphne, was untouched by the Persian ruler Chosroes I, who sacked and burned Antioch (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.11.1). Some pavements of the 5th and 6th C. have been excavated, as has what may have been a large tetraconch cathedral with champlevé marble decoration. During the Monophysite persecution of ca.525 the monastery of St. Thomas near the harbor of Seleukeia Pieria moved to EUROPOS. There are remains of Byz. (4th–6th C.) and Georgian (11th–13th C.) monastic installations above Seleukeia Pieria.

LIT. G.W. Elderkin, R. Stillwell, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 3 (Princeton 1941) 35–54. W.E. Kleinbauer, "The Origin and Functions of the Aisled Tetraconch Churches in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia," *DOP* 27 (1973) 91–95, 108–14. W. Djobadze, *Archeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch-on-the-Orontes* (Stuttgart 1986) 171–75. –M.M.M.

SELJUKS. A dynasty named after an ancestor called Seljuk, perhaps a converted Muslim, who, according to Mahmud al-Kashgari (fl. ca.1075), was a *subaşı* (chief of the army) belonging to the Turkic nomadic people of the Oghuz. When the great Oghuz migration began in the 11th C. from the region of the Aral Sea toward the West, Seljuk's successors, profiting from the situation, established their rule in Khurāsān and soon conquered Persia. Seljuk's grandson, TUGHRUL BEG, at the invitation of the ʿAbbāsid caliph put an end to the Buyid dynasty and began to rule as sultan in Baghdad, which became the capital of the Great Seljuk state. His successor ALP ARSLAN defeated the Byz. army at MANTZIKERT in 1071 and captured Emp. Romanos IV Diogenes. After this victory and profiting from the dynastic strife in the Byz. empire, the Seljuks established the sultanate of RŪM with NICAEA as its capital; SÜLEYMAN IBN KUTLUMUŞ was sent by the government of Baghdad to organize the newly conquered territories but perished in internal strife ca.1085. Expelled from Nicaea and the coastlands of Asia Minor by the Crusaders (1097), the Seljuks moved their capital to IKONION. In the 12th C. they had to confront the rival Turkish state of the DANIŞMENDIDS. In 1176 the Seljuks defeated the Byz. at MYRIOKEPHALON; by the end of the century they had succeeded in uniting the whole of Islamic Asia Minor under their rule and, during the first decades of the 13th C., in reaching a remarkable prosperity. Upheaval began in their territories, however, as a result of a new Turkoman migration because of the Mongol advance toward the West. In 1243 the MONGOLS defeated the Seljuks near Köse-Dağ (a region of Sebasteia) and invaded their territories, which remained in continuous turmoil until the first decade of the 14th C., when the sultanate of Rūm disappeared under unclear circumstances. A number of Turkish emirates were subsequently established in the former Seljuk domain, that is, KARAMAN, GERMIYAN, MENTESHE, AYDIN, SARUHAN, KARASI, and the emirate of OSMAN.

LIT. W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Paris 1945) 80–88. C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London 1968) 19–51, 66–91, 96–106, 110–38. H. İnalcık, O. Turan, *CHIsl* 1:231–69. Vryonis, *Decline* 69–142. –E.A.Z.

SELYMBRIA (*Σηλυμβρία*, mod. Silivri), city in Thrace on the north shore of the Sea of Marmara, west of Constantinople, inside the LONG WALL. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.9.12–13) attributes the fortification of Selymbria to Justinian I, and Theophanes (Theoph. 234.3–5) also states that Justinian went to Selymbria "to build the Long Wall." Selymbria was an important strategic point at the end of the Via EGNATIA and is usually mentioned in connection with the passage of armies and processions: the dying Constantine V was brought from Arkadioupolis to Selymbria, where he boarded a ship (Theoph. 448.15–19), and NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep.19.42–43) invited Symeon of Bulgaria to come to Herakleia or Selymbria to negotiate peace. Manuel I spent Easter of 1167 at Selymbria on his way to Hungary (Kinn. 265.3–4).

The city acquired special significance during the civil wars of the mid-14th C. John VI Kantakouzenos rebuilt its fortifications, and the remains of his ramparts still stand; in 1345 the wedding of John V's daughter to the Ottoman sultan Orhan was celebrated in Selymbria. In 1327 Alexios APOKAUKOS was *archon* of Selymbria (Kantak. 1:258.22), and ca.1399 a certain Bryennios Leontares acted as *kephale* of the city (MM 2:401.19–20). In 1382 John V ceded Selymbria, together with Herakleia, Rhaidestos, and Panion, to Andronikos IV and John VII. In 1453 Selymbria effectively resisted Turkish attack and surrendered only after the fall of Constantinople.

Selymbria is listed in notitiae as the "archbishopric of Europe," and from the 12th C. onward as a metropolis without suffragans. PHILOTHEOS, metropolitan of Selymbria in the 14th C., noted several churches there, one of which was sponsored by Apokaukos; its ruins were recently discovered.

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 2.R. 2 (1923) 1324–27. F. Dirimtekin, "La forteresse byzantine de Selymbria," 10 *CEB* (Istanbul 1955) 127–29. Maksimović, *ByzProvAdmin* 51f. P. Magdalino, "Byzantine Churches of Selymbria," *DOP* 32 (1978) 309–18. S. Eyice, "Alexios Apocauque et l'église

byzantine de Sélymbria," *Byzantion* 34 (1964) 77–104, with add. O. Feld, *Byzantion* 37 (1967) 57–65 and S. Eyice, *Byzantion* 48 (1978–79) 406–16. –A.K.

SEMANTRON (*σήμαντρον*), a gong, used in monasteries in preference to BELLS. The *semantron* was a long piece of iron (*sideroun*), bronze (*chalkoun*), or wood (*xylon*) that was struck with a hammer to awaken monks and nuns and to summon them to services. Monasteries usually had three *semantra*, of varied sizes and materials, which sounded distinct notes and served different purposes. A wooden *semantron* (*aphypnisterion*) was used to awaken the nuns at the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY and the monks at the EUERGETIS MONASTERY for midnight services; at the conclusion of that service, the "great *semantron*" (also called a *synakterion*) and one of bronze were struck to signal the beginning of the ORTHROS service. The large *semantron* was approximately 2 m in length, and was sometimes suspended by chains in a tower; the smaller ones were portable. Sounding boards of iron or wood are attested from the 4th C.; in the early period they were called *xylon* or *rhabdos sidera* ("iron rod"). The terms *semanter*, *semanterion*, and *semantron* were used later, from at least the 11th C. onward.

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 3:1970–77. G. Millet, "Recherches au Mont-Athos III. Phiale et simandre à Lavra," *BCH* 29 (1905) 105–41. Clugnet, *Dictionnaire* 136f. Arranz, *Typicon* 412, 434. –A.M.T.

SEMEIOMA (*σημείωμα*), or *semeiosis* (*σημείωσις*), written report of a judicial decision or verdict, excerpted from the tribunal's RECORDS (*parasemeioseis*). It usually contained a list of the deliberating officials or judges and was used even for decisions taken with the participation of the emperor or by the ecclesiastical tribunal (*synodikon semeioma*). In the 14th–15th C. the term was replaced by *sekretikon gramma*.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 82, 85–87. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 482–508. Svoronos, "Actes des fonctionnaires" 426. –N.O.

SEMISSIS (*σημίσιον*, from Lat. *semis* + *as*, "half a unit"), in late Roman and Byz. times a small gold coin weighing 2.78 g and worth half a SOLIDUS. Minted on a modest scale during the 4th–5th C., semisses were much more important during the 6th–7th C. and the first decades of the 8th C. From the 740s onward this coin, like the TREMISSIS, was only rarely struck in the East, the latest specimen known being of Basil I. In the West it continued as a normal element in the coinage of Sicily down to the fall of Syracuse in 878.

LIT. *DOC* 3:22. –Ph.G.

SEMPAD CONNETABLE. See SMBAT THE CONSTABLE.

SENACHERIM. See ARCRUNI.

SENATE (*σύγκλητος*), supreme and most prestigious council of the Roman state, transformed in the imperial period into an advisory board with ill-defined rights and duties. Diocletian tried to deprive the senate of any administrative functions, but many of his measures were revoked by Constantine I. After the founding of Constantinople, the senate of Rome remained a council of the URBAN PREFECT, with whom the SENATORS managed the city treasury (*arca publica*), provisioning of the city, and building activity. In theory the senate retained the right of legislation, but in practice it served as a place where imperial edicts were made public. As a body the senators commanded respect and even the power to resist imperial orders, as revealed in the dispute over the ALTAR OF VICTORY. Under the Ostrogoths, the senate and the PAPACY were the last organized form of Roman administration in Italy; Justinian I, however, entrusted the Roman senate with very limited rights such as supervision of measures and weights (SANCTIO PRAGMATICA 19). After an embassy to Constantinople in 580 there is no evidence concerning the senate of Rome.

The senate of Constantinople was created by Constantine I but given only secondary rank, its members called not CLARISSIMI but *clari*. Constantius II in a series of laws of 357–61 made the Constantinopolitan institution equal to its counterpart in Rome. The senate of Constantinople survived to the very end of Byz., but it played mainly an advisory and ceremonial role, often acting in concert with the CONSISTORIUM. Leo VI (novs. 47 and 78) officially abrogated the senate's rights to appoint PRAETORS and pass laws. When the heir to the throne was a minor (as, for example, after the death of Romanos II), the senate could have a voice in the nomination of the regent, but participation of the senate in a regular proclamation of the emperor (even a usurper) was ceremonial rather than meaningful. The actual relationship between the senate and the emperor, who was to convoke the senate and preside over it, depended on the concrete situation. In case of a crisis, the senate could nominate generals and conduct international negotiations; it also possessed judicial power in cases involving high-ranking officials. The number of members of the Constantinopolitan senate in the mid-4th C. is estimated between 50 (*Cod.Theod.* VI 4.9) and 2,000, the difference probably to be explained as one between the active administrators and the holders of the senatorial rank. In the 11th C. Attaleiates speaks of the *myriades* of senators, suggesting the growth of the institution, but he does not give precise information about this increase in size (Lemerle, *Cinq études* 291).

LIT. Aik. Christophilopoulou, *He synkletos eis to Byzantinon kratos* (Athens 1949). A. O'Brien Moore, *RE*, supp. 6 (1935) 795–800. C. Lécrivain, *Le Sénat romain depuis Dioclétien à Rome et à Constantinople* (Paris 1888). Beck, *Ideen*, pt. XII (1966), 1–75. Dagron, *Naissance* 119–46. –A.K.

SENATE HOUSE (*Σενάτον*, also Sinaton), the name of two buildings in Constantinople, construction of which is usually ascribed to Constantine I, although the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* name an unknown Sinatos as a founder of one of them—a typical example of fantastic and arbitrary etymology. There is no evidence that either of these buildings was ever used to house the assembly of SENATORS. One building, located east of the AUGUSTAION, was burned in 404, restored, again destroyed by fire in 532, and rebuilt by Justinian I. The other senate house, a domed structure, was in the northern part of the Forum of Constantine. Both were splendid buildings adorned by numerous statues of emperors and mythological figures (e.g., that of Zeus brought from Dodone); both suffered from several fires and were thereafter rebuilt. The source information on them is frequently confusing (it is not always possible to distinguish to which one a citation refers) and legendary. Thus the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* (*Parastaseis*, p.116f) relates that in front of "the so-called Senate of the Forum" was erected a porphyry statue that represented Constantine I with his two sons, Constantius and Constans, with three heads and six hands but only two feet; during a fire in the reign of Theodosios II, it was stolen and thrown into the sea; the enraged Theodosios then ordered the senate house to be burned.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 154–56. Mango, *Brazen House* 56f. –A.K.

SENATOR (*συγκλητικός*), member of the SENATE. Although in late antiquity the senate as an institution did not play a dominant role, senators as a body formed the upper stratum of society. Diocletian tried to exclude senators from all but a few state offices, but Constantine I and his successors reversed this policy: they accepted the growth of a senatorial aristocracy in the West, while in the East they encouraged vertical mobility so that stable families of great landowners (such as the APIONS) were few. Senators were divided officially into several ranks—ILLUSTRES, SPECTABILES, and CLARISSIMI—but as a result of the devaluation of titles only the *illustris* remained a senatorial prerogative. Justinian I was accused by PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA of anti-senatorial attitudes, and Phokas sought to eliminate the last senatorial families. At any rate, in the 7th–9th C. there is no evidence of senatorial or other aristocratic families of long duration; senators were ephemeral functionaries rather than stable aristocrats and landowners. In 996 Basil II still expressed indignation that certain families remained in power for 70 to 100 years.

By the 11th C. the senatorial class was again institutionalized. It included all high-ranking officials (beginning with PROTOSPATHARIOS) and some members of the highest clergy (such as SYNKELLOS); senators were obliged to live in Constantinople and participate in palace ceremonial. The term senators also designated the body of civil functionaries as opposed to the military aristocracy. The 11th C. witnessed the upsurge of the civil senators. The Komnenoi, on the other hand, despised the senators and relied on their own relatives (Zon. 3:766.17–18). The same ambivalent attitude toward senators was preserved by later authors: Kantakouzenos both distinguishes senators from the nobles (e.g., Kantak. 2:166.1–3) and considers the nobles (*epiphaneis*) as a group among the senators (3:23.15).

LIT. M.T.W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972). G. Ostrogorsky, "Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium," *DOP* 25 (1971) 1–32. Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 78f, 132–38, 190–94, 202–08. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 287–93. –A.K.

SEPHER YOSIPPON. See JEWISH LITERATURE.

SEPTEM (Σέπτον, mod. Ceuta), a Roman *castrum* (originally *Septem Fratres*) on the northwestern coast of Africa, on the south side of the Strait of Gibraltar. Septem was seized by Byz. forces in 533. Provided with walls and a naval squadron of DROMONES under the command of a tribune, its purpose was to guard the strait and keep watch on affairs in Spain and Gaul. Although briefly seized by the Visigoths in 546 or 547, Septem remained in Byz. hands until 711, when it was surrendered to the Arabs by its last governor, Julian. In 641 the empress Martina exiled Philagrios, a former adviser of Herakleios Constantine, to Septem.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 65, 225f. C. Posac Mon, *Studio arqueologico de Ceuta* (1962). Diehl, *L'Afrique* 36, 171, 267, 420. –R.B.H.

SEPTUAGINT. See OLD TESTAMENT.

SEPULCHRE, HOLY (Ἅγιος Τάφος), in JERUSALEM, from the 4th C. the most important LOCUS SANCTUS. It consisted of three elements: the tomb proper with its enclosing circular church (the Anastasis Rotunda); Golgotha (a rocky outcrop about 40 m to the east, separated by an open, colonnaded court); and the Church of Constantine I, a five-aisled basilica to the east of Golgotha, and fronting, through an atrium, on the city's major north-south axis. This was the principal liturgical meeting place in Jerusalem and the first stop on the pilgrimage "circuit." Eusebios (*VC* 3.28) describes the discovery of the tomb under the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the subsequent building of the basilica, as directed by Constantine. Some years later (ca.350) the conical-domed rotunda was added over the tomb, which was carved out of living rock and embellished with columns, a porch, and precious-metal sheathing. The Golgotha hillock was marked by first a simple cross (4th C.), then, under Theodosios II, a gem-encrusted gold cross. The most important relic associated with the site (from the mid-4th C.) was the TRUE CROSS; later, many objects linked with the Passion of Christ (e.g., the sponge and lance) were also venerated there. Major pilgrim EULOGIAI included earth brought to the tomb to be blessed and oil blessed by contact with the True Cross. The latter practice is attested by the pewter AMPULLAE in Monza and Bobbio, which bear imagery consistent with the tomb shrine (porch, grills, "stone rolled away," etc.) as it existed in the 6th C.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 174–78. H. Vincent, F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, vol. 2 (Paris 1914) 1–300. V. Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem 1981–82). –G.V.

SERAPHIM (σεραφ⟨ε⟩ίμ), celestial beings mentioned only once in the Old Testament, in the vision of Isaiah (Is 6:2); he represents them as having three pairs of wings and standing above God's throne. John Chrysostom, in his commentary on Isaiah, describes seraphim as incorporeal (ASOMATOI) powers of the heavenly *demoi* whose name in Hebrew means "burning mouths" (PG 56:70.5–9). Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite defines them as the highest order of the first triad of celestial beings, whereas other church fathers sometimes equated them either with the *thronoi*, another order of angels (Didymos the Blind, PG 39:545A) or with the *dynameis*, powers (Gregory of Nyssa, PG 45:348B). The number of seraphim was also disputed: some texts speak of two seraphim only, others of "many." Origen tentatively expresses the idea (*Contra Celsum* 6.18.17–22; *De principiis* 1.3.4) that the two seraphim in Isaiah's vision are the Son and the Spirit, but this thesis was refuted by Antipater of Bostra (PG 96:505B). The usual epithet of seraphim was *hexapteryga* ("with six wings"). Ephrem the Syrian called them "of fourfold form" (*tetramorpha*).

Under the inspiration of Revelations 4:8, by the 9th C. artists depicted seraphim not as angels but as composite creatures similar to the CHERUBIM: they have six wings, a tiny human face at the center, and human feet. The many-eyed wings are derived from those of cherubim. Like the latter, they occupy pendentives (HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople, PANAGIA TON CHALKEON in Thessalonike). On the LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY the seraphim are called *exousiai*.

LIT. D. Pallas, *RBK* 3:78–89. –A.K., N.P.Š.

SERAPION (Σαραπίων), bishop of Thmuis in Lower Egypt (from ca.339) and saint; died after 362; feastday 21 Mar. Formerly head of a colony of monks, Serapion was intimate with St. ANTONY THE GREAT and linked with ATHANASIOS of Alexandria by friendship, patronage, and correspondence. Serapion's mission to Constantinople in 356 as envoy of Athanasios, with the purpose of countering the Arians and conciliating Constantius II, was a clear failure, since Serapion was soon removed from his see and (probably) exiled.

His treatise *Against the Manichaeans* combats the dualistic theory and Old Testament interpretations of that sect. His theological vocabulary is plain: he speaks of God as *theos*, father, creator, demiurge, avoiding the disputable term HOMOOUSIOS but using the vague *homoios*. He does not clarify the nature of Christ: it suffices for him to say that Christ had a mortal body similar to ours. Doubts have been cast on the authenticity of the *Euchologion*, a collection of 30 prayers (B. Botte, *OrChr* 48 [1964] 50–56). A few letters also survive in Armenian, Syriac (R. Draguet, *Muséon* 64 [1951] 1–25), and Greek, mainly notes of encouragement to individuals and communities. SOZOMENOS (*HE* 3.14) commends his virtue and eloquence, JEROME (*De viris illustribus* 99) his erudition.

ED. PG 40:895–942. *Against the Manichees*, ed. R.P. Casey (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1931). *Euchologion*—ed. G. Wobbermin, *Altchristliche liturgische Stücke aus der Kirche Aegyptens* (Leipzig 1899). Eng. tr. J. Wordsworth, *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer-Book*^{2} (London 1923). F. Brightman, "The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis," *JThSt* 1 (1900) 88–113, 247–77.

LIT. G. Bardy, *DTC* 14 (1941) 1908–12. H. Dörrie, *RE* supp. 8 (1956) 1260–67. G.J. Cuming, "Thmuis Revisited: Another Look at the Prayers of Bishop Sarapion," *TheolSt* 41 (1980) 568–75. –B.B.

SERAPION OF VLADIMIR, archimandrite of the Kievan Caves Monastery, then bishop of Vladimir-SUZDAL'; died 1275. Serapion wrote five extant sermons on the theme of repentance and divine punishment, usually dated ca.1230 (no.1, delivered in Kiev) and 1274–75 (nos. 2–5, in Vladimir). In the first three sermons Serapion interprets misfortunes (an earthquake, the Mongol invasion) as punishment of sins, while in the final two sermons he exhorts his audience to resist pagan magicians, not through trials and burning but with firm faith. There are few learned Greek allusions, although Serapion does reproach his audience for "not hearkening to Basil and Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom" (no. 1) and some of his historical illustrations are possibly derived from MALALAS and JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS (nos. 4, 5).

ED. *Serapion Vladimirskij, russkij propovednik XIII veka*, ed. E. Petuchov (St. Petersburg 1888).

LIT. N.K. Gudzij, "Gde i kogda protekala literaturnaja dejatel'nost' Serapiona Vladimirskogo?" *IzvANSRR.OL* 11 (1952) 450–56. R. Bogert, "On the Rhetorical Style of Serapion Vladimirskij," in *Medieval Russian Culture*, ed. H. Birnbaum, M. Flier (Berkeley 1984) 280–310. –S.C.F.

SERBIA (Σερβία), also called Serblia, a medieval Balkan state (to be distinguished from the Byz. district and bishopric of SERVIA in Macedonia). In Latin sources it is sometimes called Rascia (Rassia, Raxia), derived from the Slavic name RAŠKA. The term Serbian (see SERBOI) appears in 9th-C. Latin texts in the form *Sorabi* as a description of a people living in Dalmatia (M. Dinić, *Srpske zemlje u srednjem veku* [Belgrade 1978] 36). In the 10th C., Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, who devoted an entire chapter to Serblia (*De adm. imp.*, 32), called it "the head (*kephale*) of all the surrounding countries"; he defined it as bordered on the north by Croatia and in the south by Bulgaria (ibid. 30.117–19). It was separated from the Adriatic by Pagania, ZACHLUMIA, Terbounia, and DIOKLEIA. He notes that Serbia had *kastra* and was ruled by *archontes*. The author of the VITA BASILII defines the *Serbloi* as one of the Scythian (i.e., Slavic) peoples living in Pannonia and Dalmatia (*TheophCont* 291.1–8). Skylitzes (Skyl. 353.65) uses the term Serbia alongside the archaic Tribalia, which became common in later histories. From the 10th C. onward, however, documents (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.10.12) employ the term *Serboi* and in the 14th C. "*basileia* of the Serbs" was the official Byz. designation of Serbia.

History. The history of the early relationship between Serbia and Byz. is obscure. According to Constantine Porphyrogennetos, who wrote 300 years after the event, the Serbs accepted the suzerainty of Herakleios and were christianized. More reliable is his evidence about conflicts between the Serbian *archon* VLASTIMIR and the Bulgarian khan Presian ca.838. In the same century, between 867 and 874 according to Dj. Radojičić (*Byzantion* 22 [1952–53] 253), the Serbs were converted to Orthodox Christianity, thus coming within the reli-

gious and cultural orbit of Byz. In the 10th C. Symeon of Bulgaria occupied Serbian lands, but following his death the Serbian prince Časlav managed to establish an independent and unified country. Under Basil II the Byz. sought an alliance with the Serbs, evidently against the Bulgarian tsar Samuel (G. Ostrogorsky, *GlasSAN* 193 [1949] 15–29).

After the Byz. conquest of Bulgaria in 1018, Serbia became a direct neighbor of Byz. and was thus compelled to reassess its policy toward the empire. Constantine Bodin, after wavering between Alexios I and the Normans, took advantage of the danger faced by Byz. to consolidate Zeta, Raška, and Bosnia under his power. In the 12th C. Serbia joined Hungary, Venice, and probably Kiev in an anti-Byz. coalition. Manuel I defeated Stefan Nemanja and made him a Byz. vassal, but after Manuel's death Serbia became fully independent. Nemanja was the founder of the Nemanjid dynasty (between 1165 and 1168–1371).

The fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204 made possible the continued growth of the Serbian state. In 1217 Nemanja's son Stefan the First-Crowned proclaimed himself king after receiving a crown from Pope Honorius III; in 1219 his brother Sava of Serbia obtained from the Byz. patriarch and emperor at Nicaea recognition of an autocephalous Serbian archbishopric, which he headed. In the complicated situation in the Balkans in the 13th C. Serbian rulers looked first to the despotate of Epiros for alliances: King Radoslav (ca.1228–34) was related to Theodore Komnenos Doukas; he signed his decrees in Greek and minted coins with Greek legends. His successor Vladislav (ca.1234–43) leaned toward Bulgaria, while Stefan Uroš I (1243–76) joined Manfred of Sicily in the latter's anti-Byz. coalition. This alliance was defeated by Michael VIII Palaiologos at Pelagonia in 1259, and the Serbs had to give up Skopje and some other lands they had previously occupied.

Serbian kings of the late 13th and 14th C. were faced with separatist movements by semifeudal magnates, esp. in Zeta, and had to ward off Byz. and Bulgarian attacks. The exploitation of silver mines (at Novo Brdo and elsewhere) provided a strong economic basis for their expansionist policies. Uroš's son Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321) conquered a substantial part of Macedonia from the Byz., acquiring control over the Vardar valley. Milutin's successor, Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (1321–31), defeated a Byz.-Bulgarian coalition at Velbužd (1330), but was deposed by a revolt in Zeta. Medieval Serbia reached its height under Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1331–55), who was enabled by civil wars in Byz. to pursue an imperialistic policy toward the empire in Constantinople. He created a Byz.-Serbian empire that dominated the Balkans; in 1346 an independent patriarchate was established at Peć. Soon after Dušan's death, however, this empire began to disintegrate under the ineffective rule of his son Stefan Uroš V (1355–71), the last Nemanjid. Local lords took advantage of the increasing weakness of the central power to form their own independent principalities.

The advances of the Ottoman Turks in the Balkans in the 14th and 15th C. were irresistible: the defeat of the Serbs at Marica (1371) and a setback at Kosovo Polje (1389) reduced Serbia to a position of vassalage to the Ottomans. The various princes and *despotai* (e.g., Stefan Lazarević) were obliged to pay tribute and participate in Ottoman military campaigns. Like the Byz. Empire, Serbia enjoyed a brief respite after the Ottoman defeat by Timur at the battle of Ankara (1402) and the ensuing civil strife among the Ottoman claimants to the throne. George Branković (1427–56) built the fortress of Smederevo on the Danube and fought valiantly against the Turks. Ironically, however, as an Ottoman vassal he had to send troops to help the Turks at the final siege of Constantinople in 1453. By 1459, only a few years after Branković's death, Serbia was completely occupied by the Ottomans.

Byzantine Influence on Serbia. In contrast to the Bulgarians, few Serbs settled in Byz. territory or became assimilated into the Byz. ruling class or army; one of them was "the nephew of Bakchenos," a noble citizen of Trebizond in the early 12th C. (An. Komn. 3:75.21–23). Infrequently the name *Serbos* appears among peasants in southern Macedonia, such as Serbos, son of Zires, in 1317 (*Lavra* 2, no.104.157). Some Serbs, like Stefan Dečanski and his family, lived in exile in Byz. On the other hand, a number of Greeks emigrated to Serbia and became a major conduit of Byz. influence. Several Byz. princesses were given in marriage to Serbian rulers: Eudokia, niece of Isaac II, married Stefan the First-Crowned; their son, Radoslav, married Anna, daughter of Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros; Milutin married a daughter of Andronikos II (Simonis) and Dečanski a grandniece (Maria Palaiologina); George Branković took as his wife Irene Kantakouzene, granddaughter of Matthew I, and his son Lazar married Helena Palaiologina. These intermarriages accounted for the presence of Greek courtiers, ambassadors, and messengers at the Serbian court and constant correspondence between the two countries.

Another avenue for the penetration of Byz. influence into Serbia was through its annexation of Greek territories, esp. under Dušan. At that time Serbia was divided into two regions, with Byz. impact on the fiscal and administrative organization clearly evident in the southern part. The Serbian court adopted Byz. ceremonial and titulature: the royal title became "*basileus* and *autokrator* of Serbia and 'Romania' " or in Slavic documents "tsar of the Serbs and Greeks" (Soulis, *Dušan* 29f; Lj. Maksimović, *ZRVI* 12 [1970] 61–78); high nobility was also granted Byz. titles such as *sebastokrator* and caesar (B. Ferjančić, *ZbFilozFak* 11.1 [Belgrade 1970] 255–69; Soulis, *Dušan* 64f). Greek magnates, such as Jovan Oliver and Thomas Kantakouzenos, a defender of Smederevo (Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 182–84, no.70), played an important part in Serbian politics of the 14th and 15th C. Byz. influence on the fiscal system was more complex: some Byz. taxes were accepted, although others were modified. Northern Serbia experienced less Byz. impact than the southern districts (Lj. Maksimović, *ZRVI* 17 [1976] 101–25). The *Zakonik,* Dušan's law code, was based on Byz. models. Trade relations are less well documented: the analysis of coin hoards found in the territory of medieval Serbia (I.A. Mirnik, *Coin Hoards in Yugoslavia* [Oxford 1981] 90–104) shows that after a gap between the 8th and 10th C. Byz. coins of the 11th-13th C. are relatively abundant. They disappear in the 14th C., to be replaced by Hungarian, German, Italian, Dubrovnik, and other types of coins.

Ecclesiastical contacts also contributed to the penetration of Byz. culture: Serbian rulers supported monasteries on Mt. Athos, esp. Hilandar, and founded numerous churches and monasteries not only in Serbia, but also in Constantinople (Xenon of the Kral) and Thessalonike (see Serbian Architecture and Serbian Wall Paintings). Serbian literature was also greatly influenced by Byz., including translations of Greek ecclesiastical works and romances. Biographies of rulers and churchmen, a Serbian literary genre, owe much to Byz. hagiography.

LIT. K. Jireček, J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba*^{2}, 2 vols. (Belgrade 1978). *IstSrpskNar,* vols. 1–2. G. Ostrogorsky, "Vizantijsko-južnoslovenski odnosi," *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije,* 1 (Zagreb 1955) 591–99. M. Laskaris, *Vizantiske princeze u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade 1926). –J.S.A., A.K.

SERBIAN ARCHITECTURE. The medieval architectural tradition in Serbia was molded by a continuous influx of builders and artisans from the East and West alike. While the predominant and most enduring manner of building derived from the Adriatic littoral, the Byz. mode also played a fundamental role. Imported by invited Byz. architects and craftsmen, such building was related to certain specific moments in Serbia's history and, therefore, to specific patterns of patronage. The first phase of Byz. presence is attested to during the reign of Stefan Nemanja (1166–96). His foundations—St. Nicholas at Kuršumlija and the dome of the Church of the Virgin at Studenica—indicate the presence of Komnenian masters, possibly from Constantinople.

The second, much more strongly pronounced phase occurred during an era of active cultural "byzantinization" of Serbia under Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321). Churches such as St. Nikita at Čučer (Banjani), Bogorodica Ljeviška at Prizren, St. George at Staro Nagoričino, and the Church of the Dormition at Gračanica illustrate the scope and skill of the imported masters. While the specific identities of these masters remain obscure, on the basis of regional building practices (spatial planning, structural solutions, building technique, decorative details), their origins can be traced to Thessalonike and Epiros.

The last phase of direct Byz. importation occurred during the reign of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1331–55). Church building under his auspices and that of his nobles reveals the strong influence of Constantinople, along with continuing links with Thessalonike. The Church of the Archangels in the monastery of the same name near Prizren, the Church of the Virgin at Matejič, and St. Demetrios at Markov Manastir illustrate the degree of dependence on Constantinople, while the Church of the Archangel Michael at Lesnovo reveals the role of Thessalonike. Subsequent de-

velopment is characterized by the total assimilation of the Byz. mode into a distinctive regional building tradition.

LIT. G. Millet, *L'ancien art serbe: Les églises* (Paris 1919). M. Čanak Medić, Dj. Bošković, *L'architecture de l'époque de Nemanja*, vol. 1 (Belgrade 1986). S. Ćurčić, *Gračanica* (University Park, Pa.–London 1979). –S.Ć.

SERBIAN LITERATURE. The language of medieval Serbian literature is Old Slavonic (see CHURCH SLAVONIC), based on the dialect used in the Thessalonike region in the 9th C. But from the beginning, and increasingly as time passed, Serbian writers introduced features of the spoken language of their own era and region. This is particularly noticeable in the treatment of the reduced and nasal vowels of Old Slavonic. Thus evolved a Serbian Slavonic, distinct from the Slavonic written in Bulgaria or Rus', though all three were easily mutually comprehensible in the Middle Ages.

After the Serbs' conversion to Christianity in the late 9th and 10th C., they took over most of the religious literature translated from Greek by CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER, METHODIOS, and their successors in Moravia and later in Bulgaria. They made further translations in this domain themselves, such as the works of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, translated in 1371 by the monk Isaiah; the homilies of Gregory PALAMAS, surviving in a 14th-C. MS; the Gospel commentaries of THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid, translated by the monk Ioannikios for Queen Jelena, wife of King Stefan Uroš I (1243–76); or the commentary on Job by Olympiodoros of Alexandria, translated by the monk Gavriil for the *despotes* STEFAN LAZAREVIĆ. The principal centers of writing and diffusion of Serbian literature were HILANDAR on Athos and PEĆ.

Medieval Serbian literature, though Christian, was not predominantly ecclesiastical. The genre that it developed most fully and richly was that of biography of rulers and church leaders. From the beginning, there was rivalry between different ruling houses in the Serbian lands. Even after Stefan Nemanja and his descendants had established themselves as rulers of the Serbian kingdom, internal feuding and territorial disintegration always threatened the unity of the kingdom. To establish and confirm the legitimacy, both political and theological, of Nemanjid rule, and to preserve political unity and national identity, a series of such Lives was written by members or dependents of the ruling house, both lay and clerical. Two of Stefan Nemanja's sons, St. SAVA and STEFAN THE FIRST-CROWNED, wrote biographies of their father, who toward the end of his life became a monk in Hilandar and was soon recognized as a saint. A further Life of Stefan Nemanja and a Life of St. Sava were written in the mid-13th C. by the monk DOMENTIJAN. Another monk, TEODOSIJE, spiritual adviser of King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski, revised Domentijan's Life of St. Sava in the early 14th C. Archbp. DANIIL II composed a series of Lives of Serbian kings and bishops of the 13th and early 14th C., which was later anonymously extended to cover Stefan Uroš III Dečanski and Stefan Uroš IV Dušan. Patr. Daniil III wrote commemorations (*pomeni*) of Stefan Nemanja and St. Sava, a commemoration and *akolouthia* on King Stefan Uroš II Milutin, and a long oration (*slovo*) on Prince Lazar toward the end of the 14th C. Though intended for liturgical use, these works are mainly narrative and biographical. In the early 15th C. Bp. Marko wrote a Life of Patr. Ephraim. About the same time Grigorij CAMBLAK wrote a Life of King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski, and a little later KONSTANTIN KOSTENEČKI wrote a Life of the *despotes* Stefan Lazarević.

These Lives were, in general, modeled on the rhetorical Byz. Metaphrastic hagiography, though some writers, like Teodosije, were apparently influenced by a more popular, narrative type of Greek saint's Life. These writers, who were all learned men, familiar with Greek literature, were concerned with political history as much as with holiness. They were not merely writing history, they were making it. It is very likely that they sought models in Byz. secular historiography. At any rate the narrative element is more prominent, more detailed, and more secular in tone than in most Byz. saints' Lives.

There was much translation, amounting sometimes to rewriting, of Byz. entertainment literature. The Serbian version of the ALEXANDER ROMANCE of pseudo-Kallisthenes probably dates from the early 11th C. The large number of surviving MSS attests to its popularity. The TROY TALE was probably translated in the early 14th C., though the surviving version is post-Byz. Among other such texts translated or adapted from Greek were *Stephanites and Ichnelates* by Symeon SETH, BARLAAM AND IOASAPH, and the *Tale of Aseneta* (a romantic account of the love of Joseph for a young Egyptian girl). The story of the 10th-C. Prince Vladimir of Zeta, preserved only in a 12th-C. Latin version, is an original Serbian tale partly modeled on Byz. exemplars. It may well also have drawn on oral narrative poetry sung in one of the courts of southwestern Serbia. That such epic poetry flourished from an early date is certain. "Songs of heroes" were sung at the court of Stefan the First-Crowned. Such songs contributed motifs and attitudes to the royal biographies.

A number of short, unpretentious chronicles was also composed. In the early 15th C. the monk Nikon wrote an account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which is marked by much vivid observation. The proems to the numerous royal and ecclesiastical documents that still survive are often both elegant compositions and expressions of the ideology of those who issued them. A good example is the proem to the testament of Duke Stefan Vukčić Kosača (1436–66). The anonymous funeral oration on the *despotes* GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ shows the survival of sophisticated rhetorical literature into the immediately post-Byz. period.

LIT. M. Kašanin, *Srpska književnost u srednjem veku* (Belgrade 1975). D. Bogdanović, *Istorija stare srpske književnosti* (Belgrade 1980). Dj.S. Radojičić, *Tvorci i dela stare srpske književnosti* (Titograd 1963). S. Hafner, *Studien zur altserbischen dynastischen Historiographie* (Munich 1964). S. Koljević, *The Epic in the Making* (Oxford 1980) 1–211. –R.B.

SERBIAN WALL PAINTINGS. The wall paintings of Serbia closely parallel developments in Byz. MONUMENTAL PAINTING, from Djurdjevi Stupovi in the 12th C. to the second Palaiologan style of the 14th-C. churches founded by STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN, when Byz. artistic language thoroughly dominated both Serbian architecture and painting. The use of the Serbian language on frescoes (STUDENICA) and certain other local Serbian features, such as the cult and image of STEFAN NEMANJA, first appear toward the end of the 12th C. Royal and episcopal ideology determined the content of many Serbian fresco programs: the fresco icon of the "Virgin of Studenica"; the life of the Serbian saints Stefan Nemanja, SAVA OF SERBIA, and of Arsenije; the "horizontal" genealogies or the family tree of the Nemanjids; the allusions to the "chosen people" and its leaders, etc. The fact that the Nemanjid state included both Greek and Latin church jurisdictions also left its mark on the monuments. Between 1374/5 and 1459, the frescoes of the Morava school show several original features as well as some similarities with frescoes from Mistra.

LIT. V. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien* (Munich 1976). Idem, *Moravska škola i njeno doba* (Belgrade 1972). *L'art byzantin au début du XIVe siècle, Symposium de Gračanica* (Belgrade 1978). S. Radojčić, *Staro srpsko slikarstvo* (Belgrade 1966). *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200* (Belgrade 1988). –G.B.

SERBLIAS (Σερβλίας), name of a family of civil officials. The first known Serblias, Leo, was sent ca.1053 to Iberia to assess taxes in lieu of performing military service (Skyl. 476.52; the editor misread the name as Serblios—pp. 530, 548; see, however, Kek. 152.31). Some members of the Serblias family served as judges: Michael, *proedros*, visited Thessalonike in 1062 to resolve litigations (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.57.7); others are known from their seals: Nicholas, judge of the Hippodrome (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.842); Peter, judge of Peloponnesos and Hellas; another Peter, judge in Seleukeia (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 270f); Nikephoros (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, no.314). Family members served also in fiscal departments, such as John, notary of the *genikon* in 1109 (*Reg* 2, no.1247), and Stephen, *kommerkiarios* of Langobardia (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 218); some served as secretaries: Theodore (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.49A.269), notary in the department of the *oikeiakoi* in 1088, and Nikephoros, *mystikos* in the mid-12th C. John Serblias (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.18.435) served in the imperial chancellery ca.1099. The Serblias family had connections with intellectuals: John Serblias corresponded with THEOPHYLAKTOS, archbishop of Ohrid; TZETZES wrote a letter (ep. 18) to the *mystikos* Nikephoros Serblias describing him as "the eye of the senate" and the descendant of "Caesares Servilii." One family member was a pupil of John Italos; according to the *Alexiad* (An.Komn. 2:37.21–29), he only pretended to be a scholar. Niketas Choniates relates that, after being educated by Italos "in a pagan manner," Serblias threw himself into the sea, exclaiming, "Poseidon, take me" (G.L.F. Tafel, *Annae Comnenae Supplementa* [Tübingen 1832] 2.5). –A.K.

SERBOI (Σέρβοι, Σέρβιοι), a term that first appears in the *Geography* of PTOLEMY (ed. Nobbe, 42.22, bk.5, ch.9.21) to designate a tribe dwelling in Sarmatia, probably on the Lower Volga. The name reappears, in the form Serbloi, in Constan-

tine VII Porphyrogennetos and in Theophanes Continuatus, usually in the same context as the Croatians, Zachlumians, and other peoples of Pannonia and Dalmatia (*TheophCont* 288.17–20). Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 32.1–16) derives the name from the Latin *servi*, which he explains as *douloi* (slaves), a name that the Serboi allegedly acquired as the slaves of Roman emperors. He relates that the Serboi are descended from the unbaptized Serboi who lived in the place called Boïki (Bohemia?), next to Frankia, and that they claimed the protection of Emp. Herakleios, who settled them in the province of Thessalonike. There are no sources to verify Constantine's evidence. Kekaumenos (Kek. 268.28) locates the Serboi on the Sava River, apparently incorrectly.

The first certain data on the state of the Serboi, SERBIA, begin with the 9th C., and the episcopal lists of Leo VI mention bishops of Drougoubiteia and the Serbioi. Circa 993 envoys of the Serboi arrived at the court of Basil II (*Lavra* 1, no.10.12). In the 11th C. there was probably a theme of Serbia: a seal of Constantine Diogenes, *strategos* of Serbea, is preserved, and ca.1040 Theophilos Erotikos was the governor of the Serboi until he was expelled by Stefan Voislav, who reportedly conquered the territory of the Serboi and became its *archon* (Skyl. 408.73–75). T. Wasilewski (*ZRVI* 8.2 [1964] 465–82) surmised that this theme was the same as SIRMIUM, whereas Dj. Radojčić (*GlasSAN* 268 [1966] 1–8) thinks that it was RAŠKA, only temporarily governed by the Byz.

LIT. K. Jirecek, J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba*,[2] vol. 1 (Belgrade 1978) 58–70. G. Ostrogorsky, *Vizantija i Sloveni* [= *Sabrana dela* 4] (Belgrade 1970) 80f. V. Laurent, "Le thème byzantin du Serbie au XIe siècle," *REB* 15 (1957) 185–95. –A.K.

SERDICA (Σερδική; Slavic Sredec; mod. Sofia), city in Bulgaria on the river Iskŭr, at the intersection of the northwest-southeast Belgrade-Constantinople route and a north-south route linking the Aegean with the Danube. Originally the capital of the Thracian Serdi, it was raised to city status by Trajan and under Diocletian became the capital of Dacia Mediterranea. In 342 or 343 a church council was held there in a futile attempt to solve the problem of ARIANISM (see SERDICA, LOCAL COUNCIL OF). Probably captured by the Visigoths in the late 4th C., Serdica was sacked by Attila in 441/2. Refortified in the 6th C., it remained a Byz. outpost during the Avar and Slav invasions and the early Bulgar expansion. Captured by KRUM in 809, it probably returned to Byz. control briefly, but it remained in Bulgarian hands from the time of BORIS I until 1018, with a short interval of Byz. rule in the 970s. In 1018 it became, with the rest of Bulgaria, part of the Byz. Empire; Serdica saw the passage of the armies of the First and Second Crusades. In 1194 ASEN I captured Serdica and incorporated it in the Second Bulgarian Empire. In 1382 it fell to the Ottoman Turks, who made it the capital of a *beylerbeylik*.

The center of the city preserves the ancient town plan unchanged. Two churches survive from antiquity. The round Church of St. George was originally part of an imposing public building, perhaps baths or an imperial reception hall. The earliest of its five layers of frescoes dates from the 4th C. The Church of Sveta Sofija, originally outside of the walls, was destroyed and rebuilt four times in antiquity; its present form is probably 6th-C. Its scale bears witness to the importance of Serdica in late antiquity. STEFAN NEMANJA was buried in a medieval church on the site of which the 19th-C. Church of Sveta Nedelja was built.

LIT. *Serdika: archeologičeski materiali i proučvanija*, vol. 1, ed. T. Gerasimov (Sofia 1964). *Serdika, Sredec, Sofija* (Sofia 1976). Hoddinott, *Bulgaria* 169–78, 269–79. M. Stančeva, L. Dončeva-Petkova, "Sur la surface habitée de Sredec au IX^{e}–XIV^{e} s.," *IzvBŭlgArchInst* 35 (1979) 111–33. M. Končeva, *Cŭrkvata "Sveti Georgi" v Sofija* (Sofia 1979). S. Bojadžiev, *Sofijskata Cŭrkva Sveta Sofija* (Sofia 1967). –R.B.

SERDICA, LOCAL COUNCIL OF. CONSTANS I and CONSTANTIUS II summoned this council in 342 or 343 to settle the dispute that had split the episcopate into two rival camps after the deposition of ATHANASIOS of Alexandria (335). The two groups met separately because the Eastern semi-Arian party insisted that Athanasios, being deposed, could not participate. The Eastern group therefore confirmed Athanasios's expulsion from his see, condemned MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA, and excommunicated Pope Julius (337–52) for supporting both. The creed of this rump synod was identical to the fourth creedal statement of the Council of ANTIOCH (341). Conversely, the Western bishops, headed by Hosius of Cordoba, rehabilitated Athanasios and acknowledged his orthodoxy. Failing to recognize Markellos's Sabellianism (see MONARCHIANISM), they nevertheless admitted him to communion. They further complicated matters by identifying the term HYPOSTASIS with *ousia* (SUBSTANCE)—an identification subsequently rejected by the church. This group also issued 20 canons, whose authenticity has sometimes been questioned. Several of the canons recognized Rome's appellate jurisdiction. An accused bishop, however, was to be retried in the province adjoining his own and by its bishops (or the pope's own judges), rather than in Rome or by the pope. Later the West mistakenly attributed these canons to NICAEA I.

SOURCES. Mansi 3:1–140. C.H. Turner, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis monumenta juris antiquissima* (Oxford 1930) 1:441–560.

LIT. C.H. Turner, "The Genuineness of the Sardican Canons," *JThSt* 3 (1902) 370–97. L.W. Barnard, "The Council of Serdica: Some Problems Re-assessed," *AnnHistCon* 12 (1980) 1–25. Idem, "The Council of Serdica—Two Questions Reconsidered," *Ancient Bulgaria* (Nottingham 1983) 2:215–31. N. Stanev, "Le Concile de Sardique (343): étape nouvelle dans la lutte des idées au IV^{e} siècle," *Actes du II^{e} Congrès international de Thracologie* (Bucharest 1980) 2:425–33. I. Opelt, "I dissidenti del concilio di Serdica," *Augustinianum* 25 (1985) 783–91. H. Hess, *The Canons of the Council of Sardica A.D. 343* (Oxford 1958). –A.P.

SERFDOM, the term used in medieval Western historiography to designate the status of dependency under which the majority of PEASANTS subsisted within the manorial economy of FEUDALISM. In Byz. scholarship, two fundamental issues have arisen. The first centers around the appropriateness of characterizing the COLONUS and/or the PAROIKOS as serfs. While the *colonus* had characteristics of both serf and free man, those scholars who argue for the genesis of feudalism at an early period in Byz. see the colonate as a kind of serfdom. Moreover, while most scholars view the *paroikia* as an institution analogous to serfdom, a number of characteristics of the *paroikos* (greater mobility, greater freedom to acquire and dispose of property, etc.) argue against equating the two. In fact some scholars claim that the term serfdom, imbued as it is with Western connotations, should be avoided entirely in the Byz. context. The second issue involves whether and to what extent the *paroikia* and Western medieval serfdom had common origins in the colonate. This question raises the larger issue of continuity within Byz. institutions as well as the question of the similarities and differences in how the "sibling" civilizations of Byz. and western Europe responded to social and economic changes. –M.B.

SERGIOPOLIS (Σεργιόπολις, Ar. Ruṣāfah, Ῥουσαφών), lit. "the city of (St.) SERGIOS," who, together with Bakchos, was martyred nearby under Diocletian, when the site was a Roman *kastron* known simply as Rusafa. Sergiopolis lies on a caravan route in the desert of northeastern Syria, south of the Euphrates River and north of PALMYRA. An early structure (*mnema*) "of stone and clay" that marked the burial place of Sergios and Bakchos in the necropolis of Rusafa was replaced later in the 4th C. by a *martyrion* inside the *kastron* (Passio of Sergios and Bakchos, *AB* 14 [1895] 395.9–14); ca.431 the archbishop of Hierapolis spent 300 pounds of gold in erecting another church, other buildings, and walls. In 454 Theodosios II made Rusafa an independent bishopric (Mansi 5:915C, 943C), while in 514–18 Anastasios I made it the metropolitan see, gave it the name of Sergiopolis, and sent a relic of Sergios from Constantinople. In 527–42 Justinian I built new circuit walls, cisterns, houses, stoas, and other buildings (some of which still stand) and garrisoned the city. The shrine of Sergios and Bakchos, now identified with Basilica B, and the tetraconch cathedral, long thought (erroneously) to have been the *martyrion*, were probably built in the first half of the 6th C. An inscription in Basilica A identifies it as the Church of the Holy Cross built in 559 by Bp. Abraham. Between 569 and 581 al-Mundhir (ALAMUNDARUS), the Ghassānid phylarch, built a praetorium outside Sergiopolis, and in 604–16 Noman, son of al-Ḥārith, repaired reservoirs there. Justinian and Theodora had presented the shrine with a gemmed cross, which was seized in 540 by Chosroes I, together with the gold revetment on the saints' tomb and other treasures (Evagrios Scholastikos, *HE* 6.28). In 591–92 Chosroes II, giving thanks to St. Sergios for a military victory and the birth of a son, returned Justinian's cross and gave the shrine several gold votive objects. It has been erroneously suggested that the KAPER KORAON TREASURE was intended for Sergiopolis; the only silver objects that can be associated with the site were excavated in 1982 in the Holy Cross Church, where they had been buried in 1144.

These include chalices, a paten, and a plate of Gothic appearance; several of the objects have Arabic, Syriac, or Greek inscriptions or Crusader heraldic devices; at least two objects were donated by someone from EDESSA. The Church of St. Sergios continued to attract pilgrims until the 12th C. and perhaps later.

LIT. H. Spanner, S. Guyer, *Rusafa* (Leipzig 1939). M. Mackensen, *Resafa, 1: Eine befestigte spätantike Anlage vor den Stadtmauern von Resafa* (Mainz am Rhein 1984). T. Ulbert, *Resafa, II: Die Basilika des Heiligen Kreuzes in Resafa-Sergiupolis* (Mainz am Rhein 1986). W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Rusafa* (Berlin 1976). W.E. Kleinbauer, "The Origin and Functions of the Aisled Tetraconch Churches in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia," *DOP* 28 (1973) 89–114.
–M.M.M.

SERGIOS I, patriarch of Constantinople (18 Apr. 610–9 Dec. 638); born in Syria ca.580?, died Constantinople. As a young deacon and *ptochotrophos* of the hospices in the harbor of Phryxos in Constantinople, Sergios found a patron in THEODORE OF SYKEON. Shortly after becoming patriarch Sergios crowned Herakleios, thus sanctioning the downfall of Emp. Phokas. He became a staunch supporter of the new emperor, even though he dared to oppose him on occasion: he tried to dissuade Herakleios from marrying his niece MARTINA (but yielded to the firm desire of the *basileus*) and resisted the emperor's attempt to shift the capital to Carthage. Sergios was concerned about finances: in 612 he promulgated the rule that new members of the ever-increasing staff of Hagia Sophia (reaching 600 persons) should not be paid by the fisc; in 621 Sergios approved the emperor's use of church treasures for the Persian expedition. During the absence of Herakleios the patriarch served as regent and was in charge during the combined siege of Constantinople by the Persians and Avars in 626; their withdrawal was ascribed to the assistance of the Virgin.

Sergios tried to elaborate a theological compromise to promote the ideological unification of the empire: together with KYROS of Phasis (the future patriarch of Alexandria) and Theodore of Pharan he developed the formula of MONOENERGISM (633) that was later altered into the concept of one will in Christ (MONOTHELETISM). Sergios defended his position by referring to such ecclesiastical authorities as CYRIL of Alexandria and Patr. MENAS. His alliance with Pope HONORIUS I (F. Carcione, *OrChrP* 51 [1985] 263–76) and the idea of one will formed the foundation of the EKTHESIS. The compromise, however, satisfied neither the Chalcedonians (headed by SOPHRONIOS OF JERUSALEM) nor staunch Monophysites, and the resulting disunity in the eastern provinces facilitated the Arab conquest. Sergios was condemned at the Council of 680. He was possibly the author of the *prooimion* to the AKATHISTOS HYMN.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 278c-293b. Dieten, *Patriarchen* 1–56, 174–78. F. Carcione, *Sergio di Costantinopoli ed Onorio I nella controversia monotelita del VII secolo* (Rome 1985).
–A.K.

SERGIOS II, patriarch of Constantinople (June/July 1001–July 1019 [V. Laurent, *EO* 35 (1936) 73f]); died Constantinople. He is called (Skyl. 341.12) a descendant of Photios; Janin (*Églises CP* 320) identifies Sergios with a monk Sergios, "great-nephew of Photios," who was a favorite of Romanos I back in 944. The chronological gap makes the identification improbable. Before being elected patriarch, Sergios was *hegoumenos* of the monastery of Manuel in Constantinople. As patriarch Sergios resisted the introduction of ALLELENGYON by Basil II. In 1016, however, he accepted the practice of CHARISTIKION prohibited by his predecessor Sisinnios (K. Setton, *AJPh* 74 [1953] 247). Sergios attempted to restrict the excessive individualism of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN as reflected in the latter's veneration of his spiritual father Symeon Eulabes but eventually yielded under the pressure of the magnates of the capital (A. Kazhdan, *BS* 28 [1967] 8–10). In a solemn encyclical, Sergios prohibited the marriages of close relatives (V. Laurent, *EO* 33 [1934] 301–05), a practice typical of the high aristocracy.

There is an established tradition that under Sergios the church of Constantinople broke with Rome, but already ca.1100 the *chartophylax* Niketas was unaware of the causes of this conflict (PG 120:717D). According to Michael I Keroularios, Sergios demanded that Pope Sergius IV eliminate the FILIOQUE formula and after his refusal excommunicated the pope. In the 12th C. JOHN OF JERUSALEM wrote that it was Sergios who excluded the name of the pope of Rome from the diptychs (A. Michel, *RQ* 41 [1933] 136, n.43).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 815–25. A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, vol. 1 (Paderborn 1924) 20–29. V. Laurent, "Notes critiques sur de récentes publications," *EO* 31 (1932) 97–103.
–A.K.

SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS (Σέργιος καὶ Βάκχος), martyrs executed under Maximian, saints; feast-day 7 Oct. Sergios was *primikerios* of the *schola gentilium*, and Bakchos was *sekoundokerios* of the same contingent. Accused of being Christians, they were divested of their military uniforms and paraded in female garments throughout the city. Thereafter the emperor sent them to Antiochos, *doux* of Augustoeuphratesia, "neighboring the Saracen people"—an area that, in fact, was outside Maximian's sphere of influence. Here they were executed, steadfast in maintaining their Christian beliefs: Bakchos was flogged to death in the *kastron* of Barbalisson, Sergios beheaded several days later in the *kastron* of Ruṣāfah. THEODORET OF CYRRHUS testifies to the existence of the cult of Sergios (PG 83:1033B), and PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA (*Buildings* 2.9.3–9) relates that the inhabitants of a site in Euphratesia called it Sergioupolis (see SERGIOPOLIS) after the saint who had helped them repel the Saracens. When the role of MILITARY SAINTS was ascribed to Sergios and Bakchos is unclear (A. Poidebard, R. Mouterde, *AB* 67 [1949] 114f). The time of the compilation of their *passio* is also unknown; 11th-C. MSS preserve it, and SYMEON METAPHRASTES reworked it for his collection; various Latin and Eastern versions of the martyrdom survive also.

Representation in Art. The two young saints are depicted clad in court, rather than military, costume, but they do wear the *maniakion* (see TORQUE) and sometimes hold lances. Portraits exist as early as the 7th C. (icon from Mt. Sinai, now in Kiev [Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons* no.B.9] and mosaic in the Church of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike) and appear in church programs throughout the Byz. period. The saints are shown being beheaded in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.95) and in a MS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 175, fol.50r).

SOURCES. I. Van den Gheyn, "Passio antiquior ss. Sergii et Bacchi," *AB* 14 (1895) 375–95. PG 115:1005–32.
LIT. *BHG* 1624–25. C. Weigert, *LCI* 8:329f.
–A.K., N.P.Š.

SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS, CHURCH OF SAINTS (Turk. Küçük Ayasofya Camii). Built in Constantinople by Justinian I and Theodora in the Palace of Hormisdas, it was joined to a basilica of Sts. Peter and Paul, both sharing the same atrium (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.4.1–4). It is first attested (as a monastery) in 536. The origin of the church is controversial: in Mango's opinion it was erected by Theodora for the benefit of a colony of Syrian Monophysite monks, not as a palatine chapel as others believe.

The church remained monastic for the rest of the Byz. period. Its most renowned *hegoumenos* (ca.815–37) was John Grammatikos, later Patr. JOHN VII, who interrogated there many prominent supporters of icons (PLATO OF SAKKOUDION, THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, etc.). Basil I restored it after 867 (Skyl. 162.20–25). In 880 it was granted (as a pied-à-terre?) to the see of Rome, which seems to have had earlier rights to it. Leo VI offered its *hegoumenate* to Euthymios (the future patriarch), who refused it. The emperor visited it on the Tuesday after Easter (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.11). The heads of Sts. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS and other relics were kept there. The Church of Sts. Peter and Paul, joined to the south side of the existing structure, and the monastic buildings have disappeared.

The building has an octagonal nave inscribed within an irregular rectangle and is covered by a dome (diam. 17 m) with alternately flat and concave segments. Columns of verd antique support a carved horizontal entablature along whose entire length is inscribed an epigram in honor of Justinian and Theodora. A gallery repeats the arrangement of the ground-level ambulatory.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 451–54. P. Sanpaolesi, "La chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco a Costantinopoli," *RIASA*, n.s. 10 (1961) 116–80. Mathews, *Early Churches* 42–51. C. Mango, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus Once Again," *BZ* 68 (1975) 385–92.
–C.M.

SERGIOS OF REŠʿAINA, priest and physician; died Constantinople 536. He had studied in Alexandria under John PHILOPONOS and was a typical representative of the bilingual intelligentsia in Syria in the early 6th C. He belonged to the Jacobite church in Syria, but he quarreled with his bishop and sought refuge with Ephraim, the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, on whose behalf Sergios was then sent on a diplomatic mission to Pope Agapetus I (535–36), during which he died. The fame of Sergios rests on his translations of medical, philosophical, and theological texts into Syriac. He is particularly remembered for his versions of Aristotelian logical texts, some medical

texts of Galen, and for the first Syriac translations of parts of the pseudo-Dionysian corpus. Some sources also attribute to Sergios the authorship of a tract on the spiritual life.

ED. P. Sherwood, "Mimro de Serge de Rešayna sur la vie spirituelle," *L'Orient Syrien* 5 (1960) 433–57; 6 (1961) 95–115, 121–56.

LIT. Baumstark, *Literatur* 167–69. I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*[2] (Rome 1965) 110f. P. Sherwood, "Sergius of Reshaina and the Syriac Versions of the Pseudo-Denis," *Sacris Erudiri* 4 (1952) 174–84. –S.H.G.

SERGIOS THE CONFESSOR, historian and saint; born Constantinople, died after 829 in exile; feastday 13 May. According to the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 682.9–20), Sergios was born to a family of renown. Because he was an ardent Iconophile, the Iconoclast emperor Theophilos, after a public punishment, confiscated his wealth and banished him, his wife Irene, and their children. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus's identification of Sergios as the father of PHOTIOS (*BZ* 8 [1899] 656, n.2) remains questionable. In the *Bibliotheca* (Photios, *Bibl.*, cod. 67) Photios briefly describes a historical book by Sergios that probably encompassed events from Constantine V to the eighth year of Michael II; Sergios reportedly wrote not only about wars but also about society (*politeia*) and ecclesiastical problems. F. Barišić (*Byzantion* 31 [1961] 260–62) suggested that GENESIOS and THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS used Sergios's history.

LIT. A. Nogara, "Sergio il Confessore e il cod. 67 della *Biblioteca* de Fozio patriarca di Costantinopoli," *Aevum* 52 (1978) 261–66. –A.K.

SERGIUS I, pope (15 Dec. 687–9 Sept. 701); born Palermo to a Syrian family. He was installed as pope by the personal intervention of the Byz. exarch. Sergius repudiated his legates to Constantinople and refused to accept the Council in TRULLO of 691 because several canons contradicted Roman practice (e.g., those that sanctioned the marriage of clergy or exalted the patriarch of Constantinople). The ensuing efforts of JUSTINIAN II to have Sergius deported to Constantinople failed and weakened the Byz. position in Italy. Sergius introduced the Byz. feasts of the Virgin—Nativity, Annunciation, Purification (Hypapante), and Assumption—into the Roman liturgy.

LIT. O. Bertolini, *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio e ai Longobardi* (Bologna 1941) 399–408. –M.McC., A.K.

SERIKARIOS (σηρικάριος), artisan involved in the production and sale of SILK textiles. In late Roman inscriptions the term *sericarius* or *negotiator sericarius* designates not a silk manufacturer—as M.T. Schmitter-Picard argues (in *Mélanges C. Picard* 2 [Paris 1949] 952), since before the 6th C. silk was imported mostly in the form of cloth—but a SILK MERCHANT (H. Blümner, *RE* 2.R. 2 [1923] 1926). Diocletian's PRICE EDICT lists *sericarii* dealing in various kinds of textiles.

In 10th-C. Constantinople, *serikarioi* formed a guild that is described in the *Book of the Eparch* (ch.8). One of their principal activities seems to have been dyeing, but at the same time they worked as weavers and tailors (D. Simon, *BZ* 68 [1975] 34); at any rate they purchased raw silk and their final product was clothing. Their activity was strictly controlled: they were prohibited from using certain dyes and from making certain kinds of garments (e.g., SKARAMANGIA, which were woven and sewn in imperial factories); other types of fabric (e.g., BLATTIA in Persian style) had to be shown to the eparch; a BOULLOTES regularly visited their workshops; and they had to bring their products to the imperial stores (*kylistareia*).

LIT. *Bk. of Eparch* 181–90. –A.K.

SERMON (λόγος) or homily (ὁμιλία), an ecclesial discourse for instruction, exhortation, edification, commonly in the context of a liturgical service, often commenting on the LECTIONS just read. Originally the preacher had to be a bishop, but by the 4th C. the right was extended to priests as well. Later even emperors gave eulogies.

Great preachers were one of the early church's main attractions. The bishop preached seated on his throne in the nave, or at the AMBO, sometimes for as long as two hours (A. Olivar in *Liturgica* 3 [Montserrat 1966] 143–84). The golden age of sermons in the 4th C. established a tradition of homiletics rooted in theological learning, knowledge of the Scriptures, and of the artifices of antique RHETORIC. Sermons, which customarily opened with a set greeting and concluded with a DOXOLOGY, comprised several standard types. The majority were commentaries on sacred Scripture. Others were heortological, on a FEAST; theological, on a point of doctrine; panegyrics, on a saint; eulogies, or funeral orations; socio-ethical, against the circus, theater, orgies, drunkenness, avarice, or in favor of fasting, prayer, almsgiving, modesty, etc.; occasional, such as John Chrysostom's homilies *On the Statues* (PG 49:15–222) or *On Eutropios after his Fall* (PG 52:391–414); and mystagogic, providing a regular course of instruction during Lent and Pentecost for the CATECHUMENATE and neophytes. Sermons would also later provide monastic instruction (e.g., the Catecheses of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS).

By the 6th C., however, the golden age had passed. Sermons in the antique rhetorical tradition were barely understood by the common people, many ministers were no longer capable of composing an adequate sermon on their own, and preaching entered a period of decline. Canon 19 of the Council in TRULLO enjoins bishops to preach daily, esp. Sundays, and instructs them to follow the Fathers, "for if they compose their own discourses, a task of which they are sometimes incapable, they may miss what is suitable" (Mansi 11:952D). By the 9th C. a new set of LITURGICAL BOOKS appeared: anthologies of sermons (*panegyrikon,* MENOLOGION) arranged according to the church CALENDAR, esp. those of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, PROKLOS of Constantinople, and GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. These books shaped a canon of ecclesiastical rhetoric and eventually filled the need for ready-made sermons. The creation in 1107 of the group of *didaskaloi* of the PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL by Alexios I and the establishment of a fixed salary for preachers (P. Gautier, *REB* 31 [1973] 165–201; I. Čičurov, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 238–42) were further measures aimed at improving the quality of contemporary sermons.

LIT. A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche,* 3 vols. (Leipzig 1936–39). R. Caro, *La homilética mariana griega en el siglo V,* 3 vols. (Dayton 1971–73). A. Olivar, "Quelques remarques historiques sur la prédication comme action liturgique dans l'Église ancienne," in *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte O.S.B.* (Louvain 1972) 429–43. R. Grégoire, *DictSpir* 7.1 (1969) 606–17. T.K. Carroll, *Preaching the Word* (Wilmington 1984). –R.F.T.

SERPENTS. See SNAKES.

SERRES (Σέρραι, ancient Siris), city in Macedonia on the Strymon River. In late antiquity a *polis* of Macedonia I, Serres is mentioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.*, 1.52–53, ed. Pertusi 86) as a *polis* in the *eparchia* of Rhodope.

Its first known bishop participated in the council of 449. The history of Serres is obscure until the end of the 10th C., when it played a role in the war with the Bulgarians and one of the KOMETOPOULOI, Moses, was killed while besieging the city (Skyl. 329.81). Before 997 Serres was elevated to the rank of metropolis. From the end of the 12th C. onward, it was again at the center of military operations: in 1185 the Normans ravaged its territory; ca.1195 the Bulgarians defeated the army of the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos near Serres; Boniface of Montferrat occupied the city; and in 1206 it fell to the Bulgarians. George Akropolites (Akrop. 74f) writes that Serres, a large city in the past, was destroyed by Kalojan and transformed into a *kome* with a fortified acropolis, whereas the lower town was protected only by a plain stone wall erected without lime mortar. Serres was recovered by John III Vatatzes in 1246. Its significance grew in the 14th C., when a contemporary historian (Greg. 2:746.14) called Serres "a large and marvelous *asty.*"

On 25 Sept. 1345 Serres fell to STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN. After Dušan's death, Serres and the surrounding territory formed an independent "principality," first under Dušan's widow Helena, and from Aug./Sept. 1365 under the *despotes* John Uglješa. In this principality Greek was the official language; the Greek *oikeioi* of the *despotes* played an important part in the administration; and the links with Constantinople and Mt. Athos remained strong. After the battle at MARICA in 1371 Manuel (II) Palaiologos, John V's son, who ruled in Thessalonike, gained control over Serres. The city finally fell to the Ottomans on 19 Sept. 1383 (*Kleinchroniken* 2:326f; P. Nasturel, N. Beldiceanu, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 270). There is some evidence that in the summer of 1397 John VII resided in Serres (D. Bernicolas-Hatzopoulos, *BS* 41 [1980] 220f).

The well-preserved walls of the fortress date from various periods, with major construction in the 10th and 13th C.; the so-called Tower of Orestes, at the highest point of the fortifications, was built under Dušan, as shown by an inscription (L. Polites, *BS* 2 [1930] 292). The architecture of the Church of St. Nicholas in the lower town is similar to the PANAGIA TON CHALKEON in Thessalonike and can be dated to the 11th–12th C. The metropolitan church, Sts. Theodore, had a mosaic of the Communion of the Apostles in the apse (cf. that in St. Sophia in Kiev) (P. Perdrizet,

L. Chesnay, *MonPiot* 10 [1903] 122–44). The church itself was burned in 1913, then rebuilt, but fragmentary figures of the Apostles have been taken to Thessalonike; their stylistic affinities with the mosaics of Daphni and the frescoes of Hagios Chrysostomos on CYPRUS indicate a date in the very early 12th C. The Church of St. Nicholas within the fortress resembles the Holy Apostles in Thessalonike in construction and is dated to the early 14th C. The nearby monastery of the Prodromos on Mt. MENOIKEION was founded in the late 13th C.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast posle Dušanove smrti* (Belgrade 1965), with a French résumé, H. Miakotine, *TM* 2 (1967) 569–73. G. Soulis, "Notes on the History of the City of Serres under the Serbs," in *Aphieroma ste mneme tou M. Triantaphyllide* (Thessalonike 1960) 373–81. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:595–98, 3:133, 160. A. Xyngopoulos, *Ereunai eis ta byzantina mnemeia ton Serron* (Thessalonike 1965).
–T.E.G., N.P.Š.

SERVIA (τὰ Σέρβια, also Serblia), city in southern Macedonia controlling the main road between Berroia and Larissa. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 32.11) defines Serblia as a site in the theme of Thessalonike where Herakleios (allegedly) settled the "Serbloi" in the 7th C. Servia is first attested in the early 10th C. (*Notitiae CP* 7.300) as a bishopric suffragan to Thessalonike. Two seals of bishops of Servia or Servion (10th and 11/12th C.) are published by Laurent (*Corpus* 5.3, nos. 1729–30). In Skylitzes (Skyl. 344.93–12, 364.67) Servia appears as a stronghold (*phrourion*) that several times changed hands during the Bulgarian war of Basil II; the general Xiphias destroyed it in 1018. Kekaumenos (Kek. 174.18–28, 260.24–26) and later John VI Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 130.8–131.2) described Servia as a well-fortified *polis* divided into three sections: the *akra*, where the *archon* lived, and the upper and the lower sections inhabited by the *politai*. The *strategos* and the *doux* of Serb[i]a are mentioned on several seals of the 11th C. (V. Laurent, *REB* 15 [1957] 189f), but it is unclear whether they were connected with the fortress and bishopric of Servia.

After 1204 Servia was in the hands of the Latins, but ca.1216 it fell to Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros. In 1257 it was ceded, along with DYRRACHION, to Theodore II Laskaris of Nicaea. Circa 1341 Servia was taken by STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN. It was besieged by John VI Kantakouzenos in 1350; although the siege ended in failure, a treaty of the same year ceded Servia to Byz. Circa 1393 Servia fell to the troops of Bayezid I.

In their present form the fortifications should be dated to the 13th C., although the towers of the acropolis were probably built under the Serbs. In the upper city are the ruins of a large basilica with three aisles, built in the first quarter of the 11th C., later remodeled, with paintings of the late 12th–early 13th C. There are two other single-aisled basilicas within the city and another at a ruined monastery 3 km to the west.

LIT. M. Maloutas, *Ta Serbia* (Thessalonike 1956). A. Xyngopoulos, *Ta mnemeia ton Serbion* (Athens 1957). S. Kyriakides, *Byzantinai meletai* 4 (Thessalonike? n.d.) 405–07, 415–24, 455–63.
–T.E.G.

SERVITUS (δουλεία), the charge on a piece of land that obliged the owner to tolerate certain uses of, or encroachments upon, his land by another person. "Real" *servitutes* are those that are imposed on the piece of land itself, without time limit, regardless of the current occupant. The owner of the land burdened with a real *servitus* was required to allow the other person, who was usually, but not necessarily, a neighbor, to drive his livestock over the encumbered piece of land, for example, or to draw water from a source located there, or to drain sewage from his side onto the encumbered piece of land. Personal *servitutes* are similar to the OWNERSHIP rights of certain individuals to another's lands, esp. that of USUFRUCT. This form of *servitus* ends (at the latest) with the death of the occupant.

With the changing concepts of ownership, esp. as regards immovable THINGS, the *servitus* declined in importance in the later Byz. period. In the documents the technical term *douleia* no longer meant a *servitus* but generally a rather imprecisely defined form of tax liability.

LIT. D. Bonneau, "Les servitudes de l'eau dans la documentation papyrologique," *Sodalitas*, vol. 5 (Naples 1984) 2273–85.
–M.Th.F.

SETH, SYMEON, scientist and writer; fl. second half of 11th C.; born perhaps in Antioch. His biography is little known; his identification with the *protovestiarios* Symeon who became a monk ca.1034 (Skyl. 396f) is now rejected. According to the lemmata of his MSS, Symeon Seth (Σήθ) was *magistros* and philosopher, and he mentions his travel to Egypt (perhaps in 1058). Symeon compiled a book on DIET based predominantly on ancient tradition; sometimes, however, he refers to everyday practice and Arab recipes. He also produced books on physics and medicine, including a refutation of GALEN.

Symeon translated from Arabic and dedicated to Alexios I a collection of fables under the title of *Stephanites and Ichnelates*. The fables are assembled within an external framework of conversations between the king of India and his philosopher, and between the lion king and his courtiers, among whom two jackals, Ichnelates and Stephanites, are particularly articulate. The characters of the fables are primarily animals, but we also encounter people—merchants, physicians, hunters. The moral principle formulated at the very beginning (ed. Sjöberg 151f) is far removed from Byz. official ethics: there are three sources of happiness—independent fortune, good repute, and success. This goal can be achieved by four means: the just acquisition of wealth; good administration of property; generosity toward the needy; and avoidance of sin. *Stephanites and Ichnelates* was perhaps reworked by EUGENIOS OF PALERMO in the 12th C. (Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius* 18f). The book was popular in the medieval West and in Slavic countries.

ED. *De alimentorum facultatibus*, ed. B. Langkavel (Leipzig 1868). Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:1–127. C. Daremberg, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits médicaux* (Paris 1853) 44–47. L.-O. Sjöberg, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* (Stockholm-Göteburg-Uppsala 1962). *Stefanit i Ichnilat*, Russ. tr., ed. O.P. Lichačeva and Ja.S. Lurie (Leningrad 1969).
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 41–45.
–A.K.

SEVEN SLEEPERS, legendary saints; feastdays 22 and 23 Oct. These were saintly youths who reportedly fled the persecutions of the 3rd-C. Roman emperor Decius and hid in a cave near Ephesus. The persecutors blocked the cave entrance, but the saints slept for about 190 years (figures vary) and awoke during the reign of Theodosios II. The legend's origin is unclear; the first certain evidence dates from ca.530, when the pilgrim Theodosios visited their tomb in Ephesus; he listed their names and related that they were all brothers whose mother's name was Caritina-

Felicitas. A. Allgeier (*BNJbb* 3 [1922] 311–31) hypothesized that the original legend was in Syriac, a view rejected by P. Peeters (*AB* 41 [1923] 369–85), who questioned the authenticity of the homily of JACOB OF SARUG on the seven saints. The Syriac version counted eight saints and gave them different names. Already by the late 6th C. the legend was known to GREGORY OF TOURS, who referred to a "Syrian interpreter." The legend contains precious numismatic evidence: when the youths left the cave and tried to buy food with coins from the reign of Decius, they were suspected of having found a hoard of old coins and were therefore summoned before a magistrate. The miracle of the Seven Sleepers has been interpreted as a prefiguration of the RESURRECTION of mankind. Their cave and cemetery became the site of frequent pilgrimage (C. Praschniker, *Das Cömiterium der sieben Schläfer* [Baden 1937]). The legend was widely known and accepted by Islam.

Representation in Art. One of the very few surviving Byz. representations of the Seven Sleepers is a miniature in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.133): it shows the youths huddled together, their heads bowed in sleep, inside the cave. A satchel and a walking stick are visible by the entrance.

SOURCES. M. Huber, *Beitrag zur Siebenschläferlegende des Mittelalters*, pt.II (Metten 1904/5). PG 115:427–48.
LIT. *BHG* 1593–1599d. M. Huber, *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern* (Leipzig 1910). E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies* (Vatican 1953) 125–68. J. Bonnet, *Artémis d'Ephèse et la légende des sept dormants* (Paris 1977). F. Jourdan, *La tradition des sept dormants* (Paris 1983). M. Lechner, C. Squarr, *LCI* 8:344–48.
–A.K., N.P.Š.

SEVENTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL. See NICAEA, COUNCILS OF: Nicaea II.

SEVERIANOS (Σεβηριανός), bishop of Gabala in Syria, biblical exegete; died before 430. Sometime before 401 he moved to Constantinople, where he enjoyed oratorical fame. In a homily on Epiphany Severianos praised Arkadios and Honorius, the two sons of Theodosios I, "that shining light" (A. Wenger, *REB* 10 [1953] 47–50). He obtained influence over the empress EUDOXIA (Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* 70f) and played a major role in her struggle against JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. His works are primarily exegetic and hom-

iletic; most important are his six homilies on the HEXAEMERON. An oration, *On Peace*, extant wholly in Greek (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 1:15–26) and in Latin fragments (PG 52:425–28), gives his version of the temporary rapprochement in 401 between himself and Chrysostom. A strict Nicene, Severianos was full of rancor against heretics and Jews (his homily against the Jews—PG 61:793–802).

In his exegesis Severianos, under the influence of DIODOROS OF TARSOS, followed the principles of the Antiochene School, being outstandingly literal in the interpretation of Old Testament imagery, which he often misuses as science. His oeuvre is mainly preserved under the names of his adversaries (primarily Chrysostom), in *catenae*, and in Armenian (H.J. Lehmann, *Per piscatores* [Århus 1975]), Arabic, Coptic, and Syriac translations; many of them are of disputed authenticity.

ED. PG 56:429–516, 59:585–90, 63:531–44. *Un traité inédit de christologie de Sévérien de Gabala*, ed. M. Aubineau, with Fr. tr. (Geneva 1983). *Die Genesishomilien des Bischofs Severian von Gabala*, ed. J. Zellinger (Münster 1916). For complete list of ed. see *CPG*, vol. 2, nos. 4185–295.

LIT. J. Zellinger, *Studien zu Severian von Gabala* (Münster 1926). H.J. Lehmann, "The Attribution of Certain Pseudo-Chrysostomica to Severian of Gabala Confirmed by the Armenian Tradition," *StP* 10 [= TU 107] (1970) 121–30. M. Aubineau, "Textes de Jean Chrysostome et Sévérien de Gabala: Athos Pantocrator 1," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 25–30. S.J. Voicu, "Nuove restituzioni a Severiano di Gabala," *RSBN* 20–21 (1983–84) 3–24. –B.B.

SEVERINUS, preacher of Christianity in the Roman Danubian province of NORICUM at a time when it was about to be overrun by Germanic tribes; saint; died in monastery of Favianis/Mautern on the Danube 8 Jan. 482. His vita was written by his disciple EUGIPPIUS. Severinus was an Eastern monk of unknown background who appeared rather mysteriously in Noricum after the death of Attila (453). The attempt of F. Lotter (*infra*) to identify Severinus with the homonymous consul of 461 has not been accepted. His primary mission was to encourage a spiritual revival in Noricum, to introduce monasticism, and to combat Arianism and paganism. He can be seen as an agent of Byz. Danubian foreign policy, encouraging the church, organizing relief work, and restraining the excesses of reluctantly respectful barbarians (notably ODOACER).

SOURCE. For ed. of Vita, see EUGIPPIUS.

LIT. R. Bratož, *Severinus von Noricum und seine Zeit* (Vienna 1983). Thompson, *Romans & Barbarians* 113–33. F. Lotter, *Severinus von Noricum: Legende und historische Wirklichkeit* (Stuttgart 1976). K. Kramert, E.K. Winter, *St. Severin: Der Heilige zwischen Ost und West* (Klosterneuburg 1958). –B.B.

SEVEROS (Σεβῆρος), bishop of Antioch (512–18); born Sozopolis, Pisidia, ca.465, died Xois, Egypt, 8 Feb. 538. Severos was a Monophysite theologian and saint of the Monophysite church. He studied philosophy and law, came under the influence of PETER THE IBERIAN and entered monastic life. In 508 he went to Constantinople to plead for the persecuted Monophysite monks of Palestine; while in the capital he acquired the favor of Anastasios I. In 512 he became bishop of Antioch. He was a tireless administrator, but upon the accession of Justin I, he was exiled and took up residence in Egypt. An attempted reconciliation under Justinian I (535/6) failed, and Severos was condemned by a council in Constantinople in 536.

Severos was the leading spokesman for moderate Monophysitism, rejecting both the Council of Chalcedon and the teachings of EUTYCHES and JULIAN OF HALIKARNASSOS. Severos understood the divine nature in Christ as his hypostasis or *prosopon* and therefore professed his single *physis*, but he accepted that the complete humanity of Christ was distinct from the nature/hypostasis of the Logos; he refuted Julian and considered Christ's body before the Resurrection as corruptible and Christ as consubstantial with the Father only according to his divinity. However, in Severos this "perfect humanity" did not form a nature or hypostasis but only an annex of the single divine *physis*.

Frequently accused of pagan tendencies, Severos was cosmopolitan and steeped in the teachings of the Greek fathers. He had no desire to found a regional, rurally based church, yet his teachings were the basis of Monophysite theology. He wrote voluminously, although most of his works are preserved only in a Syriac translation by James of Edessa. His biography by ZACHARIAS OF MYTILENE survives in a Syriac version (W. Bauer in *Aufsätze und kleine Schriften*, ed. G. Strecker [Tübingen 1967] 210–28).

SOURCE. M.-A. Kugener, "Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scholastique," PO 2 (1903) 3–115.

ED. *Les Homiliae cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche*, ed. R. Duval et al., 17 vols. (Paris 1906–76), with Fr. tr. *Liber contra impium Grammaticum*, ed. J. Lebon, 3 vols. in 6 (Paris 1929–38), with Lat. tr. *Orationes ad Nephalium*, ed. idem, 2 vols. (Louvain 1949), with Lat. tr. *Le Philalèthe*, ed. R. Hespel, 2 vols. (Louvain 1952), with Fr. tr. *La polémique antijulianiste*, ed. idem, 3 vols. in 8 (Louvain 1964–71), with Fr. tr. *CPG*, vol. 3, nos. 7022–80.

LIT. J. Lebon, *Le Monophysisme sévérien* (Louvain 1909; rp. New York 1978). Frend, *Monophysite Movement* 202–76. Chesnut, *Three Christologies* 9–56. A. Vööbus, "Eine Entdeckung von zwei neuen Biographien des Severos von Antiochien," *BZ* 68 (1975) 1–3. H. Brakmann, "Severos unter der Alexandrinern," *JbAChr* 26 (1983) 54–58. I. Torrance, *Christology after Chalcedon: Severus of Antioch and Sergius the Monophysite* (Norwich 1988). –T.E.G.

SEXTUS JULIUS AFRICANUS. See AFRICANUS, SEXTUS JULIUS.

SEXUALITY was pervaded by a hypocritical double standard in Byz. as in other medieval societies. While men appreciated female charms and employed PROSTITUTES and CONCUBINES for sexual adventures, they expected moral purity of their female relatives. A rich inheritance of erotic EPIGRAMS and ROMANCES, preserved and developed in later Byz. editions, extolled the physical pleasures of LOVE, yet girls were expected to guard their VIRGINITY until their wedding night and wives were to conceal their physical charms. The contrast between ecclesiastical canons governing morality and popular enjoyment of sex reflected this chasm. Some church fathers considered sexual intercourse an evil necessary for procreation, and therefore condemned all sexual relations designed for pleasure as fornication (*porneia*); John Chrysostom, however, viewed legitimate intercourse as less important for procreation than for the avoidance of fornication. The church included MARRIAGE in the sacraments, but at the same time might recommend partial abstinence as practiced by CYRIL PHILEOTES and his wife, or even complete CELIBACY.

Throughout Byz. society feminine beauty was admired and women, including virgins, nuns, and prepubescent girls, were regularly seduced; even monks who had taken vows of chastity were occasionally convicted of sexual crimes (M.-H. Congourdeau, *REB* 40 [1982] 103–16). Moral standards were established more by the imperial court, where emperors might take mistresses, than by celibate bishops. Male descriptions of sex were couched in martial imagery: "a Herculean combat . . . an erotic assault on the female citadel of virginity." In contrast, sexual advances by women, as recorded in daily life or in dreams (S. Oberhelman, *BS* 47 [1986] 8–24), were usually characterized as a devilish temptation to corrupt men.

Sexual intercourse, as in the mating of Zimri and Chasbi (Num 25:7–18), was depicted fairly explicitly in Octateuch MSS, for example, Vat. gr. 747, fol.178v. (For Byz. attitudes toward the naked body, see NUDE, THE.)

LIT. H.G. Beck, *Byzantinisches Erotikon* (Munich 1986). C. Cupane, "Byzantinisches Erotikon: Ansichten und Einsichten," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 213–33. P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York 1988). E. Patlagean in Veyne, *Private Life* 1:599–609, 618–24. –J.H.

SGOUROPOULOS (Σγουρόπουλος, from σγοῦρος, "curly," + the diminutive -πουλος), a family first appearing in the late 13th C. Manuel, *pansebastos*, *sebastos*, and *domestikos ton anatolikon thematon* (1286–93), apparently corresponded with Michael GABRAS ca.1308. Demetrios, a retainer of John VI Kantakouzenos, was captured by Alexios APOKAUKOS in 1341. Stephen held the office of *protonotarios* at Trebizond and wrote six poems, some dedicated to Alexios III Komnenos, emperor of Trebizond (1349–90; Hunger, *Lit.* 2:115). By far the best known 15th-C. Sgouropoulos was Demetrios, who copied MSS for Cardinal BESSARION (1443 at Florence) and for Francesco FILELFO (1444–45 at Milan); afterwards he went to Kastoria and Thessalonike. In 1472–73 he corresponded with Theodore GAZES as well as with Filelfo (Gamillscheg-Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, no. 101). Many other known members of this family were clergymen, esp. priests. Of particular note are two 14th-C. composers of ecclesiastical music, George (also *domestikos*) and John (also deacon—M.K. Chatzegiakoumes, *Mousikē cheirographia Tourkokratias, 1453–1832* [Athens 1975] 381). A patriarchal document of ca.1400 mentions a certain Sgouropoulina (MM 2:429.9). Relations to nobler Byz. families are unattested, with the sole exception of Doukas Sgouropoulos, who wrote a codex containing medical works in the 14th C. Their connections to Leo SGOUROS and his relatives are not attested.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 175f. Gabras, *Letters* 1:35, 54. –E.T.

SGOUROS, LEO, independent lord of Corinth and the Argolid; died Corinth 1207/8. He succeeded his father as an official in Nauplia and ca.1198 participated in levying a tax on Athens. Circa 1201, after DOBROMIR CHRYSOS and Manuel KAMYTZES seized Thessaly, Sgouros (Σγουρός, Fr. Asgur) made himself independent. He captured Argos, killing its bishop, then CORINTH, where he flung its metropolitan from the Acrocorinth. Michael STRYPHNOS vainly sought to subdue him (1201–02). Taking advantage of the Fourth Crusade's attack on Constantinople, Sgouros enlisted the piratical inhabitants of Aigina for an attack on Athens. Its metropolitan, Michael CHONIATES, held the Acropolis, but the city was burned; Sgouros marched against Thebes, which immediately surrendered. Advancing into Thessaly (summer 1204), he encountered the fleeing Alexios III and married his daughter Eudokia (already the wife of Alexios V). When BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT entered Thessaly (autumn 1204), Sgouros retreated to the Acrocorinth, where he defended himself until his death (R.-J. Loenertz, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 389–91).

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 152–54, 244f. –C.M.B.

SGRAFFITO WARE, perhaps the most characteristic type of Byz. decorated pottery. Sgraffito technique, probably imported from Persia, involved a two-step firing process in which dark clay vessels were first covered with a white slip, usually only on the interior, and given a preliminary firing. Designs were then scratched through the slip, revealing the darker clay beneath, and a vitreous glaze, usually pale yellow or green, was applied. When the vessel was fired a second time the glaze over the scratches appeared darker than that over the white slip. Designs included geometric and decorative motifs as well as figures of birds, fish, animals, and humans; some of the latter have been identified as DIGENES AKRITAS (A. Frantz, *Byzantion* 15 [1940–41] 87–91). "Incised Ware" involved a variation of sgraffito technique in which the background of the design was cut away, leaving the figure lighter and the background darker. Incised and sgraffito techniques were frequently combined and glaze-painted designs were often added (Painted Sgraffito Ware). Byz. sgraffito ware developed in the 11th C. and reached its high point in terms of quality in the 12th C. It continued to be produced well into

SGRAFFITO WARE. Interior of a bowl with sgrafitto design; 13th–14th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Ottoman times. The ware was manufactured at many places throughout the eastern Mediterranean and some specific styles (such as ZEUXIPPOS WARE) have been identified.

LIT. Morgan, *Pottery* 115–66. –T.E.G.

SHĀHĪN (Σαήν), general of CHOSROES II; died late 625/6? in campaign in Asia Minor or Persarmenia. Shāhīn led the Persian army that broke Byz. defenses in 611, captured Mardin, Amida, and Martyropolis, invaded Armenia, and penetrated into Cappadocia. He wintered in Caesarea, where PRISKOS ineptly besieged him but allowed his forces to escape in 612. In 616 Shāhīn led his army across Asia Minor to besiege Chalcedon, where he personally negotiated with Herakleios. Shāhīn's pressure on Chalcedon forced Herakleios to send three ambassadors to Chosroes with proposals for peace. Shāhīn and his army returned to Persia with the ambassadors, but Chosroes rejected peace and threatened his general. In 617 Shāhīn captured Chalcedon, probably contributing to the fall of other Byz. strongholds in Anatolia. Shāhīn led major armies in 624 and 625. Herakleios fell upon and decisively defeated Shāhīn in 624 after penetrating into Persia. Narratives of the campaigns of 624–25 are very confused. In 625 (?) Shāhīn's army dissolved between Tigranocerta and Nachisevan in Persarmenia. Fear of Chosroes' fury at this disaster allegedly caused Shāhīn to fall sick and die.

LIT. A. Pernice, *L'Imperatore Eraclio* (Florence 1905) 60–63, 68–74, 130. Stratos, *Byzantium* 1:115–17, 157–61. Kaegi, "New Evidence" 322–26. –W.E.K.

SHAHRBARĀZ (Σαρβαραζᾶς, lit. "Wild Boar of the Empire"), Persian general; Sasanian king (630); died Ctesiphon Apr. 630. In 606/7 he commanded the Persian invasion of Mesopotamia. Profiting from the unstable situation in Byz. after the coup of HERAKLEIOS, Shahrbarāz invaded Syria, in 613 occupied Damascus, and in 614 Jerusalem (the attack described by ANTIOCHOS STRATEGOS) whence the fragments of the True Cross were carried away to Ctesiphon. He probably invaded Egypt ca.616 and took Alexandria in 619. In 622 Herakleios started the counteroffensive (N. Oikonomides, *BMGS* 1 [1975] 1–9), but in 626 Shahrbarāz led an army to Constantinople and besieged the city with the help of the Avars. Then the attitude of Shahrbarāz toward Byz. altered because of his growing respect for Herakleios, tensions with CHOSROES II, or his inclination toward Christianity.

Shahrbarāz's position during the short reign of KAVAD-SHĪRŪYA is unknown, but after the king's death Shahrbarāz met Herakleios at Arabissos in July 629. Herakleios agreed to support the Sasanian general's efforts to win the Persian throne, and Shahrbarāz restored the True Cross to the Byz. Shahrbarāz assumed the throne on 27 Apr. 630 with the help of Byz. troops. He supported Christians in Persia, and Niketas, his son, was probably Christian. After three months (or 40 days) Shahrbarāz was assassinated in a conspiracy led by Bōrāndukht, the daughter of Chosroes II. Afraid of Herakleios's possible intervention, she sent the Nestorian *katholikos* Išoʿyahb as envoy to him and acknowledged Byz. tutelage over the country.

LIT. Mango, "La Perse Sassanide" 105–18. A. Kolesnikov, "Iran v načale VII veka," *PSb* 22 (1970) 90f. –W.E.K.

SHAYZAR (Σέζερ, ancient Sizara, or Larissa, now Sayjar in northern Syria), city on the Orontes River, mentioned several times in late Roman *itineraria* as a station on the Orontes. A bishopric by 325, in the first half of the 6th C. Larissa was the scene of a battle between the Monophysite partisans of Peter of Apameia and local Orthodox monks (Mansi 8:1131D). In 638 its citizens received the Arabs with open arms. From the second half of the 10th C. onward, the Byz. tried to regain Shayzar. Nikephoros II Phokas briefly took the city in 968; Basil II recaptured it temporarily in 994/5 and more lastingly in 999, after destroying its aqueduct. On 19 Dec. 1081 the Muslims obtained the citadel by treaty with a bishop residing in Shayzar. John II Komnenos unsuccessfully besieged it 29 Apr.–21 May 1138. Despite the efforts of the Crusaders, Shayzar remained Arab.

USĀMAH IBN MUNQIDH describes Shayzar, his native city, as a fortress built on a steep ridge; the citadel had three gates; the neighborhood was well watered and had rich vegetation. Byz. masonry is still visible at Shayzar amid later work.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* 2.R. 3 (1929) 419. Idem, *EI* 4:288f. –M.M.M.

SHEEP (πρόβατα) probably constituted the principal kind of domesticated animal in Byz., although it is not always possible to distinguish them from GOATS in the documents; they supplied MEAT, CHEESE, and wool. The flocks of the great landowners were enormous: thus John VI Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:185.8) complained that he had lost 70,000 sheep when his property was confiscated in 1341/2. *Praktika* of the 14th C. show a precipitous decline of flocks: in 1300/1 the village of Gomatou possessed 1,131 sheep and goats, in 1320/1 only 612, and in 1341 a mere 10 animals (Laiou, *Peasant Society* 174). A peasant household might own up to 300 sheep and goats; the Vlachs were esp. active in sheep breeding. Sheep were particularly suited to the practice of TRANSHUMANCE; the vita of LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS describes large flocks guarded by dogs moving across Cappadocia. This led to the perennial conflict between settled agriculturists and migrating shepherds (J.G. Keenan, *YCS* 28 [1985] 245–59).

Images of sheep and lambs occupied an important place in Christian allegory: they were a metaphor for Christ, the LAMB OF GOD, and for his flock; sheep were the righteous at the Last Judgment. On the other hand, humanity was referred to as "lost sheep," and "unbranded sheep" were people untouched by baptism. The laity was com-

monly designated as sheep or a flock (*poimnion*), whereas the bishop was called shepherd (*poimen*).
–A.K.

SHENOUTE (Σινούθιος, lit. "child of God"), *hegoumenos* (from 388) of a monastery in Atripe (near SOHAG, Upper Egypt), now called the White Monastery or the Monastery of Shenoute; born ca.350, died 466 (previously suggested date ca.451) at the White monastery; feastday in the Coptic church 1 July. Born to Christian parents, he entered the White Monastery (ruled by his uncle Pgôl) ca.370. Under his leadership the monastery complex grew to approximately 2,200 monks and 1,800 nuns. Strict discipline, including physical punishment, was the rule, and Shenoute introduced a formal vow of obedience as a further means of control. As a strong supporter of CYRIL of Alexandria, he attended the Council of EPHESUS in 431. He was very active in the area around the monastery: attacking pagan temples, instructing local Christians, and providing shelter for the population during barbarian invasions.

Shenoute spoke and wrote in Coptic (though he probably knew Greek). He left many letters, homilies, and apocalypses written in a vigorous style and dealing mainly with the monastic life and Christian virtue. Early studies of Shenoute (Leipoldt) maintained that he lacked theological sophistication, but recently discovered texts imply understanding of current theological problems. He eagerly polemicized against Gnosticism as it was expressed in the texts of NAG HAMMADI (T. Orlandi, *HThR* 75 [1982] 85–95), and against Nestorianism. Closely connected with the patriarchate of Alexandria, he followed the Christology of Cyril, stressing the divine nature of Christ and the soteriological aspect of Christ's mission (H.F. Weiss, *BSAC* 20 [1969–70] 177–209). His pupil Besa composed his Life.

ED. *Vita et opera omnia*, ed. J. Leipoldt, tr. H. Wiesmann, 5 vols. (Paris-Louvain 1906–51). *Oeuvres*, ed. E. Amélineau, 2 vols. (Paris 1907–14), with Fr. tr.

SOURCE. Besa, *The Life of Shenoute*, tr. D. Bell (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1983).

LIT. J. Leipoldt, *Schenute von Atripe* (Leipzig 1903). J. Timbie, "The State of Research on the Career of Shenoute of Atripe," in *Roots of Egypt. Christ.* 258–70. T. Orlandi, *DictSpir*, fascs. 92–94 (1989) 787–804. –J.A.T., A.K.

SHIELD. See ARMOR.

SHIELD-RAISING, a military CEREMONY of imperial accession. Byz. borrowed it from Germanic custom when Western troops raised Julian on a shield during his ACCLAMATION at Paris (361). Shield-raising featured regularly in accessions down to PHOKAS and may have connoted solar symbolism (E.H. Kantorowicz, *DOP* 17 [1963] 119–77). The sources mention no further shield-raising during CORONATIONS until the 13th C., except the usurpations of Peter Deljan and Leo Tornikios. Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 38.51–53) considered it a Khazar custom, yet Old Testament illustration depicts shield-raising in connection with accession and majesty, and it crops up in the 12th-C. romance by Theodore PRODROMOS, *Rhodanthe and Dosikles* (5.107–14). This motif may reflect a shift toward a more militarist political ideology (A. Kazhdan in *Prédication et propagande au moyen âge* [Paris 1983] 13–28). Shield-raising was revived no later than Theodore II Laskaris (1254) and was used often thereafter. A 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 255.20–256.20) places shield-raising before the emperor's entry into Hagia Sophia for ANOINTING and coronation; he was acclaimed as he was raised on a shield held by the patriarch and dignitaries of the realm arranged in order of precedence. Shield-raising was also used for the accession of co-emperors.

LIT. C. Walter, "Raising on a Shield in Byzantine Iconography," *REB* 33 (1975) 133–75. –M.McC.

SHIP (ναῦς, πλοῖον). Byz. merchant ships were smaller than those of antiquity, although large merchantmen were built to transport grain well into the 6th C. (Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 161f). The decreased volume in trade, limited means of investment in SHIPBUILDING, and lack of security on maritime routes after the early 7th C. prompted construction of small, rapid vessels capable of carrying sufficient cargo yet still outdistancing hostile ships. The common name for a merchant ship, *dorkon* ("gazelle"), refers to its speed. Archaeological excavation of a 7th-C. shipwreck has uncovered a Byz. merchantman of approximately 20 m in length, 5.3 m in width (length to beam ratios were usually 3:1 or 4:1), with a shallow keel and rounded hull, features suitable for coastal sailing and not much more. She had a cargo capacity of 60 tons and room for a few passengers; a crew of six to eight was sufficient for her operation. The hatch was in the ship's bow, the galley in the stern. The most common types of Byz. ships were the DROMON, CHELANDION, and GALEA.

As depicted in illustrations (such as the 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY), merchant ships were round-hulled and had one, two, or three masts supporting triangular (lateen) sails on a slanting yardarm; the rigging was simple since this type of sail could be handled from the deck of the ship. Two oars on either side of the stern were for steering. Details on Byz. ships are scant after the 11th C. There are illustrations from the 14th C. showing ships thought to be Byz. galleys modeled after Genoese types (M. Goudas, *Byzantis* 2 [1912] 329–57); similar ships operated between Constantinople and Trebizond (A. Bryer, *Mariner's Mirror* 52 [1966] 3–12), but whether they were Byz. or Western in design is unknown.

LIT. F.H. van Doorninck, "Byzantium, Mistress of the Sea: 330–641," in *A History of Seafaring*, ed. G.F. Bass (New York–London 1972) 133–58. B.M. Kreutz, "Ships, Shipping and the Implications of Change in the Early Medieval Mediterranean," *Viator* 7 (1976) 79–109. J.H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War* (Oxford 1988) 25–86. C. Villain Gandossi, "L'iconographie des navires au Haut Moyen Age," in *Horizons marins, itinéraires spirituels*, eds. H. Dubois, J.-C. Hocquet, A. Vauchez, vol. 2 (Paris 1987) 77–96.
–E.M.

SHIPBUILDING (ναυπηγία) in Byz. gradually evolved from the Greco-Roman technique of outer shell construction to full frame-first construction. In shell construction, the keel was laid and the stempost and sternpost fixed to it. The hull was then built up plank by plank, without a preparatory frame. The planks were trimmed and edge-joined by mortise and tenon joints at close intervals to ensure a tight fit. Supporting inner frames were then nailed to the already finished hull, but the ship's strength and impermeability rested in the outer shell, the construction of which required a high level of skilled labor. Archaeological evidence from a 7th-C. shipwreck, however, reveals a hybrid method of construction. Shell construction was used to build the hull up to the water line, then the frames were installed and the thick side timbers (wales) nailed to them to complete the hull structure. The workmanship was not as painstaking as in full-shell construction, but frame construction was simpler, faster, and more economical.

The earliest confirmation of full frame-first construction is from an 11th-C. wreck. The hull's structure and strength now depended entirely on the inner frame, and frequent caulking ensured impermeability; the once precisely and closely fitted edge-joining necessary in shell construction disappeared from use. As in antiquity, the preferred woods were oak or elm for the frames and keel, and pine, cypress, or cedar for the hull planking. The Byz. were also familiar with the *monoxyla* of the Slavs and Rus' (vessels hollowed out from a single tree trunk) no later than 626 (D. Obolensky in *De adm. imp.* 2:23–25).

Shipbuilders (*naupegoi*) are mentioned in the sources, as are the KALAPHATAI, who caulked the finished ship. Shipyards were spread throughout the empire during the 6th C., but most shipbuilding was concentrated at Constantinople after the 7th C. under the supervision of the *exartistes* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 316). Several seals of *exartistai* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 733–36) are dated from the 7th to the 10th C. Provincial fleets were constructed locally in the maritime themes (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 419–39). Most Byz. representations of shipbuilding occur in the context of the construction of NOAH'S ARK.

LIT. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971) 201–23. G.F. Bass, F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., *Yassi Ada: A Seventh-Century Byzantine Shipwreck* (College Station, Texas, 1982). Eidem, "An 11th-Century Shipwreck at Serçe Liman, Turkey," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 7 (1978) 119–21.
–E.M.

SHOEMAKER (σκυτεύς, σκυτοτόμος, ὑποδηματορράφος, τζαγγάριος, etc.), one of the most common artisanal professions: John Chrysostom includes them in lists of typical crafts (e.g., "builder, carpenter, *hypodematorrhaphos*, baker, peasant, smith, rope-maker"—PG 61:292.14–15) or an even shorter selection consisting of smith, *hypodematorrhaphos*, and peasant (PG 58:579.34–35). Another of his lists of craftsmen (PG 54:673.16–18) mentions both *hypodematorrhaphos* (sandalmaker?) and *skytotomos*, but the distinction between the two is unclear. In the 9th C. Theodore of Stoudios also distinguished the same two kinds of shoemakers among the monk-artisans of his monastery (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 1:412). It is not known how shoemaking was organized in the late Roman Empire. In the vita of St. Pachomios (F. Halkin, *Le corpus athénien de Saint Pachôme* [Geneva 1982] 84,

par.23) a shoemaker is described who did not sell the sandals he produced, giving his wares to another person to market—but the available data are insufficient to decide whether this case is regular or exceptional.

From the 12th C. onward, the traditional terms for shoemaker began to be replaced by the word *tzangarios* (maker of TZANGIA), a word known already from papyri. It was probably a vernacular expression: PTOCHOPRODROMOS (ed. Hesseling-Pernot, no.4.79–89) describes his attempt to become a *tsangares*, which ended unsuccessfully when he injured himself with an awl (*sougli*). Athanasios the *tzangares*, a monk of the Philotheou monastery on Mt. Athos, signed an act of 1154 (*Lavra* 1, no.63.8), and a damaged and undated document mentions a *maistor* of *tzangarioi* (*Lavra* 1, App. 1.9). *Tzangarioi*, along with smiths and tailors, are the most frequently mentioned artisans in late Byz. *praktika* and other acts; sometimes, however, it is not easy to determine whether the word is used as a family name or as the designation of a profession. The term *skytotomos* continued to be used as well, however: a 14th-C. historian (Greg. 2:850.29) names carpenters, shoemakers (*skytotomoi*), and smiths as the most typical craftsmen of Constantinople.

Despite the large numbers of shoemakers, the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* does not include a guild for this profession, but only for the harnessmakers (LOROTOMOI). *Peira* 51.7, however, considers the shoemaker's trade, *skytotomike*, as a SOMATEION. The shoemaker's trade was regarded with scorn by the Byz. A 10th-C. story about the shoemaker Zacharias (*SynaxCP* 233.27–33) depicts his profession as so menial that he was poverty stricken. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 349.17) classes cobblers, along with tanners and sausage sellers, among the "stupid and ignorant" members of the population of Constantinople.

LIT. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 145f. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:214f. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 101, n.192. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 233. Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 90. –A.K.

SHOES. See FOOTWEAR.

SHRINES. See PILGRIMAGE.

SHROUD OF TURIN. See ACHEIROPOIETA.

SIBṬ IBN AL-JAWZĪ, more fully Shams al-Dīn abu'l Muẓaffar Yūsuf, Arab historian; born Baghdad 1186, died Damascus 10 Jan. 1257. Because his mother was a daughter of the famous Muslim theologian and polyhistor ibn al-Jawzī, he was better known by the name Sibṭ (i.e., the grandson of) ibn al-Jawzī. After finishing his studies in Baghdad, Sibṭ traveled extensively before settling in Damascus. There he gained fame as a legal expert and orator exhorting people to fight the Crusaders; he himself led a victorious expedition to Nābulus.

Although Sibṭ wrote several books, he is best known for his universal chronicle, *The Mirror of Time Reflecting the History of Prominent People*, which begins with Creation and ends with the year of his death. Apart from its value for students of Islamic history, *The Mirror* constitutes an important source for Byz. history, for its author sheds new light on the SELJUK penetration of Asia Minor. He is the only Arab author who treats extensively the peace negotiations between ALP ARSLAN and ROMANOS IV DIOGENES after the battle of MANTZIKERT and the ultimate fate of the emperor (C. Cahen, *Byzantion* 9 [1934] 617f).

ED. *Mir'âtü'z-Zeman fî Tarihi'l-âyan*, ed. A. Sevim (Ankara 1968). Extracts in RHC *Orient.* 3:517–75, with Fr. tr.

LIT. Brockelmann, *Litteratur* 1:424, supp. 1:589. C. Cahen, "Les chroniques arabes concernant la Syrie, l'Égypte et la Mésopotamie," *REI* 10 (1936) 339f. M.H.M. Ahmad in Lewis-Holt, *Historians* 91f. M. ben Cheneb, *EI*^{2} 3:752f. –A.S.E.

SIBYLLINE ORACLES (Σιβυλλικοὶ χρησμοί), a compilation of oracles contained in 14 books of differing dates (2nd C. B.C.–A.D. 7th C.) and provenance. The text written in (defective) hexameters is known only in late MSS (14th–16th C.), but certain oracles were quoted by church fathers and a 4th-C. parchment fragment has been discovered (G. Vitelli, *Atene e Roma* 7 [1904] 354f). The material is mostly Jewish, primarily from Egypt, with substantial Christian insertions; the latest event alluded to is probably the Arab conquest of Egypt. The Prologue is of the 6th C. Its main goal was apologetic, to demonstrate that Sybil, the renowned pagan prophetess, was an independent witness to the truth of the Christian faith. The oracles emphasize monotheism, promise the advent of a glorious kingdom after disasters befall mankind, and take the moral position that our predicament is a punishment for our sins and can be avoided by righteousness. Along with warnings to reject injustice and violence, the oracles specifically attack idolatry and sexuality. They prophesy the suppression of the cult of Serapis in Alexandria and the cult of ARTEMIS in Asia Minor. Book 8:217–50 contains an acrostic with the first letters of each line spelling the Greek words "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior, Cross."

ED. *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, ed. J. Geffcken (Leipzig 1902). Eng. tr. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. Charlesworth, vol. 1 (Garden City, N.Y., 1983) 317–42. S. Agourides, "Sibyllikoi Chresmoi," *Theologia* 55 (1984) 335–74, 628–49 (ed. of bks. 3–4 only).

LIT. J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (Missoula, Mont., 1974). V. Nikiprowetzky, *La Troisième Sibylle* (Paris 1970). –F.R.T., A.K.

SICHEM. See NEAPOLIS.

SICILIAN VESPERS, an anti-Angevin rebellion that broke out in PALERMO on 30 Mar. (Geanakoplos, *infra* 364, n.101) or 31 Mar. (cf. Franchi, *infra* 7) 1282. It took its name from the first incidents of the revolt that occurred outside the Church of S. Spirito just before the vespers service. The rule of CHARLES I OF ANJOU over Sicily (1266–82) was unpopular. The Sicilians became even more resentful of French domination when Charles began to organize a massive expedition against Constantinople after the Treaty of Orvieto (July 1281) and levied special taxes to support his preparations (W. Percy, *Italian Quarterly* 22, no.84 [1981] 75–78). Since Charles's projected crusade had the blessing of the pro-Angevin pope Martin IV (1281–85), who excommunicated MICHAEL VIII, Constantinople was in great danger. Michael, always the skilled diplomat, negotiated an alliance with Peter III of Aragon (1276–85), who was anxious to seize control of Sicily in the name of his wife Constance, daughter of MANFRED, the previous king of Sicily. Michael sent Peter gold to help equip his fleet for an attack on the island and apparently also gave financial support to conspirators in Sicily (C.N. Tsirpanlis, *Byzantina* 4 [1972] 299–329). The rebellion spread quickly and Charles was forced to divert his expedition from Constantinople to Sicily. When the Aragonese fleet arrived (Aug. 1281), the Angevins were driven from the island. Thus, Charles's planned attack on Constantinople was once more postponed and, indeed, never realized. Although Michael VIII's role in the Sicilian Vespers is debatable, in his *Autobiography* (ed. H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 29–30 [1959–60] ch. IX, 461) he did take credit for being the instrument of God's deliverance of the Sicilians.

LIT. A. Franchi, *I Vespri Siciliani e le relazioni tra Roma e Bisanzio* (Palermo 1984). S. Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers* (Cambridge 1958). Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 335–67, 375–77. –A.M.T.

SICILY (Σικελία), Mediterranean island separated from the toe of Italy by the narrow Strait of MESSINA, forming a link between Italy and Africa. In the 4th C. and the first half of the 5th C., Sicily preserved the major features of ancient economy and civilization: flourishing urban centers (SYRACUSE, CATANIA, PALERMO, etc.), *latifundia* of great landowning families, and Latin language and culture. With the loss of Africa to the Vandals in the 5th C., Sicily became a major source of foodstuffs for the city of Rome. By 475, after many attacks, the Vandal king GAISERIC conquered Sicily along with SARDINIA and Corsica, but the Vandals had to relinquish the island to the Ostrogoths in 491. In 535–36, during the Gothic war, Belisarios recovered Sicily for Constantinople, and thereafter the island remained under Byz. control, despite a brief invasion by Totila in 550.

Although Justinian I sought to restore traditional forms of Roman law and landownership, there were major changes in Sicily's agrarian system: the letters of Pope Gregory I reveal an "atomization" (the term of Ruggini, *infra*) of property and an increase in the number of small and medium-sized allotments. *Coloni* or *rustici* of ecclesiastical and senatorial estates were predominantly free peasants who paid rent either in kind or in money and were drafted for military service. There was also a change in urban character: the role of the city became primarily administrative and ecclesiastical; cities also served as fortified refuges for the surrounding population.

Sicily probably formed a THEME by the end of the 7th C. The first *strategos* is attested ca.700; the *doukaton* of CALABRIA was a part of the theme (Oikonomides, *Listes* 351). The political significance of Sicily increased esp. between 663 and 668, when the imperial court of Constans II resided in Syracuse. Originally under Roman ecclesiastical jurisdiction, Sicily was severed from it

ca.733 and subordinated to the patriarchate of Constantinople. The hellenization of the island was enhanced by the immigration of Greek refugees from Africa and probably the Balkan peninsula in the 7th–8th C.

Arab raids on Sicily began in 652, when the caliph Muʿāwiya sent a flotilla to attack the island. OLYMPIOS, the exarch of Ravenna, reportedly came to defend Sicily. The Arabs failed to make any permanent conquest and returned home with some booty and captives. The Byz., in their turn, used Sicily as a base for their attacks on North Africa (e.g., an expedition against Carthage in 697). In the 8th C. Muslims attacked Sicily from Africa and from Syria; in the 9th C. a force from Spain joined the effort. In 826 an invasion of Arabs was provoked by the revolt of Euphemios, the Byz. naval commander in Sicily, who offered the Aghlabid ruler of North Africa, Ziyādat-Allāh (817–38), suzerain rights over Sicily on condition that he himself (Euphemios) be governor of the island with the honorific title of *basileus*. The Arab army met firm resistance at Syracuse but by 829 managed to establish a foothold in Mazara (on the west coast) and Mineo (in the interior). In 831/2 the Arabs seized Palermo, in 858/9 Enna (Castrogiovanni), in 878 Syracuse, and in 902 TAORMINA. The ultimate stronghold, Rametta, fell to Arabs in 965.

The last Byz. attempt to recover Sicily, the expedition of George MANIAKES in 1038–42, was of short duration. In 1060 the Normans began their invasion of the island; they completed their conquest in 1091 with the capture of Noto. The Norman occupation was followed by the transfer of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Sicily back to Rome and the establishment of the Latin rite; both Greek language and Byz. administrative and cultural tradition survived, however, well through the period of Norman domination. After the Norman dynasty came to an end, Sicily fell under the control of HENRY VI of Germany and eventually of FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN. In the late 13th C. it was under the unpopular rule of CHARLES I OF ANJOU; Michael VIII Palaiologos organized a coalition against Charles, but before the alliance took effect the rebellion of 1282, called the SICILIAN VESPERS, put Charles to flight. Peter of Aragon then assumed control over the island.

LIT. L.C. Ruggini, "La Sicilia fra Roma e Bisanzio," in *Storia della Sicilia*, vol. 3 (Naples 1980) 1–96. A. Guillou, "La Sicilie byzantine—état de recherches," *ByzF* 5 (1977) 95–145. S. Lagona, "La Sicilia tardo-antica e bizantina," *FelRav*^{4} 119–120 (1980) 111–30. V. von Falkenhausen, "Chiesa greca e Chiesa latina in Sicilia prima della conquista araba," *Archivio Storico Siracusano* 5 (1978/85) 137–55. Eadem, "Il monachesimo greco in Sicilia," *La Sicilia rupestre* (Galatina 1986) 135–74. A. Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Edinburgh 1975). F. Giunta, *Bizantini e bizantinismo nella Sicilia Normanna* (Palermo 1974). Q. Cataudella, "La cultura bizantina in Sicilia," in *Storia della Sicilia*, vol. 4 (Naples 1980) 1–56. –A.K.

SICKNESS. See DISEASE.

SIDE (Σίδη), city of PAMPHYLIA, a metropolis from the 5th C. Excavation has revealed a detailed picture of urban development. Side occupied a peninsula defended by walls restored in late antiquity. Colonnaded streets led from the main gate to the agora and theater, thence past churches and gymnasia to a large basilica on the harbor; the civic buildings were extensively restored by *comites* and various municipal officials called *pater poleos* in the 4th–6th C. This period saw the construction of a new bath and of a large complex of cathedral, bishop's palace, and associated buildings. Unfortunately, the chronology of most buildings has not been determined. Side also had a synagogue that served its Jewish community. Circa 390 AMPHILOCHIOS OF IKONION convoked a large council in Side to condemn Messalianism. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.52) read its minutes, which are now lost. G. Ficker (*Amphilochiana* 1 [Leipzig 1906] 259f) suggested that the council had convened in the 5th C. and was presided over by Amphilochios of Side, a correspondent of Cyril of Alexandria, but his conjecture was rejected (Bardenhewer, *Literatur* 3:221, n.4). Side flourished through the 6th C. but contracted thereafter, when a new fortification wall included only half the urban area. The Byz. churches of Side, which include some of the first examples of the inscribed-cross plan, are tiny compared with earlier churches: one of them was built within the nave of the ruined harbor basilica. Sources of the 11th C. describe Side as abandoned.

LIT. A.M. Mansel, *Side* (Ankara 1978). Idem, *Die Ruinen von Side* (Berlin 1963). C. Foss, "Bryonianus Lollianus of Side," *ZPapEpig* 26 (1977) 161–71. Idem, "Attius Philippus and the Walls of Side," *ibid.*, 172–80. –C.F.

SIDON (Σιδών, Ar. Ṣaydā in Lebanon), ancient Phoenician city, noted during the Roman period for its GLASS industry (R. Dussaud, *Syria* 1 [1920] 230–34) and factories for PURPLE dyeing. ACHILLES TATIUS describes its inner harbor, where ships could safely winter; the port of Sidon was apparently restored in the 5th–6th C. Roman *itineraria* define Sidon as a station on the route from Antioch to Ptolemais. The law school of BERYTUS reportedly moved there temporarily after the earthquake of 550/1. Bishops of Sidon are known from 325. In 512 Sidon housed a local synod in which the Monophysites had a majority despite the resistance of Flavian II, patriarch of Antioch (T. Nöldeke, *BZ* 1 [1892] 333f). The *martyrion* of St. PHOKAS at Sidon had an accommodation for pilgrims (Gerontius, *Life of Melania the Younger*, ch.58, 242.13]). In 637/8 the city fell to the Arabs without a struggle. Baldwin I of Jerusalem captured it in Dec. 1110 with the help of a Norse fleet; thereafter the Crusaders retained Sidon until Saladin took it on 30 July 1187.

LIT. F.C. Eiselen, *Sidon* (New York 1907) 82–109. Stein, *Histoire* 2:172, 758. A. Poidebard, J. Lauffray, *Sidon: Aménagements antiques du port de Saida* (Beirut 1951). J.L. LaMonte, "The Lords of Sidon in the XIIth & XIIIth c.," *Byzantion* 17 (1944/5) 183–211. –M.M.M.

SIDONIUS, more fully Gaius Apollinaris Sidonius, Latin writer, government official, bishop, and saint; born Lyons ca.431, died ca.490; feast-day 23 Aug. A scion of wealthy Gallic aristocrats, Sidonius received a classical and Christian education in his native city and at Arles. In 451 he married Papianilla, whose father EPARCHIUS AVITUS became Western emperor in 455, celebrated the next year by Sidonius in a verse panegyric. After Avitus's fall, Sidonius ingratiated himself with the new ruler MAJORIAN, duly celebrating him in verse in 458; he subsequently received offices and a statue was erected in his honor. After Majorian's fall (461), Sidonius retired to the leisure of his Gallic estates until summoned in 467 on an embassy to Rome before the new emperor ANTHEMIOS, to whom he addressed a verse panegyric and who rewarded Sidonius with the prefecture of Rome (468–69). Abandoning this as uncongenial, Sidonius returned to Gaul where ca.470 he was appointed to the see of Clermont-Ferrand. He survived the invasions of the VISIGOTHS, a panegyric to whose king produced his release from imprisonment in 476.

His extant works comprise 24 poems (eight panegyrics, the rest short occasional pieces) and about 150 letters in nine books. A translation of the Life of APOLLONIOS OF TYANA is lost. Sidonius can tell a good story well, but his style is less attractive than his content. Though often contemptuous of the barbarians, he provides valuable vignettes of them; while sometimes complacent in the face of impending catastrophe, he was not blinded by classical nostalgia to the contemporary realities and strove to preserve the position of his class and himself by paternalism and compromise.

ED. *Oeuvres*, ed. A. Loyen, 3 vols. (Paris 1960–70), with Fr. tr. *Poems and Letters*, ed. W.B. Anderson, 2 vols. (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1935–65), with Eng. tr.

LIT. C.E. Stevens, *Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age* (Oxford 1933). N.K. Chadwick, *Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul* (Cambridge 1955) 296–327. R. van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Berkeley 1985) 157–78. –B.B.

SIEGE. See ARTILLERY AND SIEGE MACHINERY; DE OBSIDIONE TOLERANDA.

SIGE (probably Byz. Συκίδες or Συκή), site in BITHYNIA on the Sea of Marmara west of Mudanya, noted for its church of the Taxiarchs, a cross-domed basilica with narthex, exonarthex, and a complex of late additions. The church preserves some of its sculptural decoration and frescoes. A 19th-C. inscription dates it to 780, a chronology that suits its architectural style. As one of a group of cross-domed basilicas, it is important in establishing the development of Byz. architecture in the 7th–8th C. Constantine XI restored it in 1448. Janin (*infra*) suggests that the church at Sige should be identified with the Church of St. Michael at the MEDIKION monastery, but the latter seems rather to have been located just south of Trigleia.

LIT. H. Buchwald, *The Church of the Archangels in Sige near Mudania* (Vienna 1969). Janin, *Eglises centres* 165, 183f. –C.F.

SIGILLION (σιγίλλιον), generic term designating a document bearing a SEAL (but not necessarily any document with a seal) and used by several CHANCERIES. Imperial *sigillia* (already in 883; few preserved from the 11th C.) displayed in red ink the word *sigillion* and the emperor's autograph MENOLOGEM, but not necessarily his gold seal (this would be a *chrysoboullon sigillion*—see CHRYSOBULL). In the patriarchal chancery, the term *sigillion* (or *sigilliodes gramma*) was used officially first by the mid-13th C. and gradually replaced the

term HYPOMNEMA in designating the most solemn document emanating from the patriarch (with his full signature) in order to set in stone an ecclesiastical law or rule (often voted by the synod) or a privilege granted to a bishopric or a monastery. The *sigillion* (or *sigilliodes gramma*) of public officials, including judges (for whom the *hypomnema* was substantiated legal opinion) and tax collectors, was a solemn document confirmed with their lead seal.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 112f. Svoronos, "Actes des fonctionnaires" 426f. –N.O.

SIGILLOGRAPHY. Byz. SEALS, like COINS, form an unbroken historical record. Because of the scarcity of Byz. charters, on the one hand, and, on the other, the large number of extant seals, sigillography has long been recognized as an important AUXILIARY DISCIPLINE, its place firmly established by G. Schlumberger with the publication of his monumental *Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1884). At least 40,000 seals are extant; almost all of these are lead, only some 30 being gold.

Prosopography and Ethnography. Seals have proven invaluable in revealing the existence of people or persons who are not known (or at best poorly known) from written sources. For example, a group of seals has established the presence of a Slavic tribe, the Bichetai, living in the 9th C. within the boundaries of the empire, seemingly in the theme of Hellas (Zacos, *Seals* 1.2, no.1877). Seals are a major source for compiling and filling out lists of the names of officials, both lay and ecclesiastical, who occupied such varied offices as *strategoi* of the themes, judges of the Hippodrome, directors of silk factories, and *hegoumenoi* of monasteries. Thus, the seal of a certain Epiphanios, *hegoumenos* of the monastery of Patmos, identifies a superior (ca.1130–60) whose name is not otherwise attested (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1279). Seals either supplement information about members of Byz. families or, not uncommonly, are the sole witness of their existence. For example, the Palaiologoi are among the most famous families of Byz., yet several early members are known only from seals, such as the *kouropalates* Theodore Palaiologos and the *nobelissimos* Alexander Palaiologos (Cheynet-Vannier, *Etudes*, pp. 136f, nos. 3, 5).

Administrative Studies. Since provincial affairs are, on the whole, poorly documented in Byz. historical writings, seals of provincial officials can offer unique information. Zacos and Veglery (Zacos, *Seals* 1.1:211–363) have published some 200 seals issued by KOMMERKIARIOI, or impost collectors, a series dating from the later 6th C. to the mid-9th C. Inscribed with the place names where imperial warehouses functioned, these bullae provide invaluable data about trade routes within the empire. A 7th-C. seal with the legend *Tes phabrikos Seleukeias* testifies to the existence of an arms factory in Seleukeia (Zacos, *Seals* 1.2, no.1136). Seals deriving from periods of expansion and consolidation reflect successful campaigns along the borders and the installation of Byz. officials in newly acquired territories. In the wake of expansion along the southeastern frontiers, new THEMES emerged in the 10th C., a development attested by such seals as the bulla of David (?), *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Aetos (a region near Edessa; cf. Zacos, *Seals* 2.1, no.349). The gradual expansion of Byz. along its eastern frontiers in the 10th–11th C. is traceable through seals such as the later 10th-C. bulla of Gregoras, *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Leontokome (Zacos, *Seals* 2.1, no.157), and the mid-11th-C. bulla of Stephen, *katepano* of Vaspurakan (Zacos, *Seals* 2.1, no.1046). Often seals reveal or confirm documentary evidence about the earlier history of the administration of a region and its elevation from an *archontia* to a theme; the seal of Bardas, *archon* of the Strymon (Zacos, *Seals* 1.2, no.1753), for example, suggests such a development within the theme of the same name. Seals have also proven useful for uncovering administrative groupings. Thus four seals, presently at Dumbarton Oaks and identifying their respective owners as "judge of Chaldia and Derzene," show that, as occasion warranted in the later 10th–11th C., the administration of justice in these two themes was combined.

Foreign Relations. Bullae also complement written sources regarding relationships between the empire and foreign peoples, as in the case of the seal of the Bulgarian khan Tervel. On this bulla (Oikonomides, *Seals* 24), Tervel, who, as ally of Justinian II, received the title of caesar in 705, is represented as a Byz. emperor, wearing a crown, cuirassed, and carrying a shield with a depiction of a victorious horseman. N. Oikonomides (*RN*^{6} 25 [1983] 191–93) has published a 12th-C. seal struck in the name of the Danişmendid ruler Yaghibasan (1142–64); it carries on the obverse a bust of Christ Emmanuel and on the reverse a legend reading in Greek, "Slave of the Emperor, the emir Yaghibasan." The seal vividly confirms the testimony of historical sources that by 1146 Yaghibasan had become an ally of Manuel I.

Religious Life. Seals have brought to light a number of diaconates or CONFRATERNITIES (charitable organizations attached to a particular church or monastery), such as the 12th-C. "diaconate of the monastery of Theodore" (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1218) and the 8th-C. "diaconate of the Theotokos" (ibid., nos. 1219–20). Since seals often carry on the obverse a depiction of the Virgin, Christ, or a saint, they are useful for gauging the popularity of saints in a given period or even attesting the existence of certain cults, as in the case of the 7th-C. seal of the "diaconate of St. Koronatos" (ibid., no.1214), affirming devotion to a saint whose cult is little known.

Art Historical Studies. Since seals form a continuous historical record, they offer insights into the changes and development of artistic style and iconography. For example, the bullae of the patriarchs of Constantinople provide information on the development of throne types, since either Christ or the Virgin is often depicted seated. With regard to ICONOCLASM, a few seals dated to the period of the Iconophile reaction supply an exceptional glimpse of style and iconography in the years 787–815 (Zacos, *Seals* 1.2:810–24). In addition, seals can be profitably consulted regarding early or rare instances of the depiction of a saint, as in the instance of a later 9th–10th-C. seal of the Fogg Art Museum (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.53), which is decorated on the reverse with a bust of St. Himerios, perhaps the sole extant depiction of this 7th-C. martyr.

Poetical Studies. Beginning in the 10th C. it became popular for legends on seals to be inscribed in meter. At first, inscriptions were couched in dodecasyllabic verse, but later 15-syllable or POLITICAL VERSE was used. Such seals provide a source for research on poetic tastes and style.

Difficulties of Dating and Identification. For the dating of seals the sigillographer relies on letter forms, the manner and style in which a seal is decorated, and internal evidence. It is really only on the basis of the latter that a seal can be closely dated, as in the case of the seal of Michael Stryphnos, "grand *doux* and husband of Theodora, sister of the empress" (1195–1203; Oikonomides, *Dated Seals*, no.126). Although the family name does not appear, the attribution to this personage, well known from historical sources, is assured both by the information given in the legend and the decoration of the obverse with a depiction of St. Hyakinthos of Amastris; this saint, rarely shown on seals, is found on bullae with Michael's name inscribed in full. It is the exception, rather than the rule, however, that a seal can be securely ascribed to persons known through texts, since often no family name appears, and at the same time the Christian name is a common one, such as John or Constantine, and the person's title is also relatively common. In these cases the sigillographer must rely on the subjective criteria of style and the epigraphic characteristics of letter form; on this basis a seal cannot be dated more closely than to a century or, at best, within fifty years.

Collections. The largest collection of Byz. lead seals, consisting of some 17,000 examples, is preserved at Dumbarton Oaks. The next largest is the some 12,000–13,000 lead bullae at the Hermitage in Leningrad. The number of seals in the collection of the National Numismatic Museum at Athens is unknown, but the holdings of this museum are quite extensive (some 2,500 lead sealings were published from this collection by K.M. Konstantopoulos, *Byzantiaka molybdoboulla tou en Athenais Ethnikou Nomismatikou Mouseiou* [Athens 1917]). Smaller collections, numbering fewer than 3,000 sealings, are to be found in the national museums of Vienna, Istanbul, Paris, and Sofia (concerning the last, see N.A. Mušmov in *IzvBŭlgArchInst* 8 [1934] 331–49). No list of collections is complete without mention of the private collection of approximately 6,000 sealings assembled by G. Zacos (the majority published under the title *Byzantine Lead Seals*, 2 vols. in 4 pts. [Basel-Bern 1972–84]).

LIT. N. Oikonomides, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Washington, D.C., 1985). V. Laurent, *La Collection C. Orghidan* (Paris 1952). Idem, *Les sceaux byzantins du Médailler Vatican* (Vatican 1962). Idem, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, 2 vols. in 5 pts. (Paris 1963–81). W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, pt. 1, *Kaiserhof* (Vienna 1978). V. Šandrovskaja, *Sfragistika*, in *Iskusstvo Vizantii v sobranijach SSSR. Katalog vystavki* (Moscow 1977) vol. 1, nos. 205–58; vol. 2, nos. 447–57, 678–865; vol. 3, nos. 1020–1044.
–J.W.N.

SILENTIARIOS (σιλεντιάριος), a court attendant whose first duty was to secure order and silence in the palace. The *silentiarioi* belonged to the staff of the PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI and stood under the jurisdiction of the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM. *Silentiarioi* are first mentioned in an edict of 326 (Guilland) or 328 (Seeck). By 437 the *schola* of *silentiarioi* in Constantinople consisted of 30 members under the command of three *decuriones*. Their functions were informal: they served as the emperor's marshals, calling the meeting of the CONSISTORIUM (*silentium nuntiare*), and also guarded the emperor during military expeditions. Low-ranking servants at the time of Constantine I, the *silentiarioi* became SPECTABILES in the 5th C. and their *decuriones* were ILLUSTRES in the 6th C. In the late 5th C. a *decurion* of the *silentiarioi*, Anastasios (I), was proclaimed emperor. After the 6th C. their role decreased and became ceremonial. In TAKTIKA and on seals the term is used as a title, not an office. Oikonomides (*Listes* 296) thinks that the last datable mention of *silentiarios* comes from the reign of Nikephoros II Phokas, but Guilland concludes that *silentiarioi* still existed in the 11th–12th C.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 2.R. 3 (1929) 57f. Guilland, *Titres*, pt. XVII (1967), 33–46. Bury, *Adm. System* 24f. –A.K.

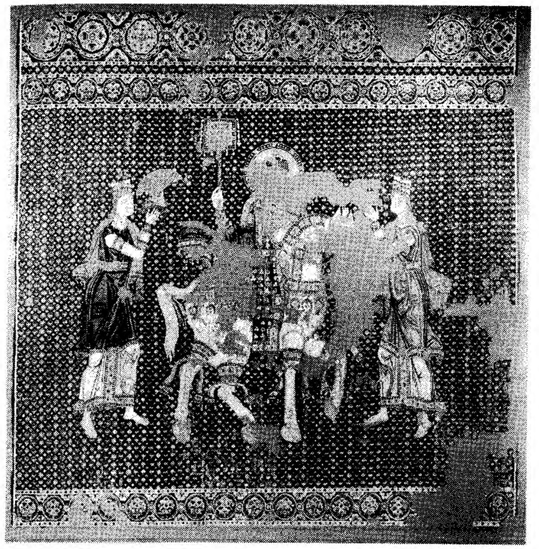
SILENTIUM (σιλέντιον, lit. "silence"), the joint meeting of the SENATE and CONSISTORIUM. Justinian I (nov.62.1.2, from 534 or 537) considered the *silentium* as the supreme judicial tribunal. The *silentium* discussed cases of treason and crime against the emperor, as well as major ecclesiastical issues. The *silentium* also functioned as a supreme ceremonial gathering to praise the emperor or to receive foreign ambassadors. After the disappearance of the *consistorium* the term *silentium* continued to refer to solemn gatherings. The biographer of STEPHEN THE YOUNGER relates that Constantine V convened a *silentium* in the HIPPODROME in order to punish the Iconophiles; for this he summoned "young and old, men and women" (PG 100:1136D–1137A). A 10th-C. historian (Genes. 36.83) still used the term to designate a convention of senators in the MAGNAURA, whereas later authors referred to speeches of the emperor as *silentia* (e.g., Nik.Chon. 210.74).

LIT. Aik. Christophilopoulou, "Silention," *BZ* 44 (1951) 79–85. –A.K.

SILK (μέταξα, σηρικόν), yarns and textiles made with filaments of the cocoons of several species of moth (esp. the *Bombyx mori*, which feeds on white mulberry leaves and was cultivated in ancient China). Silk cloths from the Far East reached the Mediterranean already in Roman times, and raw silk and silk yarns imported from China, Central Asia, and India via the SILK ROUTES formed the basis for the production of late Roman silks. In 553/4, under Justinian I, actual silk moth eggs were reportedly smuggled into the empire by some monks who had learned the secrets of sericulture (Prokopios, *Wars* 8.17.1–8); the silk industry thus established eventually came to constitute a major element of the Byz. economy. Silk moths were cultivated first in Syria, then in Asia Minor, southern Greece, and southern Italy; weaving establishments are attested in Phoenicia by the 7th C., and there is archaeological evidence for the existence of silk weaving in Egypt (M. Martiniani-Reber, *Lyon, Musée historique des tissus: Soieries sassanides, coptes et byzantines Ve–XIe siècles* [Paris 1986] 61–97). Additional supplies of raw silk and silk textiles were imported from these countries after they came under Muslim domination.

The center of the Byz. silk industry from the 7th C. onward was Constantinople, though after the 10th C. silk weaving is known to have been practiced in Thebes, Corinth, Athens, and Thessalonike as well. The silks were made either in imperial FACTORIES (located both within and near the Great Palace) or in numerous private workshops. The industry was very specialized and, in Constantinople at least, the private production of silk was divided among several different professions, whose members were organized into guilds. Some of these professions are named in the *Book of the Eparch*: the PRANDIOPRATES or silk importer, the SILK MERCHANT for the raw silk, the KATARTARIOS, or raw silk dresser, the SERIKARIOS, or silk weaver, and the VESTIOPRATES, or silk clothier.

Silks were widely used in Byz. for court and ecclesiastical vestments, and for domestic and church furnishings, such as altar cloths, curtains, and couch covers. Silk yarns were used for a variety of fabrics, including tapestry-woven hangings (see TEXTILES) and EMBROIDERY. Wearing of the finest grades of silks, esp. the purple-dyed ones (see BLATTION), was limited to the imperial family and entourage, at least through the 9th C.



SILK. Silk tapestry depicting an imperial triumph; 10th or 11th C. Cathedral Treasury, Bamberg. The mounted emperor, possibly Basil II, is greeted by two city personifications (Tyches).

Silk was always considered a luxury product; valued on a par with gold and other precious materials (even sold by weight and bought on speculation), its manufacture and trade was controlled, and its quality guaranteed, by the state. Foreign trading of Byz. silks was restricted. Only small quantities were exported to Muslim countries (S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1 [Berkeley–Los Angeles 1967] 46, 103; vol. 4 [1983] 299–301), and the Venetian, Amalfitan, and other privileged Italian merchants were permitted to sell only lesser quality Byz. silks in Pavia.

Silks from the state workshops in Constantinople were thus greatly coveted both at home and abroad; they were an essential part of official court COSTUME and could also be awarded to loyal followers. As imperial gifts, they were an important element of Byz. foreign policy: since neither western Europe nor the Slavs produced any silk of their own, they turned to Byz. for silks, which they could acquire only in the form of official gifts or tribute (100 SKARAMANGIA, for example, were sent annually to Symeon of Bulgaria by Leo VI and Romanos I Lekapenos).

The few extant Byz. silks are found mainly in the church treasuries of western Europe, where they were often used to wrap holy relics; most date from the 10th and 11th C., though pre-Iconoclastic silks have also survived. Most likely made in imperial factories and given by the emperor (the names of emperors were woven on several of them), these fabrics amply justify the prestige of Byz. silks attested in the sources. Superb examples of twill weave (a patterned drawloom technique particularly suitable for silk yarn), the silks are characterized by bright colors and bold animal designs (esp. lions, griffins, and elephants in roundels, and eagles); comparable designs are mentioned in Byz. sources. They required great technical dexterity, esp. to achieve the repeats and the complicated outlines. Silks featuring hunting scenes and images of emperors are also known (e.g., the Bamberg tapestry, and the portrait of John I Tzimiskes on a silk listed in the inventory of the VELJUSA MONASTERY, ed. Petit, 123.17). One of the very rare silks woven with a biblical theme (the pair of Annunciation and Nativity panels in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican) has been variously dated (6th and early 9th C.).

LIT. O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenwerberei* (Berlin 1913) vol. 2:1–24. A. Muthesius, "A Practical Approach to the History of Byzantine Silk Weaving," *JÖB* 34 (1984) 235–54. R.S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum* 20 (1945) 1–42. N. Oikonomides, "Silk Trade and Production in Byzantium from the Sixth to the Ninth Century: The Seals of Kommerkiarioi," *DOP* 40 (1986) 33–53. H. Schmidt, *Alte Seidenstoffe* (Braunschweig 1958) 64–87. –A.G., N.P.S.

SILK MERCHANT. In Justinian I's legislation (*Cod.Just.* VIII 13[14].27) the Latin term for silk merchant is *metaxarius*; in the 10th C. their guild was called that of the *metaxopratai*. The *Book of the Eparch* (ch.6.14) defines their function as purchasing and selling raw SILK (*metaxa*); they were prohibited from engaging in silk processing or production. *Metaxopratai* bought raw silk from traders coming "from outside" (from the provinces or a foreign country?) and sold it publicly ("in the forum," not in their private houses) to buyers who were primarily the KATARTARIOI or processors of raw silk. The sale of *metaxa* to Jews or to merchants who would export it from Constantinople was forbidden.

In the chapter on *katartarioi* (ch.7.2) the term *metaxarios* also appears—the reference is to *metaxarioi* who are not on the official register. It is unclear whether they are identical with the *meta-*

xopratai or form a group of lower-ranking merchants (i.e., silk traders who do not belong to the guild). Another unclear term is the "so-called *melathrarioi*" (ch.6.15) who are forbidden to sell "the cleaned raw silk"; it is uncertain whether they are forbidden to deal at all in raw silk, and thus *melathrarioi* (or *lathrarioi*, as Sjuzjumov suggested) are unauthorized dealers, or whether they are traders in uncleaned raw silk.

Another problem is the relationship between the dealers in raw silk, the *metaxopratai*, and the silk processors (*katartarioi*). Discussion has questioned whether the *metaxopratai* formed a guild of manufacturer-managers who controlled silk processing or whether they were simply a wealthier guild, and therefore *katartarioi* were anxious to join it.

To be distinguished from the *metaxoprates* is the *serikoprates*, a type of silk merchant mentioned in the *Book of the Eparch* (4.2 and 7). The *serikoprates* evidently dealt in silk textiles rather than raw silk, since the regulations attest that the VESTIOPRATAI bought cloth from either *archontes* or *serikopratai* and forbade one person to combine the job of a *vestioprates* and a *serikoprates*. Both Stöckle (*Zünfte* 31) and Sjuzjumov (*Bk. of Eparch* 150) consider the *serikoprates* identical with the SERIKARIOS, an artisan involved in various aspects of silk production, esp. dyeing, and the sale of textiles.

Two 8th-C. seals of a certain Anastasios have been published (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 656–57): on one he is termed *hypatos* (Zacos [*Seals* 1, no.3076] considers the reading of the word questionable) and *serikoprates*; on the other *holoserikoprates*. The seals add to the confusion rather than solve it—it remains unclear whether this Anastasios was a state functionary (if the *hypatos* is a correct reconstruction) or only a private merchant, and whether he traded in all sorts of silk fabric or only in specific varieties of this textile.

LIT. Sjuzjumov, *Bk. of Eparch* 161–74. D. Simon, "Die byzantinischen Seidenzünfte," *BZ* 68 (1975) 23f, 35–42. G. Mickwitz, "Die Organisationsformen zweier byzantinischer Gewerbe im X. Jahrhundert," *BZ* 36 (1936) 70–76.
–A.K.

SILK ROUTE, the routes through which SPICES and SILK (whose production was a Chinese monopoly until the reign of Justinian I) reached the ports of the MEDITERRANEAN. In the 6th C., KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES mentions the existence of two routes, one by sea from China to Ceylon and the other through the steppes of Central Asia to the Persian frontier. The sea route continued through the Red Sea to Ethiopia and eventually to Egypt or Syria.

The land route from China went along the north edge of the Lob Nor desert, or north of the Turfan oasis, and reached the Persian border. By treaties, Nisibis and Dara were important trade posts where the Byz. bought silk from the Persian middlemen. The undesirable dependence on the Persians forced the Byz., at the time of Justinian I, to develop domestic production and to seek to open the northern routes, from the Black Sea to the Caspian and then along a line parallel to the central land route. This, however, was a very difficult route until the 13th C., when the Mongols brought all these areas under their control and made it possible for merchandise to travel safely along it. Chinese silk was first mentioned in Genoa in 1257–59 and must have come from the northern route. PEGOLOTTI mentions the northern route as the safest; it took between 259 and 284 days to travel from the Crimea to Peking. The central and southern routes regained their importance after the mid-14th C.

LIT. N. Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien* (Berlin-Amsterdam 1969). R.S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum* 20 (1945) 1–42. R.S. Lopez, "China Silk in Europe in the Yuan Period," *JAOS* 72 (1952) 72–76. H.W. Haussig, *Die Geschichte Zentralasiens und der Seidenstrasse in vorislamischer Zeit* (Darmstadt 1983).
–A.L.

SILK WEAVER. See SERIKARIOS.

SILVAN. See MARTYROPOLIS.

SILVER (ἄργυρος, also ἄσημον, ἀσήμιν [e.g., *Lavra* 3, no.147.2, a.1375]) was the second most precious metal in Byz. The official ratio of GOLD to silver in the late Roman Empire was 1:18 (according to *Cod.Theod.* VIII 4.27, 4 solidi were equivalent to 1 libra of silver), and ca.1300 it was 1:14 (Schilbach, *Metrologie* 125). The proportion of silver obtained from MINES and from recycling is uncertain. In the 6th C. no silver coins were struck for commercial purposes and only occasional ceremonial COINS were issued in silver. In the 7th C. the silver HEXAGRAM was introduced by Herakleios and later on MILIARESIA were minted, but these played a smaller role than their counterparts in gold and copper. In 13th-C. Trebizond the silver *aspron* became a common coin, probably due to the area's proximity to Caucasian sources of silver ore.

From the 4th to the 7th C. silver was widely used for furniture REVETMENTS. In addition, about 1,500 examples of domestic PLATE and LITURGICAL VESSELS survive from the period as single objects or TREASURES. Nearly all the approximately 300 objects that have been analyzed are of 92–98 percent pure silver. About 200 objects have SILVER STAMPS. Many plates, PATENS, and SPOONS surpass those of the 3rd C. or earlier in size and weight. Most objects of the 4th–7th C. were shaped by hammering (and occasionally cut into openwork) rather than cast, except for attachments such as handles, which were made separately and soldered into place. Decorative techniques included raised (by repoussé [*anaglyphon*] or chasing and carving) and incised work as well as the inlay of engraved areas with niello (*enkausis*). Further embellishment was provided by partial gilding (*diachryson*).

It is known from written texts that silver enjoyed many of the same uses after the 7th C., but few examples survive. Silver was employed for the decoration of church pavements and liturgical vessels (of the types in use already in the 4th–7th C.) as well as ICON FRAMES (*Xénoph.*, no.1.81–85). Although some domestic plate of silver survives from after the 7th C. and is also cited in texts, little personal jewelry was ever made of silver, except for certain AMULETS.

Almost no scientific work has been carried out on silver made after the 7th C. Except for the introduction of filigree work (and the cloisonné technique in the Palaiologan period), most of the metalworking techniques from the earlier period (4th–7th C.) continued in use. But the effect achieved was often very different after the 7th C.: silver objects might be completely gilded in imitation of gold, particularly those set with gold enamel plaques and gems, and liberal use was made of ornamental scrollwork.

LIT. C.E. Snow, T.D. Weisser in Mango, *Silver* 38–65. M. Frazer, "Byzantine Enamels and Goldsmith's Work," in *Treasury S. Marco* 109–78. Grierson, *DOC* 2.1 (1968) 17–21. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 125f, 175–79. Kent-Painter, *Wealth*. V.N. Zalesskaja, "Vizantijskaja torevtika," *VizVrem* 43 (1982) 124–33.
–M.M.M., L.Ph.B., A.C.

SILVERSMITH. See JEWELER.

SILVER STAMPS, state control marks impressed on some silver objects between the 4th and 8th (?) C. In the early 4th C. such stamps, giving the place of manufacture (e.g., Nikomedeia, Antioch), were applied to some LARGITIO DISHES manufactured by the state for distribution by the emperor (see MUNICH TREASURE); the earliest surviving examples were made for Licinius at Naissos in 317. Contemporary with these stamps are those of various types impressed on INGOTS, bearing the names of places and officials. From 350 onward, gold and silver ingot stamps could include an imperial bust, and two of this latter type (dated 393–95 and ca.425) are composed of four different stamps, one of which features a TYCHE. Such stamps also appear on silver objects: *tyche* stamps are attributed to the 4th–5th C. and sets of multiple stamps with imperial busts were introduced under Anastasios I.

As introduced, these multiple control marks included five stamps of different shapes containing combinations of imperial busts, imperial monograms, monograms of the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM, and names of minor officials. By the 7th C., the name of the EPARCH OF THE CITY or some other official apparently replaced that of the *comes*. The multiple stamps continued to be used into the reign of Constans II. Although Constantinople is not named in the multiple stamps, it is supposed that they were all applied there, although similar stamps (dated 602–10) bear the name of ANTIOCH (Theoupolis). Contemporary with the *pentasphragiston* (five-stamp) series of control marks is another, likewise giving the emperor's name, which is composed of two stamps, the earliest dated example of which was applied in 541 at Carthage; the other stamps of this type do not name a city.

There are at least seven other types of silver stamps published that are apparently Byz. but belong to none of the above groups; at least one Merovingian imitation of the five-stamp type is known. While it has been assumed that the stamps guaranteed metallic purity, compositional analysis of a wide range of silver objects of the 4th–7th C. has established that stamped and unstamped SILVER objects were of comparable metallic refinement.

LIT. E.C. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps* (Washington, D.C., 1961). Baratte, "Ateliers," 193–212. D. Feissel, "Le préfet de Constantinople, les poids-étalons et l'estampillage de l'argenterie au VIe et au VIIe siècle," *RN*^{6} 28 (1986) 119–

42. R. Delmaire, "Les largesses impériales et l'émission d'argenterie du IVe au VIe siècle," in *Arg. rom. et byz.* 113–22. –M.M.M.

SILVESTER I, pope (from 31 Jan. 314); died Rome 30 Jan. 335. He played a more significant role in legend than in reality. In the 5th C. the legend spread in both Syria and Rome that CONSTANTINE I was baptized not by Eusebios in Nikomedeia but by Silvester in Rome; Malalas was familiar with this legend in the 6th C. The date when the legend reached Constantinople is debatable: C. Mango and I. Ševčenko (*DOP* 15 [1961] 245 and n.14) hypothesize that Silvester's baptism of Constantine was represented in the 6th-C. Church of St. POLYEUKTOS; the first undisputed mention of it is in the epistle sent by Pope HADRIAN I to Emp. Constantine VI in the late 8th C. It is not known when the Latin *Acts* of Silvester, describing his miracles and the baptism of Constantine, were translated into Greek: while in the early 9th C. Theophanes the Confessor only mentions the baptism, in the mid-9th C. George Hamartolos used the *Acts* abundantly. The legend also connected the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE with Silvester. I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (*JÖB* 32.5 [1982] 453–58) notes that Vat. gr. 752 (dated in 1059) included a representation of Silvester, and she suggests that this scene reflected the conflict between Emp. Isaac I and Patr. Michael I Keroularios.

SOURCE. *Illustrium Christi martyrum lecti triumphi,* ed. F. Combefis (Paris 1660) 258–336.

LIT. W. Levison, "Konstantinische Schenkung und Silvester-Legende," *ST* 38 (1924) 159–247. M. van Esbroeck, "Legends about Constantine in Armenian," *Classical Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1982) 79–101. E. Ewig, "Das Bild Konstantins des Grossen in den ersten Jahrhunderten des abendländischen Mittelalters," *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien* (Munich 1976) 1:72–113. –A.K.

SIMEON. See SYMEON; for St. Simeon of Serbia, see STEFAN NEMANJA.

SIMILE (*παραβολή*), a RHETORICAL FIGURE by which an object or action is explicitly compared with another object, etc., often by use of "like" (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 1:371.7–9). Since antiquity Homer was considered as a master of the simile. Eustathios of Thessalonike, who deals much with Homeric similes, indicates that they had three goals (3:249.12–13): amplification (*auxesis*), [emotional] effectiveness (*energeia*), and clarity (*sapheneia*). As similes the Byz. widely used images borrowed from ancient writers, such as "cave" (W. Blum, *VigChr* 28 [1974] 43–49), "sea" (T. Miller in *Antičnost' i sovremennost'* [Moscow 1972] 360–69), "harbor," "banquet" (P. Alexander, *VigChr* 30 [1976] 55–62), and so forth. A direct comparison with biblical personages and figures of mythology and ancient history was common. Starting with St. Paul, early Christian and patristic texts used athletic metaphors (athlete of Christ, training, etc.) borrowed from pagan popular philosophical diatribe (R. Merkelbach, *ZPapEpig* 18 [1975] 101–48).

The attitudes of authors toward the use of similes and METAPHORS were personal: some authors, such as JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, resorted to similes reluctantly, others, for example, his contemporary Nikephoros GREGORAS, readily employed them, developing the image into a complete episode. One can speculate that the surrounding milieu influenced the choice of simile: SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN preferred metaphors and similes reflecting court life and commerce, whereas another mystical theologian, ELIAS EKDIKOS, favored military and agricultural similes (A. Kazhdan in *Unser ganzes Leben Christus unserem Gott überantworten* [Göttingen 1982] 221–39). Different authors might emphasize different aspects of the simile: thus in PSELLOS or Gregoras similes of the sea bear a predominantly optimistic message, salvation from the storm, whereas in Niketas CHONIATES the emphasis lies on shipwreck (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 263–78).

LIT. M. McCall, *Ancient Rhetorical Theories of Simile and Comparison* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969). J. Sawhill, *The Use of Athletic Metaphors in the Biblical Homilies of St. John Chrysostom* (Princeton 1928). H. Degen, *Die Tropen der Vergleichung bei Johannes Chrysostomus* (Olten 1921). –A.K.

SIMOKATTES, THEOPHYLAKTOS, civil servant and writer; born Egypt late 6th C. Simokattes (*Σιμοκάτ⟨τ⟩ης*) is called *antigrapheus* and *apo eparchon* and may be the judge attested in an inscription from Aphrodisias ca.641 (Grégoire, *Inscriptions*, no.247); he may earlier have served Probus, bishop of Chalcedon. His major work is a history in eight books of the reign of MAURICE, whom he also eulogized in a speech at the commemorative funeral organized ca.610 at Constantinople by

Herakleios. Written in continuation of MENANDER PROTECTOR, his work, though bombastic, chronologically unsound, and neglectful of Western events, is honestly presented and provides an important contemporary account of the period. Letters and documents are cited, while the presentation of Maurice ranges beyond military matters to detailed accounts of imperial ceremonial at Constantinople. Simokattes' geographical horizons extend through the Turkic peoples to CHINA (P.A. Boodberg, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 3 [1938] 223–53). His prefatory dialogue between the personified History and Philosophy elaborates the traditional PROOIMION separating history from other genres (T. Nissen, *BNJbb* 15 [1939] 3–13). Simokattes is more overtly Christian than his predecessors, with correspondingly more overt attention to miraculous happenings; he serves as an important halfway house between the so-called Profanhistoriker and THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR. He also composed a dialogue dealing with natural sciences, a work on predestination once wrongly ascribed to PSELLOS, and 85 letters on erotic and other traditional sophistic themes that suggest, as does his *History*, that he was a trained rhetorician.

ED. *Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor, revised P. Wirth (Stuttgart 1972). *The History of Theophylact Simocatta,* Eng. tr. L.M. & M. Whitby (Oxford 1986). *Questioni naturali*[2], ed. L. Massa Positano (Naples 1965). *On Predestined Terms of Life*, ed. C. Garton, L.G. Westerink (Buffalo, N.Y., 1978), with Eng. tr. *Epistulae*, ed. I. Zanetto (Leipzig 1985).

LIT. O. Veh, *Untersuchungen zu dem byzantinischen Historiker Theophylaktos Simokattes* (Fürth 1957). A. Moffatt, "The After-Life of the Letters of Theophylaktos Simokatta," in *Maistor* 345–58. T. Olajos, *Les sources de Théophylacte Simocatta historien* (Leiden 1988). M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian* (Oxford 1988). J.D.C. Frendo, "History and Panegyric in the Age of Heraclius: The Literary Background to the Composition of the *Histories* of Theophylact Simocatta," *DOP* 42 (1988) 143–56. –B.B.

SIMONIS (*Σιμωνίς*), daughter of ANDRONIKOS II and IRENE-YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT; wife of STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN; born Constantinople 1294, died Constantinople after 1336. The marriage of five-year-old Simonis resulted from a difficult political situation for the Byz. on their frontier with Serbia: the Byz. army had been defeated by the Serbs and Andronikos wanted to negotiate a peace treaty. He suggested a marriage alliance to Milutin, who gladly accepted even though it meant repudiating his wife Anna, the daughter of the Bulgarian tsar George Terter. Andronikos had originally planned to betroth to Milutin his sister Eudokia, widow of John II Komnenos of Trebizond; when she refused, Simonis remained the only possibility. Andronikos and Irene-Yolanda insisted on the marriage even though they met with resistance, esp. in ecclesiastical circles. Milutin also had to overcome local opposition since an alliance with Byz. meant the rupture of relations with Bulgaria.

At the end of 1298 (*Reg* 4, no.2209) Theodore METOCHITES went as ambassador to Serbia and reached an agreement after long negotiations. The wedding was celebrated that spring in Thessalonike, and in April 1299 Simonis left for Serbia. Eventually Irene-Yolanda tried to use Simonis to influence Milutin: Gregoras claims that the empress hoped that the Serbs would conquer Byz. to the benefit of Simonis and her descendants. When Irene learned that Simonis was unable to have children, she tried to make Milutin adopt one of her sons (Demetrios or Theodore) as the heir to the Serbian throne. After Milutin's death in 1321, Simonis returned to the Byz. capital and took the veil at the convent of St. Andrew in Krisei. She was her father's confidant until his death. Her fresco portrait is preserved at Gračanica.

LIT. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 94–99, 229–31. M. Laskaris, *Vizantiske princeze u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade 1926) 53–82. L. Mavromatis, *La fondation de l'empire serbe. Le Kralj Milutin* (Thessalonike 1978) 89–119. *VizIzvori* 6:77–143. –J.S.A.

SIMONY (*ἡ τοῦ Σίμωνος αἵρεσις*). The act of buying or selling an ecclesiastical office or service (liturgical, judicial, or administrative) by a layman or cleric was characterized in the canons from the 4th C. onward as the "heresy of Simon" (cf. Acts 8:14–24). Canon law specified the punishment of dismissal for all ecclesiastical parties concerned and of excommunication for laymen (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:37.1–5, 217f, 554f, 572f, 630f). Although such acts were repeatedly condemned in canon law until the fall of the empire (GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, ed. L. Petit, X. Sideridès, M. Jugie, vol. 4 [Paris 1935] 480.35–38) as well as by civil law (Justinian I, novs. 6.1.5; 123.2.1, 16; 137.2), it is evident that the practice was in fact widespread and indeed "institutionalized."

The evidence comes from the civil and ecclesi-

astical laws that limited the sums of money ("the customary gratuity") given (1) by a cleric to his future colleagues upon his appointment to Hagia Sophia (cf. S. Troianos, *Diptycha* 1 [1979] 37–52), (2) by a cleric to the bishop who ordained him, and (3) by laymen to clerics who performed weddings. What began as a means of providing an income for the otherwise unsalaried clerics developed into a contribution that was expected. Money that was given to the bishop as KANONIKON (Patr. Nicholas III defended the custom [*Reg.patr.* 3, no.942] by referring to I Corinthians 9:7, which considered it unreasonable "to serve in the army at one's own expense"; Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 5:61.9–15) and contributions that were made to clergy "on the occasion of" administering the sacraments were regarded as canonical if the sum was not excessive and was given "by choice of" the donor (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:472.2–6, 5:386.23–27).

LIT. E.S. Papagianni, *Ta oikonomika tou engamou klerou sto Byzantio* (Athens 1986) 224–47. –R.J.M.

SIMPLIKIOS (Σιμπλίκιος), philosopher who studied under AMMONIOS at Alexandria and DAMASKIOS at Athens; born Cilicia 6th C. Some time after Justinian's interference with the ACADEMY OF ATHENS in 529, Simplikios was one of the seven famous philosophers who migrated to the court of the Persian king CHOSROES I. When disillusion set in, they were allowed to return to Byz. territory under pledges of safe conduct and freedom of expression. Simplikios spent his remaining years in Athens, producing important commentaries on ARISTOTLE, as well as one on the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus, superficially dull but perhaps containing discreet attacks on Justinian and Christianity if read between the lines. Cameron (*infra*) suggests that Simplikios may be the "bean-eating Athenian" attacked by PAUL SILENTIARIOS in his description of Hagia Sophia (125–27). Simplikios did provoke extremes of opinion, being hailed for his Aristotelian scholarship in contemporary epigrams as well as getting embroiled in quarrels with John PHILOPONOS.

ED. *CAG* 7–11. *Commentaire sur les Catégories d'Aristote, traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke*, ed. A. Pattin et al. (Paris 1971–75).

LIT. E. Sonderegger, *Simplikios: Über die Zeit. Ein Kommentar zum Corollarium de tempore* (Göttingen 1982). *Simplicius: Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa survie*, ed. I. Hadot (Berlin–New York 1987). Cameron, "Academy" 13–30. –B.B.

SIN (ἁμαρτία, ἁμάρτημα). Sin was interpreted by church fathers as a falling away from the good, estrangement from God, and spiritual death of the soul. Christianity rejected the Marcionite and Gnostic concepts that matter or the body is bad and sinful as such, since otherwise a real incarnation would not be possible. The church fathers considered sin the choice of human FREE WILL, occurring because of ignorance and weakness (ORIGINAL SIN), pride and disobedience, addiction to material pleasures. Passions (*pathe*) or emotions were distinguished from sin as motives diminishing the use of reason. The healing of sin can be achieved through divine agency with human cooperation, such as PENANCE and CONFESSION, ALMSGIVING, pilgrimage, and other good works. Ecclesiastic punishment of sin included EPITIMION, EXCOMMUNICATION, and suspension of clerics.

The concept of ranking sins by their gravity was developed by Origen (G. Teichtweier, *Die Sündenlehre des Origenes* [Regensburg 1958]), who categorized them into mortal sins and pardonable VICES perpetrated without the full use of reason and free will. By the end of the 4th C. murder, idolatry, and fornication were defined as the three capital sins, and the system of eight vices was developed, primarily by EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS (in the West, Pope Gregory I listed seven). The question of whether this system drew upon Stoic or Gnostic models is still being debated (S. Wenzel, *Speculum* 43 [1968] 2f).

John Chrysostom emphasized in his sermons the social and pastoral aspects of sin and conversion and underlined the necessity of subduing the passions and returning to the practice of love of God and one's neighbor through good works. Later and ascetic authors added little to these principles.

LIT. R. Staats, *RAC* 13:734–70. I. Hausherr, "L'origine de la théorie orientale des huit péchés capitaux," *OrChrAn* 30 (1933) 164–75. A. Vögtle, "Woher stammt das Schema der Hauptsünden?" *ThQ* 122 (1941) 217–37. F. Leduc, "Péché et conversion chez S. Jean Chrysostome," *PrOC* 26 (1976) 34–58; 27 (1977) 15–42; 28 (1978) 44–84. –G.P.

SINAI (Σινά), peninsula north of the Red Sea, between the gulfs of Suez and ʿAqaba. The region forms a plateau with several high peaks and a few fertile valleys such as PHARAN and RAITHOU; it was populated primarily by seminomadic Bedouin tribesmen. The mountains of the southern plateau were an early object of religious veneration,

and tradition connected this region with Moses' encounter with God and transmission of the Law. Christian hermits began to settle in Sinai in the 4th C.—first in the valleys but eventually on Mt. Sinai proper, where several monasteries were built, including the Batos (BURNING BUSH), the future Monastery of St. CATHERINE. Despite the existence of a Roman garrison in Klysma (Suez) that was responsible for the whole area, Arab attacks were frequent and the monks' sufferings provided material for stories of martyrdom. Justinian I is said to have fortified the Batos to protect it from Bedouin raids. Sinai became a center of monastic culture where writers such as JOHN KLIMAX and ANASTASIOS OF SINAI were active; the exploits of Sinaite monks were recorded in several collections (e.g., by NEILOS OF ANKYRA and Ammonios). After the advent of Islam, the threat of Arab invasion compelled the bishop of Pharan to shift his see to the monastery at Mt. Sinai, but this area too fell to the Arabs by the end of the 7th C. Sinai was the goal of many pilgrimages—from EGERIA and the PIACENZA PILGRIM to BOLDENSELE and SCHILTBERGER and his contemporaries.

LIT. R. Devreesse, "Le christianisme dans la péninsule sinaïtique," *RevBibl* 49 (1940) 205–23. K. Amantos, *Syntomos historia tes hieras mones tou Sina* (Thessalonike 1953). M. Labib, *Pèlerins et voyageurs au Mont Sinai* (Paris 1961). –A.K.

SINGERS (ψάλται), trained vocalists who sang the responses and CHANTS of the liturgy and the liturgical HOURS. The composition of the choirs at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople is not sufficiently known. According to the 10th-C. TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH, the singers were divided into two *hebdomades*, each led by a PRIMIKERIOS. Contrary to what is generally believed, there was neither a *protopsaltes* (leader of the right-hand choir) nor a *lampadarios* (leader of the left-hand choir) among the singers at Hagia Sophia before 1453; these ranks were associated with parochial or provincial

SINGERS. *Psaltai* at the funeral of St. Nicholas; fresco, 14th C. Church of Markov Manastir, near Skopje.

churches or they belonged to the so-called Imperial Clergy, that is, they were members of the palatine choirs. The DOMESTIKOS began the chant by singing alone the *echemeta* (intonation formulas), thus establishing the pitch and the mode of the ensuing chant. In late Byz. times, a MAISTOR was chosen to perform particularly elaborate and virtuosic solo items. For secular ceremonies, the ACCLAMATIONS in honor of the imperial family were sung by two choirs of court officials and laymen (*kraktai*).

LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 102–14. N. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* (Leiden 1986). –D.E.C.

SINGIDUNUM (Σιγγιδών, Σιγγιδόνον, mod. Belgrade), Roman city at the confluence of the Sava and the Danube rivers. In late antiquity the bridge over the Sava River made Singidunum an important station on the Via EGNATIA; it also served as a river port for the fleet, but never achieved as high an administrative position as nearby SIRMIUM. A bishopric in the 4th C., Singidunum was a center of Arianism: Ursacius of Singidunum and his successor Secundianus—supported by neighboring bishops in Mursa, Ratiaria, etc.—resisted the creed of Nicaea until 381. In the 5th and 6th C. Singidunum suffered from invasions by the Huns, Sarmatians, Gepids, and other tribes. Prokopios relates that Justinian I restored the city and its walls, but Singidunum was lost to the Avars in the early 7th C. Its subsequent fate is unknown; when Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos mentions it in the 10th C., he refers to the district "around Singidon and Sermion" (*De adm. imp.* 25.22), but in the same work (40.29, 32.20) calls the city Belegrada or Belegradon, Greek forms of its new Slavic name Beograd (White Town).

As a part of the First Bulgarian Empire, Belgrade came under Byz. rule by 1018. Together with ZEMUN, BRANIČEVO, and Sirmium, the city was one of the most important strongholds on the Hungarian frontier; it was destroyed and restored several times during the Byz.-Hungarian wars. Many Crusader armies passed through Belgrade on their way to Constantinople. In the 13th–15th C. Serbs and Hungarians fought over the city. In 1403/4 the Serbian *despotes* Stefan Lazarević received it as a vassal of the Hungarian king, and Belgrade became the Serbian capital; in 1427 Hungary reacquired it. HUNYADI stopped the Ottoman army in 1456 at the walls of Belgrade, but in 1521 the city fell to Süleyman the Magnificent.

LIT. *Istorija Beograda*, vol. 1 (Belgrade 1974) 105–277. J. Kalić-Mijušković, *Beograd u srednjem veku* (Belgrade 1967). F. Barišić, "Vizantiski Singidunum," *ZRVI* 3 (1955) 1–13. –A.K.

SINOPE (Σινώπη, mod. Sinop), major port of PONTOS whose double harbor and location at the narrowest point of the Black Sea provided commercial importance and close ties with the Crimea. Its early history is obscure. It appears in written sources in connection with the Black Sea: Justinian II used Sinope to reconnoiter Cherson, and a *kommerkiarios* of Sinope and the Black Sea is named on a 9th-C. seal (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2894). Sinope was involved in the revolt of Armeniakon in 793, and in 834 THEOPHOBOS was proclaimed *basileus* of Sinope by "Persian" mercenaries. Sinope lay outside the main Arab invasion routes, though they did attack it in 858. In 1081, the Seljuks captured Sinope along with a sizable imperial treasury established there. Alexios I restored Byz. rule, and Sinope prospered as a well-defended port; it was the base for Andronikos (I) Komnenos during his activities in the Pontos. The Komnenoi of TREBIZOND held Sinope from 1204 to 1214, when it fell to the Seljuks; except for a brief Trapezuntine recapture ca.1254–65, it remained under Turkish rule. Sinope was a suffragan bishopric of AMASEIA. Its main Byz. monuments are the fortifications and a gymnasium.

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 69–88. –C.F.

SION, conventional name for elaborate silver models of shrines. Three of them can be connected with the Byz. world: one in the Cathedral Treasury of Aachen, in the form of an almost perfect cube with dome, and two in the treasury of St. Sophia in Novgorod (the Great and the Little Sions), in the form of a rotunda, with a cross, evoking that of Golgotha, on the top. The Little Sion is usually considered as consisting of two independent parts that were eventually connected. The Sion of Aachen bears three biblical quotations and a prayer to the Lord to assist Eustathios, *strategos* of Antioch and Lykandos; according to W. Saunders (*DOP* 36 [1982] 211–19), he should be identified with Eustathios MALEINOS and the object dated 969/70. The Little Sion of Novgorod bears the name of Constantine, *megas oikonomos* of the Tropaiouchos (i.e., St. George), whom N. Oikonomides (*DOP* 34–35 [1980–81] 243–46) hypothetically identified as the future patriarch CONSTANTINE (III) LEICHOUDES. The function of Sions is unclear: Antony of Novgorod (Ch. Loparev, *PPSb* 51 [1899] 13) saw a "radiant bright Jerusalem" carried during the liturgy, together with the RHIPIDIA. The identification of the Aachen Sion as a reliquary (allegedly of Anastasios the Persian) is arbitrary. Nor is it clear whether such shrines in general should be connected with the reputation and form of the Church of St. Sion in Jerusalem disseminated in panegyrics such as that of Patr. John II of Jerusalem, 387–417 (M. van Esbroeck, *AB* 102 [1984] 124f).

LIT. N.V. Pokrovskij, *Ierusalimy ili Siony Sofijskoj riznicy v Novgorode* (St. Petersburg 1911). G.N. Bočarov, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Novgoroda Velikogo* (Moscow 1969) 19–29. –A.C., A.K.

SION, HOLY (Ἁγία Σιών), monastery in LYCIA established in the reign of Justinian I by the local saint, NICHOLAS OF SION, at his birthplace, the village of Tragalassos in the mountains above MYRA. Its fairly uncommon name indicates the close connections between Lycia and Palestine, which developed in part from the visits Nicholas made to Jerusalem. The church soon attracted gifts, most notably the SION TREASURE, lavish silver furnishings of all kinds dedicated by a bishop and other individuals in the late 6th C. The monastery was still functioning in 787 but was robbed of its treasures, probably by Arab raiders who buried them near the sea, presumably preparatory to further transport. The monastery has been identified with a church at Karabel, a domed basilica whose triconch apse and side chapels reflect the influence of Egypt or the Holy Land and whose architecture corresponds to the description in the Life of Nicholas and to the style of the 6th C. The church was richly decorated and contains elements suitable for installation of the surviving silver ornaments. In a late, undated period the central dome collapsed and a smaller rectangular church was built in the ruins.

LIT. R.M. Harrison, "Churches and Chapels of Central Lycia," *AnatSt* 13 (1963) 131–35, 150. I. & N. Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion* (Brookline, Mass., 1984). –C.F.

SION, MOUNT, holy site in JERUSALEM. The Hebrew name was usually interpreted as meaning "watchtower," but Titus of Bostra (PG 18:1269C) suggested another (false) etymology—"thirsty." Old Testament tradition identified Sion or Zion (Σιών) with the city of David on a hill southeast of JERUSALEM, but Josephus situated it in the southwest, and this location was accepted by Christian tradition. Several important LOCA SANCTA were to be found on Mt. Sion: the upper room to which the apostles retreated after the Resurrection, the place where they waited after the Ascension, and the site of the Pentecost. The house of Caiaphas and the Column of the Flagellation (with imprints of Christ's hands) were also located on Mt. Sion. By the early 4th C. Sion was believed to be the site of the Last Supper.

In 340, Maximos, bishop of Jerusalem, built a church on the traditional site of the Last Supper, the Church of the Apostles, also called the Church of Mt. Sion; it appears on the MADABA MOSAIC MAP. Meager remains of this church have been found, but its plan is not clear. In the 5th C. Sion was enclosed in the city by a wall built by Empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, remains of which have been discovered. The medieval "Tomb of David" was constructed in a late Roman building (a synagogue?) and includes a wall with a niche facing north and a mosaic floor.

The church fathers sometimes distinguished Sion from, sometimes identified it with, Jerusalem. The name was often used figuratively. "There are three ways," wrote Prokopios of Gaza (PG 87:2476C), "to understand Sion and Jerusalem: with the senses; as the pious society of those on earth; as an angelic community (*politeia*) in heaven." The term was used to connote the church, the saints, consummate virtue, and the intellect.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 171f. A. Legendre, *DictBibl* 5.2: 1787–95. D. Correa, *De significatione montis Sion in Sacra Scriptura* (Rome 1954). *EAEHL* 2:614f, 625. –G.V., A.K., Z.U.M.

SION TREASURE, 6th C., found in 1963 near Kumluca (anc. Korydalla) in Lycia and now divided among collections in Antalya, Washington, and Geneva. It is composed of about 71 items in silver, some being fragmentary (50 objects, 20 revetment sheets, a ring), a copper coin of either Leo I or Zeno, silver-plated bronze pincers, and a gold scepter. Approximately 30 of the objects

have SILVER STAMPS dated 550–65, all of which were presented by Eutychianos, the bishop of an unidentified see, to a church generally thought to be that of Holy Sion (see SION, HOLY) founded by NICHOLAS OF SION between 541 and 565: several objects are inscribed with the name of "Holy Sion." An alternative opinion holds that the treasure belonged to the cathedral of Korydalla. Of outstanding interest are the metal REVETMENTS (for a table, colonnettes, lampstands), some of which were donated by two bishops and other clergy. The gifts of Bp. Eutychianos included five sets of ecclesiastical LIGHTING fixtures (three types of *polykandela*, two types of lamps), two amphoras, two CENSERS, and three large PATENS; the latter apparently served as models for others given by laymen to the same church. The pieces of high-quality metalwork have been attributed to workshops in Constantinople. Boyd (*infra*) and others have suggested that the treasure may have been buried at the time of Arab raids along the Lycian coast in the 7th C.

LIT. S. Boyd, "A Bishop's Gift: Openwork Lamps from the Sion Treasure," in *Arg. rom. et byz.* 191–202.
–M.M.M.

SIRMIUM (Σίρμιον, mod. Sremska Mitrovica in Yugoslavia), a city on the left bank of the Sava. Late Roman Sirmium was an important strategic point in the region endangered by barbarian invasions; Diocletian made it the capital of Pannonia II and of the diocese of PANNONIA. In the 4th C. the area was crucial both in the struggle for control over the Roman Empire and in the defense of the Middle Danube. It was lost to the Huns in 440/1, and thereafter the empire was able to recapture it only for short periods of time. Justinian I, among others, with the help of the Gepids, seized Sirmium from the Ostrogoths in 535, but the Gepids soon occupied it. Byz. controlled Sirmium from 567 to 582, but then lost it to the Avars. The last bishop of the city, Sebastianos, left Sirmium in 582 (V. Popović, *REAug* 21 [1975] 91–111).

Excavations at Sirmium have brought to light a section of city walls, public buildings (a bathhouse, several warehouses, a hippodrome), villas and apartment complexes (*insulae*), an urban church, and several chapels outside the ramparts, probably in cemeteries. Until ca.357 there was a mint at Sirmium, producing bronze coinage; numerous coins have been found at the site, most of them struck between 351 and 361 and between 364 and 378 (C. Nixon, *JbNumGeld* 33 [1983–84] 45–55). From the end of the 4th C. onward, Sirmium began to decline: large public buildings were either abandoned or were not restored after a fire, or were replaced by small houses and shops. In the 6th C. only a minor portion of the old city was populated.

Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 25.22, 40.31) twice mentions Sermion (*sic*) as close to SINGIDUNUM. In the early 11th C. it was under the control of the Bulgarian Sermon (a name curiously reminiscent of Sirmium itself), who yielded it to the Byz. general Constantine Diogenes. Diogenes had been *archon* of Sirmium before Constantine VIII appointed him *doux* of Bulgaria. Sirmium was an important objective in the Byz.-Hungarian wars of the 12th C., but by then the name designated the district (otherwise called Frankochorion) rather than the city. It remains questionable whether or not Sirmium formed a separate theme (Litavrin, *Bolgaria* 273–78). Its later fate is unknown.

LIT. *Sirmium: Archaeological Investigations in Syrmian Pannonia*, ed. V. Popović, E.L. Ochsenschlager, N. Duval, 12 vols. (Belgrade 1971–80). N. Duval, "Sirmium 'ville impériale' ou 'capitale'?" 26 *CorsiRav* (1979) 53–90. B. Ferjančić, "Sirmium u doba Vizantije," *Sirmium-Sremska Mitrovica* (Sremska Mitrovica 1969) 33–58.
–A.K.

SITARKIA (σιταρκία), a secondary or supplementary tax of uncertain nature usually listed among EPEREIAI. Two chrysobulls of 1327 state explicitly that *sitarkia* was paid from the ZEUGARIA of *paroikoi* (*Zogr.*, no.26.33–35; *Chil.*, no.113.31–32), and it is sometimes identified with the ZEUGARATIKION (*Pantel.*, no.11.25–26) or an obscure charge called *haloniatikon* (*Pantel.*, no.10.77), which etymologically is linked with the *halonion*, "threshing floor." This identification is not certain: a chrysobull of 1342 lists *sitarkia* among the *epereiai* from which the *chorion* of Chantax is exempted and separately indicates that only the Zographou monastery could levy the *zeugaratikion* on the village (*Zogr.*, no.32.42–54). F. Dölger (*BZ* 38 [1938] 497) questioned also the identity of *haloniatikon* and *sitarkia*. Data about the amount of *sitarkia* are scarce: the *chorion* of Prebista in 1327 paid 45 hyperpers of *sitarkia* (*Zogr.*, no.26.35–36). *Sitarkia* was among those charges that—like *phonos* (PHONIKON)—were relatively rarely abolished.

Dölger (*Beiträge* 59) hypothesized that *sitarkia*, which is attested from the 13th C. onward, replaced SYNONE but this cannot be proved. The relation of *sitarkia* to the obligation called "*sitarkesis* of fortresses" (e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.3.33) is unclear.

LIT. Chvostova, *Osobennosti* 99, n.122, 243f, 249–51.
–A.K.

SITERESION. See OPSONION.

SITOKOKKON (σιτόκοκκον, lit. "grain of wheat"), also called *sitarion sporimon*, *kokkositarion*, and *pyros*, a unit of weight approximately equal to that of a grain of wheat: 1 *sitokokkon* = 1/4 KERATION = 0.046 g.

The relationship between *sitokokkon* and *krithokokkon* ("grain of barley") is not clear. Some texts define *sitokokkon* as 1/5 *keration* and *krithokokkon* as 1/4 *keration*. Schilbach (*infra*) considers this ratio as resulting from a confusion and equates 1 *sitokokkon* to 1.25 *krithokokkon*. Known only in arithmetical tracts, these tiny measures had no practical significance.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 186.
–E. Sch., A.K.

SITOKRITHON (σιτόκριθον, lit. "wheat [and] barley"), a tax introduced by Andronikos II in 1304 (*Reg* 4, no.2271). A contemporary historian (Pachym., ed. Bekker, 2:492.16–493.12) relates that every peasant was obliged to pay six local *modioi* of wheat and four of barley. This grain was to be sold, and the silver and gold handed over to the *megas doux*. The term appears even before 1304, however, in Andronikos's chrysobull of 1298, in which various exemptions of the Lavra are listed—from the obligations of KASTROKTISIA, the draft of soldiers and sailors, MITATON and APLEKTON, ANGAREIAI, supply of salt, payment in cash for *sitokrithon* and grapes (*Lavra* 2, no.89.163–69; cf. *Lavra* 3, no.118.190–95, etc.). The term is often used in connection with the OIKOMODION when the formula of chrysobulls prescribes the donation of "a *sitokrithon staurikon modion*" for each three hyperpera of the *telos* (e.g., *Esphig.*, no.7.17–18, end of the 13th C.). Ostrogorsky (*Féodalité* 284f) considered *sitokrithon* as a regular secondary tax, whereas J. Bompaire (*BCH* 80 [1956] 630f) saw in the term simply an indication of the form of tax collection (i.e., in wheat and barley). It is certain, however, that Pachymeres understood the *sitokrithon* as a tax, although imposed only temporarily, to satisfy a specific need of the army.
–A.K.

SITULA (κάδος), bucket probably used for drawing water. Such vessels could be worked in various techniques in silver (relief), bronze and brass (engraved), and glass (intaglio and openwork), with both profane and sacred decorations; examples survive from the 4th to the 7th C. Two glass *situlae* now in Venice have Dionysiac and hunting scenes, respectively. Four in silver (one in the CONCEŞTI TREASURE buried ca.400, a pair in the Sevso Treasure, and one with stamps of 613–30) have classical and mythological images, while a third (with silver stamps of the 6th C.? found in Albania) has a diaper pattern. Elaborately decorated buckets of the 5th–6th C. have been discovered in various parts of the empire. The best known of these, the "Secchia Doria," with scenes from the *Iliad*, is possibly from Caesarea Maritima in Palestine; others with hunting and animal scenes and, in some cases, domestic inscriptions, have come to light in Spain and Britain; one, found in Mesopotamia, decorated with crosses, has a dedicatory inscription implying ecclesiastical use (for baptism?). As much could be said of another, 4th-C. bronze *situla*, with CHRISTOGRAMS, and of a lead example from Tunisia, decorated with Christian figures and symbols. Domestic *situlae* are shown in the bath scenes on the Projecta casket in the ESQUILINE TREASURE (Shelton, *Esquiline*, pl.6). Constans II was murdered with a silver *situla* in a bath in Sicily in 668, as described by MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN (2:450f).

LIT. Matzulewitsch, *Byz. Antike* 38–42, 134f. Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 56, 88. Ross, *DOCat* 1, no.50. A. Carandini, *La secchia Doria* (Rome 1965). M. Mango, C. Mango, et al., "A 6th-century Mediterranean Bucket from Bromeswell Parish, Suffolk." *Antiquity* 63 (1989) 295–311.
–M.M.M.

SIXTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL. See CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF: Constantinople III.

SKALA (σκάλα, lit. "stairs," "gangway of a ship," from Lat. *scala*). From the 5th C. onward, the term was employed to designate mooring stations in Constantinople. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.17.3) distinguishes *skalai*, where fishing boats

were moored and unloaded their catch, from *epochai*, the fishing grounds. According to Leo VI's novel 102, the *epochai* were often used by PARTNERSHIPS (*koinoniai*) of fishermen. Attaleiates (Attal. 278.2–7) gives the vernacular name of *skalai* to the wooden "bulwarks" (*proteichismatia*) erected close to the sea in Constantinople where merchants traded with sailors. In the 11th C. Michael VII attempted to confiscate private *skalai* in Constantinople, but his decree was rescinded by Nikephoros III. When the Byz. government began conferring privileges on Venetian merchants in the late 11th C., it also granted them *skalai* in the capital.

Probably after the 11th C. the term began to lose its specific connection with Constantinople; ca.1300 Manuel Moschopoulos defined *skalai* as a word used by ordinary people (*koinoi*) to designate a place in the harbor where ships were pulled ashore and secured. Late Byz. documents mention *skalai* outside Constantinople, such as a building in Kotzenos (on Lemnos) constructed by the monks of the Great Lavra near the seashore "as *skalai* of the boats of monks" (*Lavra* 2, no.74.77–78, a.1284).

A tax called *skaliatikon* had to be paid on *skalai*. A chrysobull of Andronikos II of 1298 lists it together with other levies on maritime commerce—KOMMERKION, *antinaulon*, and *limniatikon* (*Lavra* 2, no.89.194–95).

LIT. H. Kahane, "Italo-byzantinische Etymologien. Scala," *BNJbb* 16 (1940) 33–58. –A.K.

SKANDERBEG (Gr. Σκενδέρης), Albanian form of Turkish name (Iskender Beg) of George Kastriota, "captain of Albania" (1443–68) and hero of Albanian resistance against Ottoman conquest; born northern Albania ca.1405, died Lezhhë, Albania, 17 Jan. 1468. Son of John Kastriota, prince of Emathia (*PLP*, no.11400), who ruled in central and northern Albania, Skanderbeg in his youth was given to the Ottomans as a hostage after his father's defeat by the Turks. He converted to Islam and was educated at the Turkish military school at Edirne (Adrianople). In 1443 he deserted from the Turks, resumed his Christian faith and returned to his homeland to defend it against Ottoman invasion. Between 1444, when he organized the League of Albanian Princes, and 1466 he repelled 13 Turkish invasions. His base was the mountain stronghold of Krujë (Gr. Kroia), the home of the Kastriota family, located north of Tirana. ALBANIA fell to the Turks only after Skanderbeg's death. His son was married to Irene Palaiologina, daughter of THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS. There is surprisingly little information about Skanderbeg in 15th-C. Byz. histories, and one must use Italian, Serbian, and Turkish sources to establish his biography.

LIT. J. Radonić, *Djuradj Kastriot Skenderbeg i Arbanija u XV veku* (Belgrade 1942). A. Ducellier, "La façade maritime de la Principauté des Kastriote, de la fin du XIVe siècle à la mort de Skanderbeg," *Studia Albanica* 5.1 (1968) 119–36. G. Soulis, "Hai neoterai ereunai peri Georgiou Kastriotou Skenderbee," *EEBS* 28 (1958) 446–57. *Studia Albanica Monacensia. In memoriam Georgii Castriotae Scanderbegi 1468–1968*, ed. A. Schmaus (Munich 1969). S. Dimitrov, "Georgi Kastrioti-Skenderbeg i negovata osvoboditelna borba," in *Georgi Kastrioti Skenderbeg* (Sofia 1970) 7–32. –A.M.T.

SKARAMANGION (σκαραμάγγιον), a belted TUNIC with long full sleeves and with slits up the front and back or sides, probably in origin a Persian rider's caftan. The word appears in Theophanes (Theoph. 319.17) as a Persian garment. A PURPLE *skaramangion* could be worn only by the emperor, who might also wear a gold or red one, while the courtiers wore *skaramangia* in a variety of colors, some even two-toned, as their basic official dress. The *skaramangion*, often worn under the SAGION, was not considered a particularly ceremonial garment: the emperor seems to have worn it whenever he left the palace, and both he and the officials were instructed to take off their gala robes and put on their own *skaramangia* for banqueting (Oikonomides, *Listes* 185.23, 195.24–25). To judge by representations, the *skaramangion* was made of silk and had gold armbands and a gold-embroidered border running along the hem and up the slits. *Skaramangia* were favored imperial gifts (LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA, *Antapodosis*, ed. J. Becker, 157f) and could apparently be used as altar cloths (see ENDYTE). It is thought by some that the 14th-C. term SKARANIKON may refer to the successor to this garment.

LIT. N.P. Kondakov, "Les costumes orientaux à la cour byzantine," *Byzantion* 1 (1924) 11–15. P.A. Phourikes, "Peri tou etymou ton lexeon skaramangion, kabbadion, skaranikon," *Lexikographikon archeion tes meses kai neas hellenikes* 6 (1923) 444–73. –N.P.Š.

SKARANIKON (σκαράνικον), an element of court costume. The word appears first as an adjective in a 12th-C. poem of Ptochoprodromos (ed. Hesseling-Pernot, no.1.248) describing a type of headgear, *epanokamelauchis*. It is frequently mentioned in the 14th-C. ceremonial book of pseudo-Kodinos. Two interpretations of the term have been suggested: a kind of TUNIC similar to and replacing the SKARAMANGION, or a hat, specifically the tall, squarish headdress worn by some high officials in Palaiologan portraits, for example, the *despotes* Theodore I Palaiologos at Mistra, or Alexios APOKAUKOS (J. Verpeaux in pseudo-Kod. 145f, n.2). Pseudo-Kodinos, while describing the costume of various dignitaries places *skaranikon* either between the headgear called SKIADION, and the caftan, KABBADION, or after both *skiadion* and *kabbadion*; it is described as red and gold (*chrysokokkinon*), although courtiers of lower rank wore apricot, lemon, or gold-white *skaranika*; it was embroidered and bore pictures of the emperor either standing or sitting on the throne (pseudo-Kod. 152.1–9, 153.13–17). The origin of *skaranikon* is obscure: pseudo-Kodinos (206.19–20) claims that it was of "Assyrian" origin, and Ptochoprodromos places it within a Slavic context, while Caratzas (*infra*) hypothesizes that it was a western (Germanic) garb that penetrated Byz. during the reign of Manuel I.

LIT. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1923) 122. S.C. Caratzas, "Byzantinogermanica (karanos-skaranikon)," *BZ* 47 (1954) 320–32. –A.K.

SKARIPHOS (σκάριφος), a sketch or, in architecture, a ground plan. The 5th-C. architect Rufinus is said in the vita of PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA to have based his outline (*thesis*) for the cathedral of Gaza on a *skariphos* sent from Constantinople by the empress Eudoxia. Plans were often transmitted in visions, such as the one in which St. Martha dictated to a monk the scheme for her chapel at the WONDROUS MOUNTAIN (*AASS* May 5:416F). By the 14th C. *skariphos* had come to mean an artist's brush, as in an epigram of Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos on an image painted by EULALIOS (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *BZ* 11 [1902], p.46, n.16, line 1). –A.C.

SKEPIDES (Σκεπίδης), family known in the mid-11th C. Michael Skepides, a *protospatharios*, is depicted in 1060/1 in Karabaş Kilise in the SOĞANLI valley of Cappadocia and described in an inscription there as responsible for its redecoration. Other members of his family portrayed are Catherine (a nun) and Niphon (a monk). John Skepides, "*protospatharios* of the Chrysotriklinos, *hypatos*, and *strategos*," is depicted as the founder of Gök (Geyik) Kilise in the same valley. A *strategos*, Eustathios Skepides, witnessed a legal judgment in November 1042: A. Guillou (*Byzantion* 35 [1965] 122) suggests that he may have been an administrator in LUCANIA.

LIT. Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres* 2.1:334–36, 371f. Rodley, *Cave Mons.* 198–202, 250f. –A.C.

SKETE (σκήτη), also *sketis* (from *asketerion*, "monastery," "hermitage"), term designating a small monastery; in the *Miracles* of St. GEORGE (ed. J.B. Aufhauser, 153.23) are listed *sketai* and *monai*. The name also commemorates the original Skete, the Egyptian monastic settlement in the WĀDĪ NAṬRŪN. It appears sometimes in Athonian documents of the 14th–15th C. The forged chrysobull of Andronikos II (*Xerop.* γ.35) equates the terms *skete* and *monydrion*. According to the act of the *protos* Theodosios of 1353 (*Lavra* 3, no.133.7) the *skete* of Glossia contained several *kellia* and *hesychasteria* (probably cells and hermitages). Manuel II's *Typikon* of 1406 orders that the "*kellia* of the *sketis*" send 100 wooden planks to the *protos* (Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 201.4–5)—it is unclear which *skete* is meant or whether it was a proper name, Sketis. Today 12 *sketai* survive on Mt. Athos but they are relatively new, not going back further than 1572. Some are idiorrhythmic, others cenobitic, but there is no evidence that such a distinction existed in the Byz. period. The Russian word *skit* (hermitage), derived from *skete*, is attested as early as the 14th C.

LIT. E. Amand de Mendieta, *Mount Athos, the Garden of the Panaghia* (Berlin-Amsterdam 1972) 202–07. –A.M.T., A.K.

SKETIS. See WADĪ NAṬRŪN.

SKEUOPHYLAX (σκευοφύλαξ, "keeper of the vessels"), a cleric, usually a priest, appointed to look after the sacred valuables and LITURGICAL VESSELS of a church. In this capacity, he played an important part in liturgical ceremonial and had a role in the administration of sacred PROPERTY comparable and complementary to that of the OIKONOMOS. Like the (*megas*) *oikonomos*, the (*megas*) *skeuophylax* of the Great Church was ap-

pointed by the emperor in the century or so before Isaac I relinquished the right of appointment. The *skeuophylax* ranked next to the *oikonomos* until the late 11th C., when he was demoted to third place in favor of the SAKELLARIOS. The SEKRETON that he headed, the *mega skeuophylakeion*, employed a number of CHARTOULARIOI. This *sekreton* probably evolved from the *epitagma* of 12 *skeuophylakes* (four priests, six deacons, two *anagnostai*) attested on the staff of the Great Church in 612 (ed. J. Konidaris, *FM* 5 [1982] 66).

The *skeuophylax* of a monastery was a monk or nun (*skeuophylakissa*) entrusted with responsibility for sacred vessels and furnishings. The *skeuophylakissa* of KECHARITOMENE also supervised the manufacture of wax candles and assumed the duties of CHARTOPHYLAX.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 101f, 112f. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 314–18. Meester, *De monachico statu* 280f. E. Papagianni, S. Troianos, "Die Besetzung der Ämter im Grossskeuophylakeion der Grossen Kirche im 12. Jahrhundert," *FM* 6 (1984) 87–97. –P.M., A.M.T.

SKIADION (σκιάδ⟨ε⟩ιον, from σκιά, shadow), a type of hat. In antiquity the term *skiadeion* designated a sunshade or parasol; according to a scholiast on Theokritos and the 5th/6th-C. lexicographer Hesychios of Alexandria, it later acquired the meaning of a conical hat with a broad brim. By the 14th C., according to pseudo-Kodinos, the term *skiadion* designated the type of hat worn by the emperor and most of his courtiers. Variations in its fabric (gold and red, or gold-embroidered or plainly embroidered) denoted the rank of the wearer (pseudo-Kod. 302.7–14); the *skiadion* of a *despotes* was covered with pearl crosses (141.3–4, 147.4–8). Since pseudo-Kodinos states that a *megas logothetes* should wear a *skiadion*, it is usually assumed that the headdress worn by Theodore METOCHITES in his portrait at CHORA is such a hat, even though its turbanlike shape is difficult to reconcile with the etymology of the term. Metochites' headdress has gold vertical stripes outlined in red. It was apparently made of silk cloth stretched over some kind of internal armature; it fitted tight over the brow but flared out dramatically, curving forward again at the top. Somewhat similar beehive-shaped hats appear in 11th- and 12th-C. representations of both court officials and singers (Sinai gr. 339, Spatharakis, *Corpus* fig.278). Other scholars have identified the *skiadion* with the conical or pyramidal hat with broad brim familiar from Italian portraits of John VIII Palaiologos (e.g., on the Pisanello medallion in the British Museum). The *skiadion* was also an ecclesiastical headdress. Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:396BC) states that *skiadia* were worn by deacons and priests as well as by senators and even the emperor.

LIT. J. Verpeaux in pseudo-Kod. 141f, n.1. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 1:42. –N.P.Š.

SKLAVENOI (Σκλαβηνοί), the name of a people north of the Danube. It remains unclear whether their mention in pseudo-KAISARIOS is the earliest, since the date of this text is not yet firmly established. The Sklavenoi are described by many authors of the 6th and 7th C. (Prokopios, Menander Protector, Jordanes, Theophylaktos Simokattes)—sometimes together with the ANTAE, sometimes under the sway of the AVARS—as a dangerous force ready to invade Balkan territory. The STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE presents them as exceptionally skillful in swimming and diving; they operated on foot in guerrilla fashion in marshy or mountainous regions, being also expert archers and javelin throwers. The *Miracles* of St. DEMETRIOS credits the Sklavenoi with the ability to build and sail dugouts (*monoxyla*); on the other hand, Simokattes stresses their talent in fighting from fortifications made of wagons. Byz. authors speak of a great number of Sklavenoi; Simokattes even preserves a legend of the Sklavenoi living on the shore of the western ocean.

The last mention of the Sklavenoi is in the 9th-C. vita of GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS. In the 9th C. they were considered allies or subjects of the Bulgars, the inhabitants of SKLAVINIA. In Soviet, Bulgarian, and Serbo-Croatian scholarship, Sklavenoi are uniformly treated as an early SLAV tribe.

LIT. O. Pritsak, "The Slavs and the Avars," *SettStu* 30 (1983) 365–69, 390, 397–416. E. Skržinskaja, *Jordan, O proischoždenii i dejanijach Getov* (Moscow 1960) 210–13. D. Angelov, *Obrazuvane na bŭlgarskata narodnost* (Sofia 1971) 106–14. Z. Kurnatowska, "Structure sociale des Sclavènes à la lumière d'une analyse de l'habitat," *Balcanoslavica* 1 (1972) 87–96. –O.P.

SKLAVINIA (Σκλαβηνία), a region occupied by the SKLAVENOI; a stronghold, whether small or large in area, of the frontier military type. The first author to use the term is Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES (fl. 628–41), referring to barbarian strongholds on the left bank of the Danube.

Each Sklavinia had its own leadership, headed by a *župan* (an Avar honorific of Iranian origin), a title replaced in the 8th-9th C. by the more impressive Byz. designation EXARCH OR ARCHON. The Sklaviniai were united in larger units called *geneai*, tribes, in the same way as the Hunno-Turkic nomadic *oq/oγur* ≈ *oγuz*. Thus the Bulgars of Asparuch, having settled in Moesia ca.679, subjugated there the so-called Seven Tribes of the Sklavenoi. Unlike the steppe *oγur/oγuz*, whose economy was pastoralist, the Sklavinian military colony subsisted by agriculture. Like their steppe counterparts, however, these colonies strove, whenever circumstances permitted, to become independent of their imperial suzerains, be these Avars, Bulgars, or Byz.

It is possible to establish the existence of the following Sklaviniai:

Carinthia (Latin sources of the 8th–9th C.)
Pannonia (*Sclavenia* in Latin documents of the 9th C.)
Transylvania, where "Geographus Bavarus" (ca.840) places the *Eptaradici* (lit. "of seven roots"), probably a distorted reflection of the Seven Slavic tribes in Theophanes
Dalmatia, including Carinthia (Caruntania; *Sclavenia* in Latin documents of 871)
Thrace and Moesia (Scriptor Incertus), including Seven Tribes and DROUGOUBITAI
Macedonia (second half of 7th C.; *Miracles* of St. DEMETRIOS; Theophanes)
Peloponnesos (8th–9th C.; Theophanes; *Chronicle of Monemvasia*)
Rus' (first half of 10th C.; Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, *De adm. imp.* 9.107)

Because of the gradual transformation of the Sklaviniai into ethnic units, *ethne*, esp. after the collapse of the Avar Empire (796) and the baptism of the Sklavenoi, their original professional military "democracy" gradually gave way to a class of hereditary *archontes* and their retinues. This resulted in social differentiation and the transformation from corporate to family ownership of the land. The Sklaviniai then became obsolete.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, *Sabrana dela* 4 (Belgrade 1970) 7–20. S. Antoljak, "Unsere 'Sklavinien,'" 12 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Belgrade 1964) 9–13. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 245–59, 291–335. O. Pritsak, "The Slavs and the Avars," *SettStu* 30 (1983) 407–16. –O.P.

SKLERAINA (Σκλήραινα), probably to be identified as Maria, the daughter of a Skleros and widow of a *protospatharios* (*Peira* 50.4). She became mistress of CONSTANTINE IX MONOMACHOS, who granted her the title of *sebaste* and installed her in the palace with his legitimate wife, Empress ZOE. Skleraina used her influence to promote her brother Romanos Skleros; his career, however, remains unclear, since the evidence is insufficient to distinguish between several Romanoi Skleroi of the period. Skylitzes mentions an uprising against Skleraina in 1044. She apparently died ca.1045; Psellos wrote a poem on her death. Constantine IX built a monastery in her memory and placed it under the authority of LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS.

LIT. W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi* (Vienna 1976) 71–76. M.D. Spadaro, "Note su Sclerena," *SicGymn* 28 (1975) 351–72. –A.K.

SKLEROS (Σκληρός, fem. Σκλήραινα), the name of a noble family. No evidence attests an Armenian origin, although the first known Skleros, a general serving in the Peloponnesos ca.805, came from Lesser Armenia. Several 9th-C. Skleroi were governors of the Peloponnesos (Leo, ca.811) and Hellas (Antoninus Durus, attested in a Hungarian chronicle, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. 1 [Budapest 1937] 164); Niketas Skleros was an envoy to the Hungarians ca.895.

The family acquired eminence by the late 10th C.: the *magistros* Bardas Skleros, one of the ablest generals of John I Tzimiskes, defeated SVJATOSLAV in 971 but later fell from imperial favor and was accused of conspiracy. In 976 the army in Mesopotamia proclaimed Bardas *basileus*, and he marched against Constantinople. Victorious in 977, he was defeated in 979 and fled to the Arabs; he rebelled again in 987. Bardas PHOKAS, another usurper, took him captive. After the death of Phokas, Bardas Skleros kept fighting against Basil II, but in Oct. 989 he was reconciled and was granted lands. He died 6 March 991.

Both Bardas's brother Constantine and son Romanos were generals; Romanos's son Basil, *magistros* and *strategos* of Anatolikon, and his relatives acted as independent seigneurs on their estates; their arrogance is criticized in PEIRA. Basil and his wife Pulcheria, sister of the future emperor Romanos III, were exiled in 1033. Their relative

Maria SKLERAINA and her brother Romanos played an important role in the mid-11th C. Thereafter the significance of the Skleroi decreased; from the late 11th C. they were primarily civil functionaries (the *logothetes tou dromou* Andronikos, the *megas droungarios tes viglas* Nicholas, the *epi ton deeseon* Nicholas) and judges. They did not enter the clan of the Komnenoi and were involved in a scheme against Alexios I ca.1105. Twelfth-century sources rarely mention the Skleroi except for a certain Seth Skleros, blinded ca.1166/7 for involvement with astrology and magic. A 14th-C. Skleros had the title of *sebastos* (1336) and owned a *choraphion* in the Serres region.

LIT. W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi* (Vienna 1976). –A.K.

SKOPJE (Σκόπια), town in Macedonia, on the river Vardar, not far from ancient Scupi, which in the 4th C. was the capital of Dardania and a bishopric; the first known bishop of Scupi, Paregorios, participated in the Council of Serdica in 342/3. The ancient theater stopped functioning in the 4th C. and its site was occupied by small dwellings. Two basilicas of the late 4th C. have been discovered. In the 5th C. Scupi fell into decline; it was destroyed by the earthquake of 518, although some habitation continued there until the early 7th C. (the last coins found in Scupi are those of Maurice, 586). Probably in the 6th C. several fortresses were constructed in the area, for example, that of Markovi kuli (I. Mikulčić, N. Nikuljska, *Macedoniae acta archaeologica* 4 [1978] 137–50).

Medieval Skopje appears in written sources from the beginning of the 11th C., when the town was conquered by Basil II. Excavations have revealed the existence of a 10th-C. fortress and probably of a lower township of the 11th C. The walls of the fortress were built of small stones held together with mortar, and had round, square, and triangular towers. The walls were reconstructed under the Komnenoi. In the 11th C., Skopje emerged as the capital of the *doukaton* of Bulgaria (Litavrin, *Bolgarija* 278) and was frequently a center of anti-Byz. revolts. In the 13th C. it was a bone of contention between Bulgaria, Serbia, Epiros, and Nicaea. From 1282 onward Skopje was in Serbian hands. In the second half of 1298 (*Reg* 4, no.2209) or in the winter of 1299 (L. Mavromatis, *La fondation de l'Empire serbe. Le kralj Milutin* [Thessalonike 1978] 43), the Byz. mission headed by Theodore Metochites arrived at Skopje to negotiate the marriage of SIMONIS with Stefan Uroš II Milutin. Stefan Uroš IV Dušan was crowned at Skopje in 1346. The Turks occupied the city in 1391.

LIT. I. Mikulčić, *Staro Skopje so okolnite tverdini* (Skopje 1982). A. Deroko, "Srednjovekovni grad Skoplje," *SpomSAN* 120 (1971) 1–16. R. Grujić, "Vlastelinstvo sv. Gjorgja kod Skoplja od XI–XV v.," *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva* 1 (1925) 45–75. –A.K.

SKOTEINE MONASTERY, a foundation of uncertain location in the diocese of PHILADELPHIA, known only from the *diataxis*, or rule, composed in 1247 by the hieromonk Maximos, *ktetor* and *hegoumenos*. The original buildings of Skoteine (⟨Σ⟩κοτεινή), a small chapel and cell, were built (in the late 12th C.?) on a rugged mountainside by Maximos's father, Gregory. Maximos was among a number of male relatives who subsequently joined Gregory in the monastic life. Under Maximos's leadership, the number of monks increased to about 20 and facilities were expanded. Thanks to the financial support of an official (*allagator*) named Phokas and other local patrons, Maximos was able to construct a new church and add a refectory, kitchen, bakery, and water pipes to the complex. Maximos also acquired substantial property through donations and purchase and established five METOCHIA.

Maximos's *diataxis* is distinguished by an unusually lengthy and detailed list of properties owned by the monastery. The inventory of the libraries of the monastery and *metochia* lists about 130 liturgical and patristic volumes, a surprising number for an obscure provincial establishment. The enumeration of liturgical vestments and furnishings also indicates the substantial wealth of the monastery.

ED. S. Eustratiades, "He en Philadelphia mone tes hyperagias Theotokou tes Koteines," *Hellenika* 3 (1930) 325–39, corr. A. Sigalas, *EEBS* 8 (1931) 377–81. M.I. Gedeon, "Diatheke Maximou monachou ktitoros tes en Lydia mones Kotines (1247)," *Mikrasiatika Chronika* 2 (1939) 263–91.

LIT. P.Ş. Năsturel, "Recherches sur le testament de Maxime de Skoteinè (1247)," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris 1984) 69–100. –A.M.T.

SKOUTARIOTES, THEODORE, ecclesiastical official and metropolitan of Kyzikos (1277–82); born ca.1230. Skoutariotes (Σκουταριώτης) began his career as *epi ton deeseon* and deacon and was appointed *dikaiophylax* by Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1270. Ambassador to Rome in 1277, he was deposed from his see in 1282.

He was identified by Heisenberg as author of an anonymous chronicle preserved in Venice, Marc. gr. 407 and copied by John ARGYROPOULOS. This chronicle of events from the creation of the world through 1261 is the work of a compiler who, for the earlier period, apparently used the same source as ZONARAS (A. Heisenberg, *BZ* 5 [1896] 182f). For the later period he employed primarily Niketas CHONIATES and George AKROPOLITES; the additions to the latter are of special value. The author belonged to the circle of Patr. ARSENIOS; his additions are important for both the political and economic history of Byz. (V.N. Zavražin, *VizVrem* 41 [1980] 252–55). Heisenberg's identification is based, first, on the marginal note in Marc. gr. 407 stating that the book (*biblos*) is of Theodore of Kyzikos from the family of Skoutariotes; this note, however, shows ownership of the MS rather than authorship of the chronicle; a certain Theodore Skoutariotes also possessed a MS of Aristotle (D. Harlfinger, D. Reinsch, *Philologus* 114 [1970] 28–50). The second argument is the note on a 16th-C. MS (Lampros, *Athos* 1:371, no.3758) asserting that Theodore of Kyzikos wrote this chronicle in detail from the reign of Alexios I and John II to Michael VIII. It is not clear, however, whether we can trust such a late testimony (A. Kazhdan, *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 14–15 [1964] 529f).

ED. Sathas, *MB* 7:1–556. A. Heisenberg, *Georgii Acropolitae opera* (Leipzig 1903) 1:275–302.

LIT. A. Heisenberg, *Analecta* (Munich 1901) 5–16. E. Patzig, "Über einige Quellen des Zonaras," *BZ* 5 (1896) 24–53. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:477f. –A.K.

SKOUTERIOS (σκουτέριος, lit. "shield-bearer"), an officer who bore the emperor's emblem (*dibellion*) and shield (*skoutarion*) during the PROKYPSIS and ceremonial processions; he is rarely mentioned in the sources. A 14th-C. ceremonial book notes that the *dibellion* had to be accompanied by the Varangians (pseudo-Kod. 183.11–20). Known from the 13th C. onward, the title occupied in the 14th C. a place in the hierarchy after the PROTOKYNEGOS. It was bestowed on both generals and fiscal officials; in 1344 a *skouterios* Senachereim participated in endowing estates on a monastery (*Docheiar.*, no.23.57), signing the document between the *megas tzaousios* and *protoierakarios*. According to a *prostagma* of 1351, the monks of Xeropotamou were obliged to pay annually to the *skouterios* Andrew Indanes 20 hyperpera for the foundry in their village, the money due against a possible attack of the Serbians (*Xerop.*, no.27.3–7).

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XXV (1969), 84–86. –A.K.

SKRIBAS (σκρίβας), a subordinate of the QUAESTOR, according to the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 115.7). Bury (*Adm. System* 76) conjectured that he was a successor to the *scriba*, a notary in the office of the 5th-C. *magister census*. The *skribas* of the 10th–11th C., however, was not a notary but a high-ranking official titled *protospatharios* and even *patrikios* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 1196–98), who combined his duties with those of the judge of the *velum* or of the Hippodrome. Romanos, *asekretis* and *skribas*, assisted Patr. Eustratios (1081–84) (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.933) or Eustathios (1019–25) (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:670) in a case of an illegal marriage. It is not impossible that Romanos, *asekretis* and *skribas*, the owner of a seal (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.878), was the same man. The author of a novel of Constantine VII that regulated the SYNETHEIA granted to the *skribas* (N. Svoronos, *La Synopsis major des Basiliques et ses appendices* [Paris 1964] 94, no.8) had difficulty describing the position of the *skribas* whom he defined as a "not full-fledged (*ou teleios*) judge related to the *thematikoi* and to *antigrapheis*" (Zepos, *Jus* 1:220.17–18). –A.K.

SKYLITZES, GEORGE, mid-12th-C. governor of Serdica under Manuel I. Skylitzes (Σκυλίτζης) or his homonym, *protokouropalates* and imperial secretary, was active in 1166 (PG 140:277B). Yet another George Skylitzes is mentioned in a 12th-C. epigram (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 186, no.367.4). Skylitzes seems to have carried out the policy of cultural rapprochement between Byz. and the recently conquered Bulgaria: he wrote a Life of St. JOHN OF RILA and *kanones* in his honor (both preserved only in Slavic translations). He also produced two other *kanones* (on St. Demetrios and St. George), iambic poems on the *Hoplotheke* by Andronikos KAMATEROS, and an *akolouthia* on the

translation of the stone upon which allegedly the corpse of Jesus Christ had been laid (the stone was brought to Constantinople in 1169).

ED. See list in Beck, *Kirche* 663.
LIT. V. Zlatarski, "Georgi Skilica i napisanoto ot nego žitie na sv. Ivana Rilski," *IzvIstDr* 13 (1933) 50–53. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 2:217. B.S. Angelov, "Un canon de St. Jean de Rila de Georges Skylitzès," *BBulg* 3 (1969) 171–85.
–A.K.

SKYLITZES, JOHN, historian; fl. second half of 11th C. His life remains obscure. S. Antoljak's doubts concerning the family name of Skylitzes are not valid (14 *CEB* 3 [Bucharest 1976] 677–82). The title of his *Synopsis* calls him KOUROPALATES and former DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS. He is usually identified with John Thrakesios, *kouropalates* and *droungarios tes viglas* in 1092 (W. Seibt, *JÖB* 25 [1976] 81f). Skylitzes' *Synopsis historiarum*, for the years 811–1057, is conceived as a continuation of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, whom Skylitzes praises in his preamble as the most reliable historian and with whom he contrasts several contemporary authors, including PSELLOS. Skylitzes uses a variety of sources and sometimes presents contradictory conclusions (e.g., in his attitude toward Nikephoros II). The sections differ stylistically as well: thus, the reign of Michael IV is presented in an annalistic manner (typical of Theophanes), as a series of short and incoherent topics cemented by a sequence of chronological dates, whereas the history of Constantine IX consists of several long excursuses, has few chronological indications, and avoids describing military stratagems, frequent in previous sections. The major hero of the last part of Skylitzes is KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS (J. Shepard, *REArm* 11 [1975–76] 269–311), and it is plausible to suppose that Skylitzes was close to that general.

In its present state the Skylitzes MS in Madrid (Bibl. Nac. vitr. 26–2) comprises 574 miniatures, probably about 100 fewer than its original complement. This body of pictures, adhering for the most part closely to the text, adorns the only surviving illustrated Byz. CHRONICLE in Greek. They are rendered in a variety of styles concurrently practiced in mid-12th-C. Norman SICILY. Whether an original creation or a copy of a Byz. prototype, the MS is a prime source for our visualization of imperial CEREMONY, WEAPONRY, and transportation by land and sea.

ED. *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. H. Thurn (Berlin–New York 1973), rev. G. Fatouros, *JÖB* 24 (1975) 91–94 and A. Kazhdan, *IFŽ* (1975) no.1:206–12. Germ. tr. H. Thurn, *Byzanz, wieder ein Weltreich* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1983). Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*.
LIT. M. Sjuzjumov, "Ob istočnikach L'va Djakona i Skilicy," *VizObozr* 2 (1916) 106–66. B. Prokić, *Die Zusätze in der Handschrift des Johannes Skylitzes* (Munich 1906). D.I. Polemis, "Some Cases of Erroneous Identification in the Chronicle of Skylitzes," *BS* 26 (1965) 74–81. I. Ševčenko, "The Madrid MS of the Chronicle of Skylitzes in the Light of its New Dating," in *Byz. und der Westen* 117–30.
–A.K., A.C.

SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, conventional title of a short chronicle encompassing the period 1057–79, which in many MSS follows the *Synopsis historiarum* of John SKYLITZES. The chronicle is a reworking of the *Historia* of Michael ATTALEIATES with an evident aristocratic bias. Its authorship remains unclear: Tsolakes hypothesized that Skylitzes himself wrote the chronicle, whereas G. Litavrin pointed out ideological distinctions between Skylitzes and Skylitzes Continuatus (Kek. 90f).

ED. E.Th. Tsolakes, *He synecheia tes Chronographias tou Ioannou Skylitse* (Thessalonike 1968).
LIT. E.Th. Tsolakes, "To problema tou Synechiste tes Chronographias tou Ioannou Skylitse," *Hellenika* 18 (1964) 79–83.
–A.K.

SKYTHOPOLIS (Σκυθόπολις, Hebr. Beth Sh'an or Shean, Ar. Baysān), largest city of northern Palestine and administrative and episcopal capital of Palaestina II. In the 4th C. there were imperial linen workshops in Skythopolis. The theater, with a capacity of 4,500–5,000, was enlarged in the 3rd C.; abandoned for a short time, it continued to function in the 5th and 6th C. (S. Applebaum, *Revue biblique* 69 [1962] 408–10). The city accommodated pagan, Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian communities, and attempts were made there to translate the liturgy from Greek into Aramaic. While Christian influence continued to grow in the city proper, the only synagogue as yet found is a mere prayer room; outside Skythopolis, however, in Rehov and Beth Alpha, synagogues continued. Greek inscriptions of the 5th C. (N. Zori, *IEJ* 16 [1966] 123–34), found in a mosaic in the Jewish villa called the House of Kyrios Leontis, but containing Christian formulae, demonstrate cultural and religious symbiosis in Skythopolis. At the same time there could be bitter intolerance, and in 361 the city underwent a wave of anti-

Christian persecutions. At the beginning of the 4th C. the Christian community was under strong Arian influence, but after 340 the see was in the hands of the Orthodox. Coin finds (up to the 8th C.), inscriptions, and archaeological remains testify to the continuing prosperity of Skythopolis; the city walls were repaired in the 6th C. and at least five or six monasteries were active. Outside the city wall survive the remains of the monastery of Lady Mary (Kyria Maria) with mosaic floors of the 6th C., including a zodiac with personifications of the MONTHS. The only church as yet discovered is a round centralized building of perhaps the 5th C. on the ancient mound of Tell el Husn, destroyed before 806; rich Christian tombs of the 5th C. have been discovered on Tell el Mastaba. St. SABAS was active at Skythopolis, which was also the native town of CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS.

After the Arab conquest of 636 Skythopolis flourished as the center of a province called al-Urdun (Jordan), until it was destroyed in the earthquake of 747. After being conquered by Tancred in 1099, Skythopolis became the Crusader barony of Bessan; the bishopric was transferred to NAZARETH. Skythopolis was taken by Saladin in 1187, and plundered by the Fifth Crusade in 1217.

LIT. J.T. Raynor, "Social and Cultural Relationships in Skythopolis/Beth Shean in the Roman and Byzantine Periods" (Ph.D. diss., Duke Univ., 1982). G.M. Fitzgerald, *Beth-Shan Excavations* (Philadelphia 1931). Idem, *A Sixth-Century Monastery at Beth-Shan* (Philadelphia 1939). M. Smith, "Helios in Palestine," *Eretz Israel* 16 (1982) 199–214. *EAEHL* 1:221–29.
–A.K., Z.U.M.

SLAVERY (δουλεία). In Byz. law, slaves occupied an ambiguous position between human beings and chattel. They were responsible for their own criminal acts, and from the 6th C. the intentional killing of a slave was considered homicide; in most other respects, however, they never achieved any substantial legal personality. Thus they were normally considered incompetent to act as WITNESSES and could neither be plaintiff nor defendant in civil lawsuits; owners held noxal liability (see NOXAL ACTIONS) for servile delicts in a manner analogous to those committed by livestock. Themselves considered property, slaves lacked rights of OWNERSHIP, although they might administer their personal PECULIUM. Leo VI (nov.38) allowed imperial slaves to dispose of their property in WILLS, but in other cases the incapacity to draft testaments may still have been observed in the 11th–12th C. Slaves were forbidden to become priests or monks without permission (Leo VI, novs. 9–11) and according to classical jurisprudence did not possess the right to marry, although it appears that some did obtain Christian MARRIAGES that were first officially recognized—over widespread opposition by slaveowners—under Alexios I Komnenos (Zepos, *Jus* 1:343f, 345f).

The most important sources of slaves were PRISONERS OF WAR and foreign slaves imported into the empire. Children of slaves normally inherited this condition, even if only their mothers were of servile status. Although Leo VI (nov.59) prohibited individuals from selling themselves into slavery, traces of this practice may be observed in later periods (Zepos, *Jus* 1:341f, 344f).

In the late Roman Empire slavery formed an important element in the social and economic structures: Libanios, in his oration *On Slavery*, presents it as a ubiquitous phenomenon; Justinianic law constantly deals with the status of slaves; they are mentioned in Egyptian papyri, in the letters of Gaius Apollinaris SIDONIUS, and in the documents of Ravenna. There is no evidence that during this period servile labor was replaced by that of dependent COLONI.

Our knowledge of slavery during the 7th to 9th C. is limited by a paucity of documentation; nevertheless slaves are mentioned in a variety of sources. There are references to *douloi* and *oiketai* in the *Ecloga* in paragraphs concerning MANUMISSION, delicts, fornication, and theft of slaves. Hagiographic texts speak of manumissions and runaway slaves; the FARMER'S LAW mentions slave-shepherds.

During the 10th C. slavery seems to have expanded. Although the story of 3,000 slaves liberated by the widow DANELIS appears in a context reminiscent of a fairy tale, an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 250.56–57) mentions urban mansions and fields filled with slaves after the victories of Nikephoros (II) Phokas in 962; a novel of John I Tzimiskes regulated the sale of prisoners of war into slavery. The vita of St. BASIL THE YOUNGER reveals that slaves were numerous in Constantinople, where they frequently are found in imperial workshops and in the service of goldsmiths and silk weavers. In contrast, sources of the 11th and 12th C. reflect the decline of slavery, which

was frequently referred to in contemporary acts of manumission as an institution "against the law of nature." Although later jurists preserved theoretical distinctions between free and servile status, by the 13th C. employment of slaves—except perhaps as domestic servants—largely vanished and the concept of DOULOI acquired new connotations.

Religious opinion concerning slavery was ambivalent. Gregory of Nazianzos condemned the practice and Eustathios of Thessalonike urged manumission, while Basil the Great tolerated the institution as a necessary evil; although Theodore of Stoudios forbade monks to possess slaves, some monasteries were slaveholders (Zepos, *Jus* 1:252.7). The concept of slavery was also employed with a variety of wider theological meanings: holy men were termed "slaves of God"; writers mention slavery to human passions or to sin.

LIT. R. MacMullen, "Late Roman Slavery," *Historia* 36 (1987) 359–82. Z.V. Udal'cova, "Položenie rabov v Vizantii v VI v.," *VizVrem* 24 (1964) 3–34. Ch. Angelide, "Douloi sten Konstantinoupole tou I′ ai.," *Symmeikta* 6 (1985) 33–51. A. Kazhdan, "Raby i mistii v Vizantii IX–XI vekov," *Učenye zapiski Tul'skogo pedagogičeskogo instituta* 2 (1951) 63–78. H. Köpstein, *Zur Sklaverei im ausgehenden Byzanz* (Berlin 1966). –A.J.C.

SLAVONIC. See CHURCH SLAVONIC.

SLAVOS, ALEXIOS, independent ruler of MELNIK; died after 1229. A nephew of KALOJAN, in 1207 Slavos (Σθλάβος), who was governor of Melnik, refused to acknowledge BORIL as the legitimate tsar of Bulgaria and concluded an alliance with Henry of Hainault, the Latin emperor of Constantinople; he married Henry's daughter and was granted the title of *despotes*. Slavos supported the Latins in their war against Bulgaria, but the allies had no success. Then Slavos switched his allegiance to Theodore Komnenos Doukas, the emperor of Thessalonike; the death of his first wife (the daughter of Henry) enabled him to conclude a new marriage, with a relative of Theodore (a daughter of Theodore PETRALIPHAS). The new alliance, however, met with failure. After initial successes, Theodore was defeated at KLOKOTNICA in 1230. The fate of Slavos is unknown: he is mentioned in 1224 in connection with his military operations in Thrace where he assisted Theodore, and in a treaty of 1229 there is a reference to *tota terra de Sclave*. Zlatarski (*Ist.* 3:351) hypothesizes that after the battle of Klokotnica Slavos accepted the suzerainty of John Asen II, to whom he was related. –A.K.

SLAVS. The name *Slav* (which has no Slavic etymology) appears in the form *Sklavenoi* or *Sthlabenoi* in Greek and Latin sources, probably not earlier than the mid-6th C. All attempts to probe deeper into the past, to establish direct links between the Slavs and previous ethnic groups such as the SCYTHIANS, have failed, as have attempts to interpret as Slavic some archaeological cultures (e.g., that of ČERNJACHOVO) that flourished in this region at the beginning of the first millennium A.D.

JORDANES (*Getica* 119) distinguishes three tribes (*gentes*), "offshoots of a single origin"—Venethi, Antes (ANTAE), and Sclaveni (SKLAVENOI). He locates the Venethi on the Vistula, the Sklavenoi between the Vistula and the Danube, and the Antae from the Dniester to the Don. Since the Byz. of the 6th C. were concerned with the topic of the Slavic invasion, they present them only as potential frontier warriors and not as political, ethnic, racial, or linguistic communities. Of these three *gentes* the Byz. had to deal only with the last two, for the Venethi dwelled far from the Eastern Empire.

Slavo-Byz. relations can be divided into three periods. The first period roughly encompasses the 6th C. The Slavs were firmly entrenched on the left bank of the Danube and from there attacked the northern Balkans (esp. in 551/2, 558/9, and 580/1). Harrying expeditions of the Slavs, often in concert with COTRIGURS, were limited in scope. Around 559–60 the Slavs began to winter on Byz. soil. After 576 they became part of the AVAR military force and the latter's design for conquest.

The second period (ca.590–800) coincides with the first crossing of the Danube in 594 by Maurice, who moved Byz. military action to Slavic territory. In two or three decades the Avars transformed the bands of Slavic frontiersmen into shipbuilders and formidable amphibious troops. Already in 593, the Pannonian Sklavenoi built ships for the Avars as well as a bridge over the Sava River. Around 600 the Slavic fleet was in operation in the Aegean; in 623 they attacked Crete and, in 626, formed the backbone of the joint Avar-Persian attack on Constantinople. It was probably in this period that Slavic became an attractive lingua franca in the area populated by Sklavenoi, Serbs, Croats, etc.

In this period the Slavs began to settle south of the Danube to form the so-called SKLAVINIAI. There is no archaeological evidence for Slavic penetration of imperial territory before the end of the 6th C. The ceramics and the semisubterranean houses of the 7th C. considered by archaeologists to be Slavic are found in Moldavia, on the Lower Danube, and, less frequently, in the basin of the Sava. The cartography of these findings allows the hypothesis that Slavic penetration south from the Danube followed two independent routes—via the Lower Danube in the east and from Pannonia to Illyricum in the west. Traces of Slavic culture in Greece are rare: a Slavic cemetery near Olympia, ceramics in Argos and Tiryns, fibulae from Lakonia and Kenchreai, tombs of warriors near the walls of Corinth containing Slavic belt buckles and weapons (K. Kilian, *Peloponnesiaka* 16 [1985–86] 295–304). It is possible that the majority of the Slavs in this area had undergone (at least partial) hellenization before they formed established settlements.

The Slavs participated in the creation of new political entities in the basin of the Danube. In the former NORICUM the realm of Samo emerged (ca.623–58). This had two social strata: the ruling Winidi (Jordanes' Venethi?) and the inferior stratum of the Sclavi, to whom also belonged the Serbi. Even less is known about the polity called "Volhynia," a name that survives in al-Masʿūdī and in the Kievan chronicle. The polity created in Moesia ca.680 by the Bulgars of ASPARUCH appeared much more stable. These Bulgars assumed control of local Sklaviniai (esp. those of the "Seven Tribes" and DROUGOUBITAI). Now Thessalonike and its environs, rather than the Danube, was the frontier and focus of Slavo-Byz. relations.

The third period was initiated by the destruction of the Avar realm by CHARLEMAGNE and Franco-Bulgar cooperation in pacifying the region. Two types of Slavs appear soon after 800: mobile military colonists who were ready to settle as allies on any sort of frontier within the Byz. Empire, esp. in the Peloponnesos (EZERITAI and MELINGOI), in Asia Minor (esp. in Opsikion, Pontos, and Cilicia), and in Italy; and the former Avar military elite and their retainers who were eager to settle and establish their power over semi-independent princes under Frankish or Byz. sovereignty, for example, in Pannonia or Moravia.

During this period the Slavs converted to Christianity and the Slavic sacred language (CHURCH SLAVONIC) was created by CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS. The Slavic lingua franca was elevated (along with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin) to the language of an ecclesiastical rite. Though originally a failure in Moravia where it was introduced, Slavic laid down stronger roots in Bulgaria, whence it expanded to Kievan Rus' and Serbia.

In the earlier stage, the Slavic rite found the support, albeit reluctant, of the papal court and facilitated the extension of papal jurisdiction over Pannonia, the territory of the former Avar realm and their Sklavinian successors (with Slavic as the current lingua franca); but soon, in neighboring Nitra and in Split, Latin replaced the Slavic tongue in church services. The situation changed dramatically, however, when the rulers of Bulgaria, at the end of the 9th C., abandoned their Bulgaro-Greek bureaucratic bilingualism and turned to the Slavic lingua franca and the Slavic rite for the needs of both church and state.

In the 9th C. the Slavs exerted an influential force on Byz. territory: at the beginning of the century they besieged PATRAS, and legend has it that only the supernatural assistance of the apostle Andrew saved the city. After the Byz. victory the Slavs were placed under the jurisdiction of the metropolis of Patras, and the obligation to accommodate traveling imperial functionaries and ambassadors was imposed on them. Various sources speak of Slav rebellions in the Peloponnesos in the 9th and 10th C. The hagiographer of NIKON HO "METANOEITE" snobbishly represents the Peloponnesian Slavs as robbers and pagans. Still, in the 14th (and probably 15th) C. some Slav groups dwelled on Mt. Taygetos: they refused to pay taxes but agreed to serve as soldiers. An even more substantial Slav population existed in Macedonia, and the *praktika* of various monasteries on Mt. ATHOS show that many *paroikoi* in the 14th and 15th C. bore Slavic names. Some Slavs became members of the Byz. elite (esp. after Basil II's occupation of Bulgaria) or served as mercenaries. Significant traces of Slavic survive in Greek TOPONYMS. The role of the Slavs in Byz. has, however, been exaggerated by some Russian and So-

viet scholars (from V. Vasil'evskij onward) who connected with the Slav penetration the resurgence of Byz. after the decline of the 7th C., the expansion of the peasant community, and military reform; they considered even the FARMER'S LAW a document of Slavic customary law.

After the 9th C. Byz. authors rarely used the term *Sklavenoi* and its derivatives, and preferred to apply to the Slavs either specific ethnic denominations (Rus', Bulgarians, Serbs, Chorbatoi, Lechoi, etc.) or antiquarian terms such as Scythians, Sarmatians, Illyrians; they seem to have had no concept of the ethnic unity of the Slavs and had only a very vague idea of the unity of the Slavic languages.

LIT. O. Pritsak, "The Slavs and the Avars," *SettStu* 30 (1983) 353–435. Z. Váňa, *The World of the Ancient Slavs* (London 1983). A.P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge 1970). I. Dujčev, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, 3 vols. (Rome 1965–71). I. Sorlin in Lemerle, *Miracles* 2:219–34. V.V. Sedov, *Proischoždenie i rannjaja istorija slavjan* (Moscow 1979). I. Ševčenko, "Byzantium and the Slavs," *HUkSt* 8 (1984) 289–303. O.R. Borodin, "Slavjane v Italii i Istrii v VI–VIII vv.," *VizVrem* 44 (1983) 48–59. –O.P.

SMBAT THE CONSTABLE, brother of Het'um I, king of Armenian Cilicia; born Cilicia 1208, died 1276. He was given the title of "Constable" (Sparapet)—an indication of Crusader influence—when Het'um became king in 1226. In 1247 Smbat visited the Mongol capital, Karakorum.

He adapted the secular code of Mxit'ar Goš (compiled in 1184) for westernized Cilician Armenia, and translated the French *Assizes of Antioch* into Armenian (the original is lost). His *Chronicle* is important for Byz. and Crusader history; for the period 951 to 1162 it is based on MATTHEW OF EDESSA, but for the period down to 1272 it offers original information.

ED. *Sempadscher Kodex aus dem 13. Jahrhundert oder Mittelarmenisches Rechtsbuch*, ed. J. Karst, 2 vols. in 1 (Strassburg 1905). *Assises d'Antioche* [ed. L. Alishan] (Venice 1876) with Fr. tr. *Taregirk'*, ed. S. Agelean (Venice 1956). *La chronique attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, tr. G. Dédéyan (Paris 1980).

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *Etudes byzantines et arméniennes* 1 (Louvain 1973) 353–77. –R.T.

SMEDEREVO (Σμέδροβον), a fortress southeast of Belgrade at the confluence of the Jezava and the Danube rivers, erected in 1428–30. After GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ lost Belgrade to the Hungarians in 1427, he received permission from the Turks to build this stronghold that was to be his capital; Thomas Kantakouzenos, his brother-in-law, directed the construction work. The stronghold, copied after Constantinople, is triangular in plan, fortified by square towers; the princely residence, the so-called Mali grad (Small Fort), was located in its northern corner. The princely edifices (palace, donjon for a treasury ?) were built of wood and are poorly preserved.

On 27 Aug. 1439 Murad II seized Smederevo, but it was returned to Branković in 1444. HUNYADI and VLADISLAV III JAGELLON stopped there on their way to Varna that same year, and in 1448 Hunyadi found refuge in Smederevo after his defeat at KOSOVO POLJE. In 1449 the Hungarians and Turks signed a treaty in Smederevo, vowing not to invade Serbian territory, but there was only a short respite for the Serbs—Mehmed II captured Smederevo on 20 June 1459.

LIT. P. Popović, *Smederevo* (Belgrade 1932). Lj. Petrović, *Grad Smederevo u srpskoj istoriji i književnosti* 1 (Pančevo 1922). D. Trifunović in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* 7 (Zagreb 1968) 409f. M. Popović, "La résidence du despote Djuradj Branković dans le Châtelet de la forteresse de Smederevo," *Balcanoslavica* 7 (1978) 101–12. I. Zdravković, "Smederevo, najveća srpska srednjovekovna tvrdjava," *Starinar* n.s. 20 (1969) 423–29. –A.K.

SMITH. In classical Greek *chalkeus* (χαλκεύς) and *chalkotypos* (χαλκοτύπος) were both specific terms for a copper or bronze smith and for a smith in general; the same holds true for *sidereus* (σιδηρεύς), an ironmonger. Oikonomides (*Hommes d'affaires* 102, n.199) tentatively differentiates *chalkeis* (smiths) from *chalkotypoi* (founders). Terms for smiths are common in papyri (Fikhman, *Egipet* 28), hagiography (Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 144f), and in later documents. They gave their name to quarters in Constantinople (Chalkoprateia) and in Thessalonike (the region where the PANAGIA TON CHALKEON church was built). Some smiths became prosperous; for example, the *chalkeus* Matthew in a *praktikon* of the mid-14th C. paid more than 14 nomismata in *enoikiakon* or rent (Guillou, *Ménécée*, no.35.40–42).

In the regulations for his 9th-C. monastery, Theodore of Stoudios named specialized artisans who produced metal objects: *machairopoios*, cutler; *kleidopoios*, locksmith; *katenaras*, chainmaker; *ankistras*, maker of fishhooks (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 1:412f). Such a division of labor, however, was possible only in a large monastic community and was not typical of Byz. An exceptional case probably was the production of nails: a chrysobull of John V Palaiologos of 1342 mentions *ergasteria*, *trapezotopia*, and *karpheia* (nail factories) in Constantinople (*Lavra* 3, no.127.144–46), and the *Patria of Constantinople* (ed. Preger, 236.11–13) cites an area in the capital where small nails (*kinthelia*) were produced.

Various TOOLS used by smiths are mentioned in hagiographical texts: hammer, anvil, bellows, furnace, tongs. Iron tongs 38 cm long were discovered in Corinth (Davidson, *Minor Objects*, no.1444). Excavations in Cherson have uncovered equipment used by founders: stone molds for rings and crosses, ceramic crucibles, ladles for melted metal (A. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyj Cherson* [Moscow-Leningrad 1959] 325–30). Several bone-clad caskets (of the 10th–11th C.) depict Adam as a smith, with tongs, hammer, and anvil, while Eve handles the bellows at a forge.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 192–95. L. Dončeva-Petkova, "Za metalodobiva i metaloobratvaneto v Pliska," *Archeologija* 22.4 (1980) 27–36. Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 76f. –A.K.

SMOLENOI (Σμολένοι, also Smoleanoi), a Slavic tribal name, probably from Slavic *smola*, "tar," reflected in Balkan toponymy (J. Zaimov, *Zaselvane na bŭlgarskite slavjani na Balkanskija poluostrov* [Sofia 1967] 170) and also known in eastern Europe (see SMOLENSK). There is no reason to identify the name of Smolenoi with that of MOGLENA as S. Kyriakides (*Byzantinai Meletai* 4 [Thessalonike? n.d.] 318–20) suggested. The Smolenoi are first mentioned in a damaged inscription referring to an expedition of the Bulgar khan Persian ca.837 (Beševliev, *Inschriften*, no.14.9). The localization of the Smolenoi is under discussion: Theocharides (*infra*) hypothesizes that the Smolenoi settled in a *kleisoura* that secured the entrance into the valley of the STRYMON; when defeated by Persian they retreated to CHRISTOUPOLIS. The inscription, however, provides insufficient basis for such a hypothesis.

By the end of the 11th C. a theme of Smolenoi existed: an act of 1079 is signed by John Kataphloron, *strategos* of Smolenoi (*Lavra* 1, no.39.9), and Gregory PAKOURIANOS, in his *typikon*, lists several documents related explicitly to the theme of Smolenoi. The last mention of the theme of Smolenoi is in Niketas Choniates.

After the christianization of the Smolenoi there was founded a bishopric of Smolenoi, known from notitiae of the 9th–13th C. A priest Theodore Smolenetes lived in the village of Dobrobikeia (in the district of Boleron and Strymon) in the first half of the 11th C. (*Ivir.* 1, no.30.24).

LIT. G. Theocharides, "Morounats, to dethen Slabikon onoma tes Kabales," *Makedonika* 6 (1964–65) 82–89. D. Dečev, "Gde sja živeli Smolenite?" *Zbornik v čest na V. Zlatarski* (Sofia 1925) 45–54. Lemerle, *Philippes* 116, 136, 137 n.1. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 8, n.1. –A.K.

SMOLENSK (Σμολ⟨έν⟩ισκον), a town on the upper DNIEPER and center of a principality of RUS'. Relations with Constantinople can be traced back to the 10th C., the time of the earliest Byz. coins, glass, and silks found in the region. Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 9.6) mentions Smolensk as one of the places where the Rus' gathered in preparation for their expeditions to Constantinople. Smolensk's most prosperous and influential period was from the mid-12th to the mid-13th C., under Rostislav (ca.1125–59) and his successors, of the dynasty of VLADIMIR MONOMACH. An exceptional number of churches were built during this period. The bishopric of Smolensk (*Smoliskon* in *Notitiae CP*, no.13.769) was founded in 1134–36. Its first incumbent, Manuel (a Greek, and possibly the uncle of Theodore PRODROMOS), supported the patriarchate in the controversy over KLIM SMOLJATIČ. In 1370 Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS excommunicated Prince Svjatoslav of Smolensk for his alliance with LITHUANIA against Moscow (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2582).

LIT. Tikhomirov, *Ancient Rus* 372–81. L. Alekseev, *Smolenskaja zemlja* (Moscow 1980). –S.C.F.

SMYRNA (Σμύρνη, now Izmir), city on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor. Its late antique history is obscure, with only a few epigrams providing evidence for construction or maintenance of public works. The city walls were restored by Arkadios and Herakleios. MUʿĀWIYA devastated the city in 654, and the Arabs occupied it in 672/3. Smyrna was a major naval base that gained importance as the harbor of EPHESUS silted up. According to Constantine VII (*De them.* chs. 16.14–16, 17.15, ed. Pertusi, p.82), Smyrna was a city of the

Thrakesion theme and at the same time capital of the theme of Samos. The city also had an *archon,* apparently a maritime governor (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 91). Smyrna played a more significant role after Alexios I recaptured it from Tzachas in 1097 and made it a naval base for operations in Asia Minor. It was then put under a *doux*; by 1133 it was again a city of Thrakesion.

Smyrna had considerable importance under the Laskarids, for whom it was the major military and commercial port, as well as a center of silk production and of education. John III Vatatzes built the powerful upper fortress, still well preserved. Smyrna was then administered by a *katepano*, later by a *prokathemenos*. The documents of the Lembiotissa monastery reveal considerable information about the region in this period. By 1261 Smyrna had a Genoese colony that prospered into the 14th C. After 1304, the city was capital of Thrakesion but was practically surrounded by the Turks of Aydin, who captured its fortress in 1317. A joint fleet of the Hospitallers, Venetians, Cypriots, and some other Latin rulers of Aegean islands took Smyrna by surprise on 28 Oct. 1344, and the city remained in the hands of the Latins until it was seized by Timur after the battle of Ankara in 1402.

Long a suffragan of Ephesus, Smyrna became autocephalous in 451–57 and metropolis in the 9th C. It had only three suffragans.

Lit. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 4–11, 155–58. Lemerle, *Aydin* 40–58, 180–203. W. Müller-Wiener, "Die Stadtbefestigungen von Izmir, Sığacık und Çandarlı," *IstMitt* 12 (1962) 60–96. Angold, *Byz. Government* 109f. –C.F.

SNAKES (sing. *ὄφις*) or serpents. Despite the general interest of Byz., zoological treatises on snakes have not survived. Sporadic information on the snake's nature is mostly based on ancient authorities. Psellos mentions the display of snakes for entertainment, an ancient practice that continued to his day (A. Karpozilos, *Dodone* 9 [1980] 289–310). Such a performance is illustrated in an 11th-C. illuminated MS of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzos (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, fig.51). The church condemned the performances of snake charmers, usually Gypsies (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:444f).

Christian attitudes to the mythology of the snake were contradictory. Thus, in marginal Psalter illustration a snake represents the venom of sinners, but a snake charmer the voice of the wise (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration* II, fig.116). The Physiologos emphasized the snake's ability to change its skin and drew from this capability some moralizing examples for human behavior. The Brazen Serpent could even represent Christ. On the other hand, the snake was an instrument of the Devil or an embodiment of the Devil himself. Severianos of Gabala, developing the theme of Genesis, says that the snake in Paradise differed from those serpents that we now despise and avoid; he was Adam's closest friend and an imitator of human behavior, but at the Devil's instigation he became the murderer of man (PG 56:485–88). In hagiography the snake appears mostly to challenge the saint's virtue or miraculous power; hence the slaying of the snake or dragon by saints such as George, Symeon of Emesa, and Elisabeth is presented as a major ascetic deed. In mythological zoology, the deer was granted the ability to kill the snake. Proverbs and *gnomai* use the image of the venomous snake as a symbol of evil and perfidy.

Snakes are frequently represented in art as conquered by eagles. Identified with dragons, they were also shown without apparent symbolic significance. Images of snakes adorned a great porphyry basin that was once in a garden of the Great Palace of Constantinople and was moved in the reign of Andronikos I to the courtyard of the church of the Forty Martyrs (Nik.Chon. 332.18–22). Dragons were represented on military standards held by *drakonarioi*. –Ap.K., A.C.

SOAP (*σαπώνιον*) in the modern sense of the word, a soluble washing compound made from the combination of fatty acids with soda and potash, was unknown in antiquity (H. Blümner, *RE* 2.R. 2 [1923] 1112–14). Instead the Greeks used *nitron*, a form of sodium carbonate, which formed a cleansing compound when mixed with oil. Even though Arethas of Caesarea, in his scholia to Lucian, notes that it was the ancients who used *nitron* in their baths (S. Kougeas, *Laographia* 4 [1913] 248), the term *nitron* continued to be used through the Byz. era. Thus, the 14th-C. *typikon* of the Bebaias Elpidos nunnery (ed. Delehaye, 74.5) provided for a monthly distribution of *nitron* to the nuns to wash their clothes, and Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 149.23–24) described the baths in Constantinople where the patrons applied *nitron*. The chemical composition of Byz. *nitron* is unknown.

The word *sapo* (from Celtic *saipo*) is used by Latin writers from the 1st C. onward, and Greek *sapon* appears in a papyrus of the 1st C. B.C. in an unclear context but related to washing (*Aegyptische Urkunden der königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, vol. 4 [Berlin 1912] no.1058.35). Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 28.51) explains *sapo* as a Gallo-Germanic concoction for giving hair a bright hue; Oribasios (*Collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, ed. J. Raeder, vol. 3 [Leipzig-Berlin 1931] 45.29.59) defines *sapon* as a Germanic unguent used in the bath. Bartholomew of Edessa, a writer of the 8th or 9th C., knew the terms *sopounion* and *sapounion* for soap (PG 104:1405B, 1413A). In the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch*, *saponion* is used to designate soap; *saponarii* and *saponopratai* were the soapmakers. Another word for soap was *gallikon* (Gallic soap): Emp. Constans II is said to have smeared himself with *gallikon* in the bathhouse just before he was murdered (Theoph. 351.29–31). The 10th-C. *saponopratai* were prohibited from selling the *gallikon* (*Bk. of Eparch* 12.4). Stöckle (*Zünfte* 39) hypothesizes that the use of *gallikon* was a privilege reserved for the imperial family.

Lit. R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, vol. 3 (Leiden 1955) 174–82. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:451, notes 5 and 6. –A.K., A.M.T.

SOAPMAKER (*σαπωνοπράτης*). In antiquity the substitute for soap (*nitron*) was available in bathhouses, and the profession of "soap"-vendor, *nitropoles*, is attested to at least in one late Roman papyrus (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 3:133). In the late Roman period soapmakers, *saponarii*, existed in Italy and in Gaul: thus, a contract of 541 mentions Isaac, *vir honestus*, *saponarius Classis*, in Ravenna (J.O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri aus der Zeit 445–700*, vol. 2 [Stockholm 1982] no.33.2), and in 599 the *corpus* of *sapunarii* in Naples asked Pope Gregory I for protection.

The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.12) devotes a section to the Constantinopolitan guild of *saponopratai* who were both producers and vendors of soap. Their shops (*ergasteria*) had to be separated from each other by a distance of 7 *pecheis* and 12 *podes* (see Pous). Besides the usual restrictions imposed on guilds, soapmakers were forbidden to use animal fat during Lent. A synodal decision of 1400 (MM 2:440.32–34) estimated the cost of a large caldron and a complete set of tools of a *saponarios* at 100 hyperpers.

Lit. *Bk. of Eparch* 211–15. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 39f. –A.K.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE. Byz. society has been divided into classes and other entities conventionally called microstructures. Some of them were ephemeral or fluid units, constantly forming and breaking up—learned assemblies and schools, bands of hunters, occasional gatherings (e.g., in taverns); they left little trace and can scarcely be studied. Others were more or less stable: family, lineage, village community, guild, town, parish, confraternity, monastery, military unit, ethnic group. Late Roman society inherited ancient municipal organization and elements of traditional lineages-*gentes* (at least in the form of the system of names). Both aspects seem to have declined by the 8th C., whereas the nuclear family grew stronger and became the cornerstone of Byz. social structure; other microstructures were relatively loose, composed mostly of agglomerations of nuclear families; even the cenobitic monastery was challenged by the familylike eremitic unit, the lavra. The ideal of celibacy as a major virtue contributed to a certain devaluation of family ties and to the profound atomization of society. Vertical social bonds were underdeveloped if compared with the Western feudal hierarchy.

We may assume that this atomization of society and lack of strong horizontal and vertical social bonds accounted for the Byz. concept that a man was primarily the subject of the *basileus* (his "slave" or "child") rather than a member of a lineage, township, or village community, or a link in a hierarchical chain of lords and vassals. Vassalage was at a rudimentary stage and the hierarchy one of meritorious ranks conferred by the *basileus*, rather than one of hereditary titles, lands, and jurisdictions. The system of vertical mobility created a constant flow—although more in theory than in practice. This system was supported by traditions of Roman law that—more often than not rhetorically—proclaimed mankind's equality before the law and ignored legal privileges of social status, albeit developed in custom. Atomized social structure was supported by a belief in the individual path to salvation propagated

by such mystics as SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN or the partisans of HESYCHASM. Byz. theology pursued the hierarchical world view of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE less energetically than Western theologians. The Byz. clergy was not as sharply separated from the ordinary lay people as its Western counterpart, and the Byz. church did not achieve as great a monopoly on salvation or education as did the church in the West.

The urban revival and the aristocratization of society from the 11th C. onward caused a breach in the traditional social structure and a revision of many conservative values, but the process was too slow and inconsistent. Byz. institutions began to bear greater resemblance to Western feudal society but remained substantially different, and the Byz. never identified themselves with the West.

LIT. J. Haldon, "On the Structuralist Approach to the Social History of Byzantium," *BS* 42 (1981) 203–11.
–A.K.

SOCRATES (Σωκράτης), ancient Greek philosopher; born Athens 469 B.C., died Athens 399. The *Souda* contains many references to Socrates, preserving a curious mixture of fact and fiction, while the Byz. scholia to Aristophanes' *Clouds* add little or nothing to our knowledge of the historical Socrates. The aphorisms attributed to Socrates in STOBAIOS and the *gnomologia* (collections of GNOMAI) are of uncertain age and authenticity. The *Gnomologion Vaticanum* (a 14th-C. MS) contains 31 sayings attributed to Socrates and one attributed to his wife Xanthippe. Byz. writers were divided in their view of Socrates. Some rejected him as the embodiment of paganism, while others saw him as a critic of pagan society who was repudiated and executed, and thus a man of true wisdom who had anticipated the future truths of Christianity. In paintings of the TREE OF JESSE in a group of late Byz. churches in Greece and the Balkans, Socrates is sometimes included among pagan writers and philosophers who had prophesied the coming of Christ. Although the pagans depicted in the Tree are undoubtedly connected with the *Prophecies of the Seven Sages* (a text formulated shortly before 560 that omits Socrates), the paintings all appear to derive from a 13th-C. Italian archetype and do not represent a survival of Hellenism as some scholars have believed. (For historian, see SOKRATES.)

LIT. H. Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien* (Hamburg 1941). J. Ferguson, *Socrates: A Source Book* (London 1970). I. Dujčev, *Heidnische Philosophen und Schriftsteller in der alten bulgarischen Wandmalerei* (Opladen 1976). M.D. Taylor, "A Historiated Tree of Jesse," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 125–76.
–K.S.

SOFIA. See SERDICA.

SOĞANLI, a valley in CAPPADOCIA. Located between Ürgüp and Niğde on the central Anatolian plateau, the valley is the site of a number of ROCK-CUT CHURCHES with frescoes dating from the late 9th or early 10th C. to the third quarter of the 11th C. Two churches are dated by inscription. St. Barbara (dated to a 4th indiction, probably 1006 or 1021) is a single-naved, barrel-vaulted church with a *parekklesion*. The large apse is adorned with a MAJESTAS DOMINI. Narrative images from the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES decorate the south side of the nave vault; iconic representations of the Nativity and Anastasis appear on the north side. Karabaş Kilise is a monastic complex probably founded in the late 9th or early 10th C., made up of four single-naved chapels. The principal northern church was redecorated in 1060/1 by a *protospatharios* Michael SKEPIDES, a nun Katherine, and a monk Nyphon. The Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER) fills the conch of the apse, and feast scenes as well as portraits of saints and the donors decorate the nave. The style of the frescoes is similar to those of St. Sophia in OHRID. Another member of the Skepides family, John, *protospatharios* of the Chrysotriklinos, *hypatos* and *strategos*, is mentioned in an undated inscription in Geyik Kilise in the same valley. The three churches of the Belli Kilise group are notable for their carved exteriors and for the elaborate subsidiary rooms associated with them; frescoes in this complex probably date to the early 10th C.

LIT. Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres* 2:249–381. N. Thierry, "Étude stylistique des peintures de Karabaş Kilise en Cappadoce," *CahArch* 17 (1967) 161–75. M. Restle, "Zum Karabaş Kilise im Soğanlı Dere," *JÖB* 19 (1970) 261–66.
–A.J.W.

SOHAG, town in Upper Egypt at the edge of the western desert, site of the famous 5th-C. monastery of SHENOUTE (Dayr Anbā Shinūda). The monastery originally covered several acres; excavations have unearthed sections of the outer wall and traces of buildings. Still standing is the church misleadingly named the "White Monastery," built ca.440, one of the largest basilicas in Egypt, with galleries, two narthexes, and a richly adorned triconch sanctuary. In front of the triumphal arch are traces of two additional columns that once bore a secondary triumphal arch, a typical feature of Upper Egyptian triconch churches. Several thousand monks and nuns lived in this monastery under very strict regulations, mainly working in its fields. They slept in common dormitories and had their meals at special hours in the refectory.

A few miles to the north lies another monastery, St. Bishoi (Dayr Anbā Bishūy), probably a dependent house of St. Shenoute. Its church, although smaller, is of similar plan, and its triconch with semidomes and two stories of columns has remained fully intact; it is datable to the 5th C. The central dome replaced the original pyramidal roof. Farther into the desert lies a small ruined 5th-C. chapel, dedicated to Shenoute.

LIT. U. Monneret de Villard, *Les couvents près de Sohâg*, 2 vols. (Milan 1925–26). P. Akermann, *Le décor sculpté du Couvent Blanc* (Cairo 1976). P. Grossmann, "New Observations in the Church and Sanctuary of Dayr Anbā Šinūda," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 70 (1984–85) 69–73. Timm, *Ägypten* 2:601–34.
–P.G.

SOKRATES (Σωκράτης), ecclesiastical historian; born Constantinople ca.380, died after 439. Sokrates was a lawyer (*scholastikos*) at Constantinople, where he had been educated by Ammonios and Helladios, two pagan grammarians living there in exile from Alexandria. His *Church History* covers the period 305–439 in seven books, each one containing the reign of an emperor. There is much emphasis on local events affecting Constantinople, also some obtruded sympathy for NOVATIANISM. Secular events, including military history, are given due focus. Sokrates is a good critical historian who cites his documentary sources verbatim. He published a second edition (the one that survives) when a perusal of ATHANASIOS of Alexandria convinced him that there were serious chronological errors in his first source, the Latin *Church History* of RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA. The work also survives in an Armenian version (M. Širinjan, *VizVrem* 43 [1982] 231–41).

ED. *Ecclesiastical History*², ed. R. Hussey, revised W. Bright (Oxford 1893). PG 67:29–842. Eng. tr. A.C. Zenos, *Ecclesiastical History* (New York 1890; rp. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1952).

LIT. G.F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories* (Paris 1977) 167–89. Idem, "Kairos and Cosmic Sympathy in the Church Historian Socrates Scholasticus," *ChHist* 44 (1975) 161–66. F. Geppert, *Die Quellen des Kirchenhistorikers Socrates Scholasticus* (Leipzig 1898).
-B.B.

SOLEA (σωλαία, σωλεία, σολέα, etc.), in early churches of Constantinople an enclosed processional pathway leading from the TEMPLON to the AMBO. After Iconoclasm, when this *solea* was no longer used, the term is sometimes applied to that part of the raised sanctuary platform (BEMA) that lies outside the templon. Pseudo-Sophronios interprets the *solea* in this latter sense, as the river of fire separating sinners from the just (PG 87:3985A).

LIT. Mathews, *Early Churches* 32, 37f, 54, 65f, 98f, 179. S.G. Xydis, "The Chancel Barrier, Solea, and Ambo of Hagia Sophia," *ArtB* 29 (1947) 15–24.
–R.F.T.

SOLECISM (σολοικισμός), technical term of grammar, denoting incorrect use of language, usually resulting from ignorance. Roman grammarians distinguished between "barbarism," in which the error was confined to a single word, and solecism, involving several words. Solecism was thus mainly concerned with SYNTAX. Byz. grammarians repeated this distinction. For Byz. rhetoricians such as the 11th-C. John DOXOPATRES (*RhetGr*, ed. Walz, 2:240f), avoidance of solecism was an element in correct Greek. When the incorrect use was deliberate and made for effect, however, solecism became a feature of style rather than of language, and as such was recognized by Byz. grammarians as a figure of speech. The term could thus be applied to ellipsis, pleonasm, or unusual word order as well as to errors of grammar. Byz. writers often charged one another with solecism, and Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 455.44–45) accused Emp. Alexios III of signing any document presented to him, even if it was solecistic. This sensitivity to solecism, real or imagined, is a feature of ATTICISM, and indicates that the grammar of the literary Greek language was sometimes not fully internalized either by writers or readers.

LIT. H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*² (Munich 1973) 1:267–74.
–R.B.

SOLEMNION (σολέμνιον, "stipend," from Lat. *solemne donum,* "festive gift"), an annual payment of a sum of money granted as a gift by the emperor, took two forms. One kind, a direct grant from the treasury, is attested in 10th- through 12th-C. documents in which its recipient is always the Great Church or a monastery in Constantinople. Another, more important for the history of Byz. fiscal practices, is the *solemnion logisimon* described in the *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 117f). Instead of receiving a *solemnion* from the treasury, the beneficiary received fiscal revenues drawn at their source. This *solemnion logisimon* had three forms: (1) The beneficiary had his property tax reduced by the amount of the *solemnion*; (2) a provincial treasury official bestowed the *solemnion* from taxes collected in the province, so that the *solemnion* bypassed the central treasury; and (3) the emperor ordered a certain CHORION to pay its taxes directly to the beneficiary (specifically, to an ecclesiastical institution).

Solemnia are mentioned in acts of the 10th–11th C. At the end of the 10th C., the Lavra of St. Athanasios received 600–700 nomismata as *solemnia*, in part from the island of Lemnos and, probably, from the region of the Strymon; it was also granted a *solemnion* in grain (N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 1:61). Constantine IX Monomachos conferred upon Vatopedi a *solemnion* of 80 hyperpyra (M. Goudas, *EEBS* 3 [1926] 125, no.3.5–6), and in 1079 Nikephoros III ordered the *dioiketes* of the Cyclades islands to pay a *solemnion* of 16 nomismata to the monk Arsenios Skenoures and his cells (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.3.14–15). The principle behind *solemnion logisimon* was central in the formation of the PRONOIA and *oikonomia* that later supplanted it.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 83f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 215f. Ahrweiler, *Structures,* pt.I (1964), 105f. –M.B.

SOLIDUS, initially the name of Diocletian's gold coin struck 60 to the Roman pound (see LITRA) but more particularly applied to its successor, struck 72 to the pound and weighing 24 *siliquae* or *keratia*. It was introduced under Constantine I at the mint of Trier in 309. This was gradually extended to the other mints of Constantine's dominions and under him and his successors became the standard gold coin of the empire. In Greek it was known from the first as a NOMISMA, but numismatists have been accustomed to use the Latin word *solidus* for the coin down to the 10th C., despite the incongruity of this in a purely Greek setting. Though the coin was theoretically of pure gold, there was a slight falling off in fineness in the 10th C., followed by a catastrophic decline between the 1030s and 1080s. Solidi of Nikephoros III were only about 33 percent fine and those of the early years of Alexios I ceased to be of gold at all. A return to good quality gold was made in 1092, with the introduction of the HYPERPYRON. Provincial gold coins, notably those of 8th-C. Italy and of 9th-C. Sicily, had often been of much poorer gold than those of Constantinople. Solidi weighing less than the theoretical 24 carats—the precise figures vary from 20 to 23 carats—had been struck in small quantities in the 6th–7th C., their reduced weight being indicated to users by small changes in design. The purpose of these coins is unknown. In the 10th C. a new class of lightweight solidi came into existence with the creation of the TETARTERON.

LIT. *DOC* 2:10–17, 3:19–62. C. Morrisson et al., *L'or monnayé. I. Purifications et altérations de Rome à Byzance* (Paris 1985). –Ph.G.

SOL INVICTUS, the invincible sun, was the symbol of HELIOS in his capacity as protector of the emperor; under Aurelian (270–75) and in the first quarter of the 4th C. the distinction between the *sol invictus* and the emperor himself became confused. The *sol invictus* appears on the coins of Galerius and Maximinus and later, through 323. Sometimes the *sol invictus* is presented on a chariot, with the SPHAIRA, or orb, in his left hand and the right hand upraised; according to Prokopios of Gaza this gesture meant a command to open the gates of the hours. After Constantine I, the image of the solar god-emperor vanishes, whereas the SOL JUSTITIAE (or *sol salutis*), the sun of justice and of salvation, merges with the image of Christ.

LIT. H.P. L'Orange, "Sol Invictus Imperator: Ein Beitrag zur Apotheose," *Symbolae Osloenses* 14 (1935) 86–114. Idem, "Konstantin den Stores triumfbue i Roma," *Kunst og Kultur* 54 (1971) 81–120. –A.K.

SOL JUSTITIAE ("sun of justice"), later also *sol salutis* ("sun of salvation"), usually a symbol and metaphor for Christ, according to late antique and Byz. exegesis of Malachi 4:2. The concept arose in an ancient Near Eastern milieu and became widespread in Neoplatonic thought; Philo calls the sun the divine *Logos*. The classic formulations of Christ as the *sol justitiae*, "risen with healing in his wings," are in ORIGEN's *Against Celsus* ("the One Word, risen like the Sun of Justice"), and in CYRIL of Alexandria's commentary on Malachi ("Christ rises upon the world as the Sun of Justice, of most perfect knowledge, enlightening our eyes and souls"). Also regarded as a type of the risen Christ was the sun "rejoicing as a giant to run his course" of Psalm 19(18):4–5, an emblem of the just law of God. This exegesis, however, posed for Christian theologians the problem of how to distinguish between the worship of Christ and the veneration of the sun, such as that reported to be practiced by the Manichaeans. A vestige of solar veneration can be seen in the tradition of Christian congregations facing east during the liturgy. In Byz. art the type is usually subsumed into the fusion of Christ with SOL INVICTUS.

LIT. F.J. Dölger, *Die Sonne des Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze* (Münster 1919) 83–110. Idem, *Sol Salutis* (Münster 1925). –L.S.B.MacC.

SOLOMON (Σολομών), son and successor of DAVID; king of Israel. Early Christian tradition attributes to Solomon three books of the OLD TESTAMENT (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the SONG OF SONGS) that, according to Origen, formed a unit symbolically reflecting the major elements of human wisdom: ethics (Proverbs), physics (Ecclesiastes), and metaphysics (the Song of Songs). Basil the Great, in his homily on the exordium of Proverbs (PG 31:385–424), praised it as speaking of true wisdom and righteousness. In contrast, Theodore of Mopsuestia considered Proverbs and Ecclesiastes as books that, while canonical, exhibited less inspiration; this view was condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 553. Ecclesiastes caused particular difficulties for exegetes, since they had to explain the Epicurean tendencies of this divine book; Gregory of Nyssa solved the difficulty by applying the theory of *prosopopoiia*: Solomon's dialogue was with a hypothetical hedonist interlocutor. A lengthy commentary by GREGORY OF AKRAGAS reveals a knowledge of ancient authors (Aristotle, Philo, the rhetoricians) and a freedom to disagree with renowned church fathers.

The biblical story of Solomon, elaborated in the so-called *Testament of Solomon* extant in Greek MSS of the 15th to 17th C., is probably already referred to in a Christian text of 400. The *Testament* relates the construction of the Temple and presents Solomon as ruling over demons, whom he put to work for the Temple. Solomon also received gifts from all the kings of the earth and from Sheba, the Queen of the South.

Representation in Art. Solomon was often paired with DAVID, for example, among groups of Old Testament PROPHETS in monumental decoration and among those awaiting Christ in the ANASTASIS. Exegetical parallels drawn between David and emperors were sometimes extended to include the emperors' sons as types of Solomon (H. Buchthal, *JWarb* 37 [1974] 332). In contrast to David, Solomon was usually represented as an idealized, beardless young man; both are dressed as emperors. Solomon appears as an author inspired by SOPHIA (H. Belting, G. Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas* [Wiesbaden 1979] 46–48) and raised on a shield in a frontispiece to 3 Kings (1 Chr) in the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS. As a legendary embodiment of Wisdom, Solomon was named in magic scrolls (Nik.Chon. 146.47–49) and seals.

SOURCE. *The Testament of Solomon,* ed. C.C. McCown (Leipzig 1922). Eng. tr. D.C. Duling, J. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* vol. 1 (Garden City, N.Y., 1983) 935–97.

LIT. S. Leanza, *DPAC* 2:3084–96. R. Maisano, "L'esegesi veterotestamentaria di Isidoro Pelusiota: I libri sapienziali," *Koinonia* 4 (1980) 39–75. A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986) 186–200. –A.K., J.I., J.H.L., A.C.

SOLOMON, general of Justinian I; born at Solachon near Dara, died 544 at Cillium, on the border of Numidia and Byzacena. A eunuch, Solomon was Belisarios's *domestikos* and a commander of *foederati* during the expedition to Africa in 533–34. He fought well at the battle of Ad Decimum against the Vandals. When recalled to Constantinople, Belisarios left Solomon in command. Successful in the war against the Moors in Byzacena and Numidia, Solomon faced his own soldiers' discontent: he was almost assassinated in Carthage at Easter 536, was unable to quell the mutiny of STOTZAS, and fled to Sicily. Belisarios quickly came to Africa and reestablished Solomon's military and civil command, but Solomon was soon replaced by GERMANOS. Only after the suppression of mutiny in 539 was he restored to

his position as military (*magister militum*) and civil (praetorian prefect) governor of Africa. Again Solomon had to deal with the Moors and occupied several fortresses. When his troops fled from the battle at Cillium, Solomon kept fighting bravely and was killed. PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA, who was his assessor, describes Solomon as a courageous, capable, and energetic commander, although unpopular with the army.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 22–31. H. Halm, "Eine Inschrift des *Magister Militum* Solomon in arabischer Überlieferung," *Historia* 36 (1987) 250–56. A. Nagl, *RE* 2.R. 3 (1929) 941–46. –W.E.K., A.K.

SOLOMON, SONG OF. See SONG OF SONGS.

SOMATEION (*σωματεῖον*), legal term designating a corporate body. *Cod.Just.* I 2.20 employs the word for contingents of soldiers. The scholion to *Basil.* 60.32.3.1 equates *somateia* with the "Hellenic" *hetaireiai* and prohibits the founding of *somateia* without an imperial decree. *Basil.* 54.16.16 states that admission of an individual to "the state *somateia*" had to occur in the presence of the *archon* of the *eparchia*, after the *somateion* testified to the applicant's fitness. *Basil.* 8.2.101 presents the statement of Gaius (*Digest* 3.4.1) in which the *somateion* represents the Latin *corpus*; the text refers primarily to PARTNERSHIP, the *societas* of Roman law. The case is illustrated in the scholion by a body for the levying of taxes, such as the *somateia* that collect tolls in a port or at a city gate.

The scholiast also speaks of Roman *collegia* or *somateia* (lit. "*somateion* of a *collegium*"), which were created by order of the senate or by imperial decree, such as the corporation of bakers. The structure of these *somateia* is said to have resembled that of *municipia* (*poleis*) because it too had a common administration, a common treasury, and a *syndikos* to run the common business. In the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch*, the term *somateion* is found only in the title, whereas the text uses the terms *systema* and, in the case of notaries, *syllogos*. *Peira* 51.7, on the other hand, distinguishes between *systema* and *somateion*, describing *somateia* as corporations (GUILDS) engaged in manual work, such as shoemakers or dyers, whereas merchants engaged in the raw silk trade or textile importers (PRANDIOPRATAI) are considered members of *systemata*.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 8–11. Litavrin, *Viz.obščestvo* 131f. –A.K.

SONG OF SONGS (*ᾆσμα ᾀσμάτων*), a book of the BIBLE attributed to SOLOMON, and frequently commented upon by church fathers. ORIGEN established the foundation of its interpretation in his *Commentaries* and *Homilies* (preserved mainly in Latin translations by RUFINUS and JEROME). He rejected the possibility of a historical exegesis and interpreted the text as an ALLEGORY: the bridegroom, Solomon the "peaceable," and the bride stood respectively for Christ and the Church (the *Homilies*) or the Logos and the Soul (the *Commentaries*). GREGORY OF NYSSA refers to Origen in his exegesis of the *Song of Songs* and follows the principle of allegorical interpretation, even though he does not deny the historical element in the text; the historicity, however, is enigmatic and hard to decipher. The allegorical interpretation remained dominant, with the exception of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, who rejected the allegorical meaning of the text and saw in its protagonists the historical Solomon in love with an Egyptian princess. Theodore's exegesis was condemned at the Second Council of Constantinople, and THEODORET OF CYRRHUS dedicated a tract to its refutation. In the 7th C. CATENAE on the *Song of Songs* appeared, which contained sentences ascribed to three theologians—Gregory of Nyssa, NEILOS OF ANKYRA, and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR—that served as the major source of information for subsequent generations. PSELLOS wrote a superficial commentary in verse, based primarily on Gregory, and in the 14th C. MATTHEW (I) KANTAKOUZENOS interpreted the bride of the text not only as the Church, but also as the Theotokos (PG 152:997–1084).

LIT. W. Riedel, *Die Auslegung des Hohenliedes in der jüdischen Gemeinde und der griechischen Kirche* (Leipzig 1898). M. Faulhaber, *Hohelied-, Proverbien- und Prediger-Katenen* (Vienna 1902) 1–73. –A.K.

SOPHIA (*Σοφία*) was a complex term in patristic vocabulary. As human wisdom it had ambivalent meaning—sometimes connoting a virtue, sometimes sophisticated eloquence devoid of ethical or spiritual content, sometimes vain and "carnal" pseudo-wisdom. In Gnostic thought Sophia was one of the Aeons, a bearer of the female principle: she was the counterpart to the Father, with whom she produced, by contemplation, divine beings; in the form of Agape-Sophia she was the counterpart to Christ and, in the form of Pistis-Sophia, the counterpart to the Saviour. On the other hand, divine Sophia was construed as an attribute of the Godhead, sometimes even identified with the second or third person of the Trinity. Thus Christ is identified as the Wisdom of God on a 14th-C. icon now in the Byzantine Museum in Athens (*Holy Image*, no.30).

Representations in Art. In painting, Sophia could be embodied in a great variety of ways. Though female, she may represent Christ or the wisdom that he incarnates. In the catacombs of Karmouz at Alexandria she is a winged, nimbed figure inscribed *Sophia I(esou)s Ch(ristos)*, while on 6th–8th-C. seals of officials of the patriarchate of Constantinople, as on those of metropolitans and bishops (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 49, 703, 931, 951, 956), Sophia holds a cross or vessel before her breast. A miniature in a 9th-C. MS of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM illustrates the author's image of Wisdom with Adam holding a lamp that supports a bust of Christ Emmanuel (Meyendorff, *infra* [1959] fig.2). Sophia was also understood as an imperial virtue. In Psalter illustration of the 10th C. and later she joins Prophetia as a companion of David (Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, figs. 2, 154, 251, 295). Z. Gavrilović (*Zograf* 11 [1980] 44–52) extended this political connotation to images of Serbian kings and emperors illuminated with the wisdom of Joseph, Christ, the Virgin, and various church fathers; in such frescoes Sophia is only rarely personified. She is found more often in late 13th- and 14th-C. painting (Prizren, Ohrid, Gračanica) where, as a winged being, she incarnates the Wisdom of the Book of Proverbs, ch.9. In these contexts, too, she appears as the companion of one or more of the Evangelists. The Gnostic Sophia is depicted as a female figure on engraved gems and in drawings in magical papyri. Many Byz. churches were dedicated to HAGIA SOPHIA ("Holy Wisdom").

LIT. A. Koffas, *Die Sophia-Lehre bei Klemens von Alexandrien* (Frankfurt am Main 1982). A. Orbe, " 'Sophia soror': Apuntes para la teología del Espíritu Santo," in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris 1974) 355–63. J. Meyendorff, "Wisdom-Sophia: Contrasting Approaches to a Complex Theme," *DOP* 41 (1987) 391–401. Idem, "L'iconographie de la Sagesse Divine dans la tradition byzantine," *CahArch* 10 (1959) 259–77. F. von Lilienfeld, " 'Frau Weisheit' in byzantinischen und karolingischen Quellen des 9. Jahrhunderts," in *Typus, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern*, ed. M. Schmidt, C.F. Geyer (Regensburg 1982) 146–86. D. Good, *Reconstructing the Tradition of Sophia in Gnostic Literature* (Atlanta 1987). –A.C., A.K.

SOPHIA, legendary saint; feastday 17 Sept. Born in Milan, she had three daughters, Pistis, Elpis, and Agape (Faith, Hope, and Charity [Love]), whose martyrdom she was forced to witness in Rome. The beheading of the girls and their burial by Sophia in a common sarcophagus (with heads back in place) is depicted in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.43). The vita by SYMEON METAPHRASTES is illustrated either with portraits of the mother and her daughters or with the execution scene.

LIT. *BHG* 1637x–1639. M. Girardi, "Le fonti scritturistiche delle prime *recensiones* greche della *passio* di S. Sofia e loro influsso sulla redazione metafrastica," *VetChr* 20 (1983) 47–76. M. van Esbroeck, "Le saint comme symbole," in *Byz. Saint* 129–38. G. de Tervarent, "Contribution à l'iconographie de sainte Sophie et de ses trois filles," *AB* 68 (1950) 419–23. –N.P.Š.

SOPHIA, empress; wife of JUSTIN II and niece of THEODORA; born before 530, died after 600. Strong-willed, persistent, and ambitious for power, Sophia played a leading role during the reign of her husband, esp. after he had shown signs of mental disease. She was the first empress whose effigy was struck on coins (folleis) together with that of the emperor; she similarly appears with him on a silver cross in the Vatican (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, pl.71). Rumor attributed to Sophia the cancellation of arrears in taxation. She strongly supported the handsome TIBERIOS (I), and promoted him as heir to the throne, but required him to keep his wife away from the main palace; it was said that Sophia planned to marry him. After Justin's death, Tiberios respected Sophia and provided chambers for her in the palace, but called her "mother" and remained with his family. Her hopes dashed, Sophia schemed against Tiberios; he arrested her and confiscated her treasures. At his deathbed he recalled her, and she supported Maurice as his successor. The last mention of Sophia is an anecdote of Theophanes the Confessor, who relates that she and the empress Constantina, at the end of Maurice's reign, presented him with a crown (*stemma*) that he ordered to be

hung above the altar of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople.

LIT. Av. Cameron, "The Empress Sophia," *Byzantion* 45 (1975) 5–21. –W.E.K., A.K.

SOPHIA PALAIOLOGINA (Paleolog), wife of IVAN III of Moscow; baptismal name Zoe; born Morea 1450/1 (V. Tiftixoglu, *BZ* 60 [1967] 279–87), died Moscow 7 Apr. 1503. Daughter of THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS, the last *despotes* of the Morea, and niece of CONSTANTINE XI PALAIOLOGOS, the last Byz. emperor, Sophia fled to Kerkyra in 1460 and then went to Rome. Contrary to the statement of pseudo-Sphrantzes, she was never married to the Roman noble Carracciolo (J.B. Papadopoulos, *EEBS* 12 [1936] 264–68). On the advice of her guardian, Cardinal BESSARION, Zoe was betrothed to Ivan in June 1472 at the Vatican in the presence of Pope Sixtus IV, who hoped to promote Catholicism in Russia. Upon her arrival in Moscow, however, she converted to Orthodoxy. She married Ivan on 12 Nov. 1472, taking the new name Sophia. Sophia bore her husband seven children, one of whom, Basil III, eventually succeeded his father in 1505 after a power struggle. Earlier theories that Sophia's marriage led to a Russian claim to succession to the Byz. throne and empire are now discredited (Meyendorff, *Russia* 274). Her patronage of art and architecture brought Italian and Byz. influence to her new homeland.

LIT. M. Paximadopoulou-Stavrinou, *Ho gamos tes Sophias Zoes Palaiologou meta tou Ioannou tou III tes Rossias (1472)* (Athens 1972). G. Vernadsky, *Russia at the Dawn of the Modern Age* (New Haven, Conn.–London 1959) 17–26. M. Hellmann, "Moskau und Byzanz," *JbGOst* 17 (1969) 321–38. –A.M.T.

SOPHOCLES, Greek tragic poet; born Athens 496 B.C., died Athens 406. An account of his life and work is given in the *Souda*, where the number of Sophoclean entries indicates a partiality to him. Fragments of his tragedies are preserved in papyri of the 4th–7th C. The oldest extant MS of Sophocles dates from the mid-10th C., but a revived interest in Sophocles is already evident in IGNATIOS THE DEACON (cf. Browning, *Studies*, pt.XIV [1968]). In the 12th C. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE knew well the text of Sophocles, whose debt to Homer he repeatedly identified in his Homeric commentaries. The most widely read of the Sophoclean plays were the triad of *Ajax*, *Electra*, and *Oedipus the King*. Annotated editions of the entire corpus were produced in the 14th C. by THOMAS MAGISTROS and Demetrios TRIKLINIOS; a recension of the triad by Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS is a matter of debate (cf. Wilson, *Scholars* 246). The number of surviving MSS and the quotations in Byz. authors indicate that among the tragedians Sophocles was second to Euripides in popularity.

ED. *Scholia byzantina in Sophoclis Oedipum tyrannum*, ed. O. Longo (Padua 1971).

LIT. R.D. Dawe, *Studies on the Text of Sophocles*, 3 vols. (Leiden 1973–78). R. Carden, *The Papyrus Fragments of Sophocles* (Berlin–New York 1974). –A.C.H.

SOPHRONIOS (Σωφρόνιος), patriarch of Jerusalem (634–38); born Damascus ca.560, died Jerusalem 11 March 638. He was a teacher of rhetoric in Damascus, usually identified with Sophronios the Sophist, although the arguments for this are not fully conclusive. Sophronios then became a monk and, together with his teacher and intimate John MOSCHOS, journeyed widely, visiting numerous monastic centers in Egypt, Palestine, and Rome (H. Chadwick, *JThSt* n.s. 25 [1974] 41–74). He returned to Jerusalem to join the monastery of Theodosios (ca.619). His uncompromising opposition to MONOENERGISM in 633 brought him to Egypt and Constantinople, though his courage and dedicated defense of the Council of CHALCEDON failed to convince either KYROS of Alexandria or SERGIOS I of Constantinople. His Synodal Letter, issued in 634 on his elevation to patriarch, is a detailed exposition of his staunch Chalcedonianism. On the whole, his other literary output is hagiographic and homiletic. His 23 Anacreontic Odes in classical meter deal with liturgical feasts. He is also credited with being the author of liturgical texts, including the Office of Blessing of Water on Epiphany. In addition to his *enkomion* of Sts. KYROS AND JOHN, a fragment of his biography of his friend JOHN ELEEMON, coauthored with Moschos, has survived. He is an important literary witness to the conquest of Jerusalem by Caliph ʿUMAR in 638 (M.B. Krivov, *VizVrem* 41 [1980] 249–51).

ED. PG 87.3:3147–4014. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 5:151–68. M. Gigante, *Sophronii Anacreontica* (Rome 1957).

LIT. C. von Schönborn, *Sophrone de Jérusalem* (Paris 1972). H. Donner, *Die anakreontischen Gedichte Nr.19 und Nr.20 des Patriarchen Sophronios von Jerusalem* (Heidelberg 1981). A. Cameron, "The Epigrams of Sophronius," *CQ* 33 (1983) 284–92. –A.P.

SOPOĆANI, located near Novi Pazar in Serbia, site of the Church of the Trinity. Founded ca.1255 by STEFAN UROŠ I, it was possibly designed originally as a cathedral church. It then became the *katholikon* of a monastery and served as a mausoleum for Uroš himself and his parents; he brought the remains of his father Stefan "the First-Crowned" here from STUDENICA in 1266. A tall, single-aisled basilica with a dome over the crossing, similar to Studenica in its ground plan, the church was built of stone and has a single round apse; its many Romanesque features include corbels under the roofline and sculptured marble portals and window frames. The building was enlarged in the later 13th C. through the addition of two chapels flanking the narthex, then of an open exonarthex and belfry tower to the west (the exonarthex was painted under Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, before 1346); at about this time (1342–46?) two chapels were inserted along the north and south flanks of the naos between the eastern cross-arms and western narthex chapels, and each of these rows of chapels was given a common roof.

The frescoes of the naos and narthex are considered among the great masterpieces of medieval monumental painting. Though the origin of the artists has not been determined, these paintings are crucial for any study of the transition from Komnenian to Palaiologan art, since they were done at a time (probably between 1263 and 1268) for which few monuments exist in Constantinople. The frescoes were executed in part by an artist still rooted in the rambling narrative linear style of late Komnenian painting (narthex and upper levels of the naos, including pendentives), and in part by artists, probably Greeks, working in a new heroic style (as in the scene of the Dormition of the Virgin on the west wall) whose stately compositions, monumental single figures, and massive architectural forms herald Palaiologan works of the late 13th and 14th C. The backgrounds, as at Studenica and MILEŠEVA, imitate gold mosaic through the use of gold leaf on a yellow ground. The relatively traditional program includes several royal portraits, council and Last Judgment cycles in the narthex, and certain rare compositions again in the narthex (18 scenes from the life of JOSEPH thought to betray the influence of the vitae of the Serbian royal brothers Stefan Nemanja and Sava written by DOMENTIJAN, and a fresco showing the death of Anna Dandolo, the mother of King Uroš I).

Further historical compositions (e.g., the translation of the remains of Stefan Nemanja from Hilandar to Studenica) adorn the southern narthex chapel. The naos chapels were dedicated to Sts. George and Nicholas, respectively, and each was adorned with scenes from the life of the appropriate saint.

LIT. V. Djurić, *Sopoćani* (Leipzig 1967). *L'art byzantin du XIIIe siècle: Symposium de Sopoćani* (Belgrade 1967). D. Winfield, "Four Historical Compositions from the Medieval Kingdom of Serbia," *BS* 19 (1958) 251–78. R. Hamann-MacLean, H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*, vol. 1 (Giessen 1963) 25f, pls. 115–42, plans 16–17b. –N.P.Š.

SORCERY. See MAGIC.

SOROS (σορός), a reliquary casket, esp. the two caskets containing RELICS of the Virgin Mary, and the buildings housing them in Constantinople. Mary's mantle (*esthes*), which became one of Constantinople's palladia, was allegedly brought to Constantinople from Palestine in 473. Emp. Leo I installed it in a round chapel adjoining the Church of the Virgin of BLACHERNAI. Known as the Hagia Soros, the chapel was inaccessible to laymen; its splendid silver REVETMENT indicates that it was regarded as a reliquary shrine of architectural dimensions. A feastday on 2 July celebrated the relic and its triumphal return to the chapel in 620 after its removal for safekeeping during an Avar raid. The other relic, Mary's belt, or girdle (*zone*), was placed in the CHALKOPRATEIA church by Emp. Arkadios, according to legend. By the time of Justin II, it was installed in an architectural *soros* of its own. Its translation was celebrated on 31 Aug.; the emperors visited its *soros* on the feasts of the Annunciation and Nativity. The icon type of the VIRGIN HAGIOSORITISSA is associated with this shrine. (See also MAPHORION.)

LIT. Av. Cameron, "The Virgin's Robe: An Episode in the History of Early Seventh-Century Constantinople," *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 42–56. Janin, *Églises CP* 169–71. –A.W.C.

SOTERIOLOGY, the teaching of REDEMPTION and SALVATION. Although Byz. theological controversies dealt primarily with ontological concepts of SUBSTANCE, NATURE, HYPOSTASIS, etc., they were primarily soteriologically oriented, since ultimately they focused on the redemptive work of CHRIST and sought a radical argument to answer the questions: Why is Christ God? Why is he a man? Why is he a hypostatic union of divine and human natures? These qualities of Christ assured the possibility of man's redemption. As stated in the Nicaean CREED, the INCARNATION and death in the flesh of the Logos—who was consubstantial (HOMOOUSIOS) with the Father—was a voluntary act undertaken for the salvation of mankind. Gregg and Groh (*infra*) hypothesized that the dispute over ARIANISM revolved around two contrasting models of salvation: in ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, divine grace opened the way to deification (THEOSIS), the consubstantiality of the Logos creating the possibility of human ascent to the kingdom of God; in the doctrine of the Arian first generation, the emphasis lay on the will and choice of the Son, on his action, not his being.

On the other hand, by overstressing either the human or divine nature of Christ, both the Nestorian and Monophysite doctrines endangered the "soteriological balance" announced, for example, in GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (ep.101). If Christ is seen as too human his identity with God can suffer, if too divine his human connections can be severed. In either case deification would have been unattainable. Only in union with God can mankind find redemption and salvation, as defined in the formula of two natures in one hypostasis of Christ.

The preservation of the particularity of both natures is the leitmotif of Byz. theology, esp. in MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR. This allowed both salvation and healing, the renewal (*anakainismos*) of the original creature, man's liberation from the existing mode of SIN. Christ as the new ADAM is a redeemer and restorer of the sinless state of original mankind.

Many problems are connected with the concept of salvation: the role of the church as an institution and the possibility of individual salvation outside the official church; the material means of salvation and the role of symbols, icons, sacraments, etc., in the process of salvation; the question of whether sinners and demons will be redeemed in the final accounting; the question of whether a good action in itself assures salvation.

LIT. Balthasar, *Kosmische Lit.* 188–203. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 151–65. R. Gregg, D. Groh, *Early Arianism—A View of Salvation* (Philadelphia 1981). –K.-H.U.

SOTERIOUPOLIS (Σωτηριούπολις, also Soteropolis), in the 10th C. a *kastron* on the border with Abchasia (*De adm. imp.* 42.110), a center of a *kleisoura* (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.948). The 10th-C. TAKTIKON of the Escurial mentions a *strategos* of Soterioupolis or Bourzo (Oikonomides, *Listes* 269.3). From the 10th C. on, Soterioupolis is also known as an autonomous archbishopric (*Notitiae CP* no.7.87); by the 12th C. it was united with the metropolis of Alania. Its identification with modern Pitsounda or with Suchumi is not valid.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "L'organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe–XIe siècles," 14 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1974) 293f. –A.K.

SOUBLAION. See CHOMA.

SOUDA (Σοῦδα), title of a LEXIKON; the etymology seems to be "fence" or "moat." Already in the 12th C. the title was misunderstood, and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE interpreted it as the name of a certain Suidas. Its date of compilation is debatable, certainly later than mid-10th C., probably ca.1000; the problem is whether the reference to the emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII belongs to an authentic text or an interpolation. The entries are organized in alphabetical order, diphthongs (αι, etc.) being considered as independent letters. *Souda* explains difficult grammatical forms, rare words, and proverbs, and comments on persons, places, institutions, and even concepts (such as cosmos or *physis*). The material commented on is primarily ancient or biblical, and medieval data are infrequent; an important exception is the entry on KRUM. Some Byz. topics are mentioned in entries on ancient subjects, e.g., a very critical judgment of Patr. POLYEUKTOS.

Souda is a "compilation of compilations" (Lemerle, *Humanism* 345), based primarily on such sources as *lexika* and ETYMOLOGIKA, excerpts from CONSTANTINE VII, collections of SCHOLIA to Homer, Aristophanes, etc. *Souda* refers not only to ancient historians but to some Byz. authors such as Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES, GEORGE HAMARTOLOS, and Patr. NIKEPHOROS I. References to SYMEON METAPHRASTES and medical and metrological glosses seem to be interpolations. Unlike the *lexika* of HESYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA and PHOTIOS, *Souda* became very popular. Preserved in manifold MSS and excerpts, it was used by Eustathios, the so-called *Lexikon* of ZONARAS, and later writers such as Constantine Laskaris (died 1501) or Maxim the Greek (died 1556) (D. Bulanin, *TODRL* 34 [1979] 257–85).

ED. *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, 5 vols. (Leipzig 1928–38).

LIT. A. Adler, *RE* 2.R. 4A (1932) 675–717. B. Lavagnini, "Suida, Suda o Guida," *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 40 (1962) 441–44. A. Steiner, "Byzantinisches im Wortschatz der Suda" in *Studien zur byzantinischen Lexikographie*, eds. E. Trapp et al. (Vienna 1988) 149–81. –A.K.

SOUGDAIA (Σουγδαία), also called Surož and Sudak, a city and port in eastern Crimea, between Alouston and KAFFA, first mentioned by the COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA in the 7th C. (*Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, ed. M. Pinder, G. Parthey [Berlin 1860; rp. Aalen 1962] 176). The 9th-C. hagiographer Epiphanios, describing the travels of the apostle ANDREW, locates Upper Sougdaia (M. Bonnet, *AB* 13 [1894] 334.2–3) in a different region, between ZICHIA and Cimmerian BOSPOROS on the eastern shore of the Azov Sea, in the land of the ALANS. The hagiographer of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER mentioned the people of Sougdoi, whom he situated between the Iberoi and the (Crimean) Goths; F. Dvornik (*Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode*[2] [Hattiesburg, Miss., 1969] 207f) identifies them as Alans. By the mid-11th C., Sougdaia was in the hands of the Byz.; in 1059 Leo Aliates was *strategos* of Cherson and Sougdaia. Later, the Cumans, Venetians, Genoese, and Tatars appear as successive masters of Sougdaia, although the city preserved a certain degree of independence.

Near the seashore excavation has uncovered 6th-C. constructions that were abandoned in the 8th–9th C. The site was esp. active in the 11th through 14th C., not only in the harbor but also on terraces above it and in the citadel; a hoard contained coins of Michael VIII, Andronikos II, and Michael IX. The city played an important role in Black Sea trade; IBN BAṬṬŪṬA compares its port with that of Alexandria. However, the Kaffa-TANA alliance supported by the Genoese blocked Sougdaia: PEGOLOTTI, who visited the Crimea ca.1330, speaks of Kaffa and Tana but does not mention Sougdaia. By the 14th C. Sougdaia was an autocephalous archbishopric and then a metropolis, having incorporated that of PHOULLOI. Its cathedral church was St. Sophia, the foundation of which is dated by later tradition to 793. The legendary story of the capture of Sougdaia by Prince Bravlin of Novgorod, allegedly in the reign of Leo III, is preserved in a 16th-C. Russian MS.

LIT. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 3 (1915) cxlii–cclxxxviii. S. Sekirinskij, *Očerki istorii Suroža IX–XI vv.* (Simferopol' 1955). M. Nystazopoulou, *He en te Taurike Chersoneso polis Sougdaia* (Athens 1965). M. Frondžulo, "Raskopki v Sudake," *Feodal'naja Tavrika* (Kiev 1974) 139–50. –O.P.

SOUL (ψυχή), the vital life principle in creatures. The Byz. connected the word with verbs meaning "animate, bring to life," while the Origenists accepted Plato's etymology from "cool, make solid." The Byz. had many problems in understanding the soul, such as the nature of its substance. Some perceived the soul in physical terms, as breath (e.g., Didymos the Blind, PG 39:737A) or blood (the notion criticized by Nemesios [PG 40:541B]), but Gregory of Nyssa insisted on a purely intellectual definition of it as *ousia noera*. Was the soul "simple" or composed of several parts or "faculties," two, three, or more? Thus MAKARIOS THE GREAT thought that the soul consisted of many "limbs" such as INTELLECT, consciousness, will, aggressive and defensive aspects (PG 34:528B). With regard to the origin of the soul, ORIGEN presented the concept of preexistent souls that "fell" from their *politeia*, resided in bodies, and would have to ascend to heaven. This concept was refuted by the church fathers, who developed the idea of the created soul, infused into the body; it is generated not from a material seed, but by the will of the creator, without, however, becoming a divine essence.

The soul was considered a guide for the body, giving it life and movement and causing its growth; the Stoic idea that the soul is imprisoned in the body was rejected. The relation of soul to intellect also produced difficulties—was the soul distinct from intellect, as Basil the Great stated (PG 31:204A), or did intellect form a part of the soul?

"The sensory perception of the rational soul," says pseudo-Maximos (PG 90:1437B), "is its atrium, reasoning its temple, and intellect its supreme priest." After DEATH the soul retains its identity and is linked to its former body, which it recovers at the future RESURRECTION. Thus the church fathers rejected the concept of metempsychosis as well as the idea of the dissolution of souls in the air.

The soul is made in God's image, and is in principle the divine indwelling, but the gnomic will of man allows him to choose the way of sin or the way of perfection leading to eternal beatitude. A special problem was the soul of Christ: APOLLINARIS of Laodikeia denied the existence of a human soul in Christ, asserting that the soul belonged to the "outer man." In the orthodox view, however, the full humanity of Christ required his possession of a human soul.

The Byz. distinguished perishable "animal" or "instinctive" forces from the human or rational forces of the soul. Man possessed both categories, animals only the first category, and therefore they acted according to nature rather than any desire for virtue or sin. The orthodox theologians accused the adherents of MONOTHELETISM of acknowledging in Christ the elements of the animal soul but not of the reasoning and immortal soul.

Representation in Art. More concerned with the resurrection of the flesh, as in the ANASTASIS, artists rarely represented the soul. When they did so, it was as a baby wrapped in swaddling clothes (as the Virgin in the DORMITION) or as a naked, youthful body (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.*, e.g., II, nos. 1, 16); damned souls in the arms of Hades are depicted similarly (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration* II, fig.16).

LIT. E. Stéphanou, "La coexistence initiale du corps et de l'âme d'après saint Grégoire de Nysse et saint Maxime l'Homologète," *EO* 31 (1932) 304–15. J.M. da Cruz Pontes, "Le problème de l'origine de l'âme de la patristique à la solution thomiste," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 31 (1964) 175–229. J. Hirschberger, *Seele und Leib in der Spätantike* (Wiesbaden 1969). J.M. Rist, *Eros and Psyche: Studies in Plato, Plotinus, and Origen* (Toronto 1964). K. Hoheisel, "Das frühe Christentum und die Seelenwanderung," *JbAChr* 27–28 (1984–85) 24–46. –A.K., A.C.

SOUMELA MONASTERY, located in a spectacular site on the face of a cliff on the western slopes of Mt. Melas, about 40 km south of Trebizond. The origins of Soumela (Σουμελᾶ), which was dedicated to the Virgin, are shrouded in legend. Pious tradition, going back at least to the 10th C., places the foundation of Soumela in the 4th C. and attributes its establishment to two Athenian monks, Barnabas and Sophronios, who supposedly discovered in a cave at Soumela an icon of the Virgin painted by St. Luke. The monastery prospered during the reign of the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond, esp. ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS who was responsible for the restoration of Soumela in 1360–65. A chrysobull of Alexios of 1364 (MM 5:276–81) lists the properties owned by the monastery in the MATZOUKA region and characterizes the relations between Soumela and its *paroikoi*: the monastery had the right of jurisprudence over them, could levy military recruits, etc. The document also granted Soumela immunity (EXKOUSSEIA) from taxes and other financial and military obligations (P. Jakovenko, *K istorii immuniteta v Vizantii* [Jur'ev 1908] 28–31, 66–70; G. Ostrogorsky, *Byzantion* 28 [1958–59] 236f). The monastery was called imperial as well as patriarchal and stauropegial.

The main grotto church contains fresco portraits of Trapezuntine emperors, including Alexios III and MANUEL III KOMNENOS. The monastery was abandoned in the 20th C.

LIT. S. Ballance, A. Bryer, D. Winfield, "Nineteenth-Century Monuments in the City and Vilayet of Trebizond," *ArchPont* 28 (1966–67) 263–67; 30 (1970) 270–84. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 254f. Janin, *Églises centres* 274–76. O. Meinardus, "The Panagia of Soumela: Tradition and History," *Orientalia suecana* 19–20 (1970–71) 63–80. –A.M.T.

SOZOMENOS, Salamanes Hermeias, ecclesiastical historian who practiced law at Constantinople; born Bathelia near Gaza, 5th C. His *Church History*, covering the period 324–425 in formal continuation of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, was dedicated to Theodosios II, whose approval of its content he formally requested. This may imply some competition with the pagan history of OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES, whose work Sozomenos (Σωζομενός) used, and which was also dedicated to that emperor. The final part of book 9, dealing with the years 425–39, is lost; the last datable event mentioned (in the preface) is Theodosios's trip to Bithynia in 443. Sozomenos drew extensively but critically from his predecessor SOKRATES, to whom he is stylistically superior. Though Sozomenos is weak in understanding dogmatic issues, and credulous about miracles, his use of other sources makes the *History* an important supplement to Sokrates, esp. his detailed account (2.9–14) of the persecution of Christians in Persia under Shāpūr II and his information on the spread of Christianity among Armenians, Saracens, and Goths.

ED. *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. J. Bidez, G.C. Hansen (Berlin 1960). (Partial) *Histoire ecclésiastique*, ed. J. Bidez (Paris 1983), with Fr. tr. by A.-J. Festugière. *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen*, tr. C.D. Hartranft (New York 1890; rp. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1952).

LIT. G.F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories* (Paris 1977) 191–200. G. Schoo, *Die erhaltenen schriftlichen Hauptquellen des Kirchenhistorikers Sozomenos* (Berlin 1911). –B.B.

SOZOPOLIS (Σωζόπολις), the name of two cities in the Byz. Empire, one in Thrace, the other in Pisidia.

SOZOPOLIS IN THRACE (anc. Apollonia, mod. Sozopol in Bulgaria), city on the Black Sea, located partially on islands. The ancient name, still used in Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc. 22:8.43) and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, was replaced with a "Christian" appellation, "the city of salvation," by 431. Sozopolis was among the cities that supported the revolt of VITALIAN. Historians from Prokopios onward ignore Sozopolis, but the bishopric of Sozopolis, under the jurisdiction of Adrianople, is regularly listed in notitias. Velkov (*infra*) identifies three archaeological strata in a basilica excavated in Sozopolis: one of the 5th to 6th C.; one of the 8th to 9th C., to which belong the fragments of a marble AMBO; and of the 9th C. and later. In the 9th C. Sozopolis probably formed a TOURMA; the seal of an anonymous *spatharios* and *tourmarches* of Sozopolis has been published, as have three seals of 11th to 12/13th-C. bishops of Sozopolis (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 720–22). More is known about Sozopolis in the 14th C., when it was a major trade center in the area and Bulgaria and Byz. fought over the rights to the city. According to Manuel Philes, Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes conquered Sozopolis in 1263 (Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:504), but at the beginning of the 14th C. it belonged to Bulgaria. Amadeo VI of Savoy captured it in 1366 and then handed it over to John V, together with MESEMBRIA and some other coastal towns. At least five monasteries existed in Sozopolis in the 14th C., some of them built on islands.

LIT. B. Dimitrov, "La città medievale di Sozopol," *Bulgaria Pontica* 2 (Sofia 1988) 497–522. V. Velkov, "Prinos kŭm materialnata kultura na srednovekovnija Sozopol," *IzvBŭlgArchInst* (1964) 43–54. –A.K.

SOZOPOLIS OF PISIDIA (mod. Uluborlu), city in southwestern Anatolia, perhaps the successor to ancient Apollonia. Rarely mentioned in late antiquity, Sozopolis was the birthplace of SEVEROS of Antioch and the site of the miracle-working icon in the Church of the Virgin mentioned in the vita of THEODORE OF SYKEON. The city probably reappears in the 9th C. as the seat of a *tourmarches* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2643) or *kleisourarches*, but in the latter case a conjecture "of Seleukeia" was suggested (Oikonomides, *Listes* 54, n.35) and in the former Sozopolis in Thrace cannot be excluded. Romanos IV refortified it in 1070. It fell soon after to the Seljuks, but was retaken by John II Komnenos in 1120; it became a strong frontier bulwark, resisting attack until the Seljuks finally captured it in 1180. Sozopolis was a suffragan bishopric of ANTIOCH of Pisidia. Remains of the well-built fortress indicate major construction in the 7th–8th C., with rebuilding in 1070.

LIT. *MAMA* 4:45–81. C. Foss, "The Defences of Byzantine Asia Minor against the Turks," *GOrThR* 27 (1982) 153–57. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 139f. –C.F.

SPACE (τόπος, lit. "place") is defined by PSELLOS (*De omnifaria doctrina*, par.154.1–2) as the receptacle (*dektikon*) of a body or of an incorporeal being. From *topos* Psellos (par.155) distinguishes *chora* (usually location or position), which he understands specifically as the distance between numbers or as the portion of space containing something (e.g., the hollow part of a *pithos* that contains wine).

The word *topos* had a variety of meanings. The Byz. inherited the Aristotelian concept of *topos* as container or boundary of three-dimensional BODIES. From it they distinguished "intelligible space," *topos noetos*, which was a metaphorical or mental container of incorporeal beings, such as ANGELS. Unlike angels God did not exist "in space" since he had no limits; he was his own *topos*, filling up everything and containing everything (John of Damascus, *Exp. fidei* 13.2–38, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:37–39).

SIMPLIKIOS criticized Aristotle's theory of *topos* as preoccupied with the "external place" of the

body, that is, its positional relationship to bodies external to it; this led, according to Simplikios, to the axiom of immobility. He suggested the definition of *topos* as an ordering (*taxis*), measure, or limit of the concrete situation of the body (H.R. King, *CQ* 44 [1950] 92).

Another perception of space is that of Proklos who identified it with light and considered it to be an immovable, indivisible, immaterial body, *soma* (*CAG* 9:612.24–25, see Armstrong, *Philosophy* 435, n.10), but NICHOLAS OF METHONE (*Anaptyxis* 92.15–16) retorted that the Infinite (*apeiron*) is not a substance but a relation. Yet another aspect of space is the problem of its expanse beyond the COSMOS. Aristotle opposed the concept of "empty space," and accordingly Psellos (*De omnifaria doctrina*, par.153.4–8) calls it "invisible chaos," "a fantastic infinite in an infinite place (*topos*)." In other words, space is endlessly divisible and endlessly expanding only in potentiality and in man's imagination, but in reality it is finite and limited. Since the concept of *apeiron* acquired a theological meaning—the characterization of God's perfect immeasurability—in Gregory of Nyssa, as it already had in Plotinos (L. Sweeney, *Gregorianum* 38 [1957] 515–35, 713–32), any cosmological application of this concept was questionable. The contrast of the spaceless Godhead and the body's limit is revealed in Christological discussions of God's describability and Christ's "circumscribed" (*perigrapton*) body.

The third aspect of space as a place for human beings is its ethical qualification, the spatial distinction of good and evil: not only did heaven and hell have different locations, but also earthly locations were endowed with virtue (such as mountains or DESERT) or vice (such as hippodromes and often urban centers in general).

LIT. V. Goldschmidt, "La théorie aristotélicienne du lieu," in *Mélanges de philosophie grecque, offerts à Mgr. Diès* (Paris 1956) 79–119. L.C. Ruggini, "Universalità e campanilismo, centro e periferia, città e deserto nelle storie ecclesiastiche," in *La storiografia ecclesiastica nella tarda antichità* (Messina 1980) 183–94. –K.-H.U.

SPACE AND DEPTH, concepts of linear distance between two or more points or objects. Means used to suggest depth include inverted PERSPECTIVE, PLASTICITY, LANDSCAPE (usually lacking a horizon), and devices creating the illusion of an INTERIOR SPACE. Generally horizontal extension, like narrative sequence, is indicated by figures or events read from left to right on a shallow "stage" at the picture plane, although either may be overridden by a concern for SYMMETRY. So, too, compositions in which a single or at most a few planes of recession are indicated by rows of figures may be elaborated by a crowd shown tightly packed in vertical perspective or opened up by the insertion of a BACKGROUND scene. The illusion of space is most successful when an image is imposed upon an already convex surface as in an apse or a squinch, but even in such a context recession may be summarily treated by imbricated or overlapping figures. A system of chiastic construction, suggesting deep space behind the picture plane and apparently based on antique models, is evident in the JOSHUA ROLL and the PARIS PSALTER. In late MONUMENTAL PAINTING, architectural settings, in themselves irrationally composed, sometimes lend a greater sense of depth to a picture than ever before in Byz. art.

LIT. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic* 13f, 19, 78–84. A. Cutler, "On the Use of Sources in the Macedonian Renaissance," 14 *CEB*, vol. 3 (Bucharest 1976) 299–303. T. Velmans, "Le rôle du décor architectural et la représentation de l'espace dans la peinture des Paléologues," *CahArch* 14 (1964) 183–216. –A.C.

SPAIN ('Ισπανία, also called 'Ιβηρία) was under Diocletian a diocese consisting of five provinces: Baetica, Lusitania, Carthaginensis, Gallaecia, and Tarraconensis; Baetica (with CORDOBA as capital) was the most romanized of them. In the 4th C. Spain prospered economically as a center of agriculture, esp. livestock-breeding (Spanish horses were famous), and metallurgy; it exported lard, fish, wheat, and oil. Spaniards played a central role at the imperial court under Theodosios I. From the early 5th C. various barbarian peoples began to penetrate into Spain. In Sept.–Oct. 409 the Suevi, VANDALS, and ALANS invaded the peninsula. In 422 the Roman army under the command of the *magister militum* Castinus was defeated by the Vandals, who then moved southward and occupied Africa. The Suevi stayed behind and tried to establish their rule over Spain, but had to yield to the VISIGOTHS, who invaded the peninsula in 456. Visigothic domination was challenged by Justinian I in the 550s, and the empire temporarily established a foothold in the south around Malaga and CARTAGENA. The Visigothic kingdom of Toledo was conquered by the Arabs in 711.

Christian states in northern Spain (esp. the CATALANS) maintained relations with Constantinople; some unsuccessful negotiations to establish marriage alliances with the Komnenoi took place, and by 1200 "Iberian" soldiers were active in Constantinople. In the late 13th C. the Aragonese seized power in Sicily, in 1292 plundered the Byz. coast, and in the early 14th C. endeavored to settle in the Peloponnesos; the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY was a major political and military factor in the Balkan peninsula in the 14th C. In the early 15th C. Pero TAFUR visited Constantinople and Trebizond.

LIT. S.J. Keay, *Roman Spain* (Berkeley 1988). J. Arce, *El último siglo de la España romana* (Madrid 1982). R. Collins, *Early Medieval Spain* (New York 1983). H. Ditten, "Beziehungen zwischen Spanien und dem byzantinischen Bereich im Mittelalter," *Byzantinische Beiträge* (Berlin 1964) 257–90. F. Roldàn, P. Díaz, E. Díaz, "Bizancio y al-Andalus, embajadas y relaciones," *Erytheia* 9.2 (1988) 263–83. C. Alvarez García, "El tema bizantino en la literatura medieval y clásica españolas," *Bizantion-Nea Hellas* 6 (1982) 57–69. –R.B.H.

SPALATO. See SPLIT.

SPANEAS, conventional title of a didactic poem in the vernacular, preserved in several substantially different versions. Its title in MSS is unclear, and attempts to determine its authorship and original addressee remain unconvincing (S.D. Papadimitriu, *Letopis'* 5 [1900] 337–66); the original may have been produced in the 12th C. The author of *Spaneas* (unless he is using a rhetorical convention) is an old man, whose career was a failure and who writes from exile, separated from his beloved "son," the addressee. *Spaneas*'s advice is trivial, borrowed primarily from Holy Scriptures and a work ascribed to Isocrates; some points, however, could be perceived as genuinely Byz., such as the recommendations to inform on blasphemy and on criticism of the emperor (Legrand, *Bibliothèque* 1:1.15–26). Interest in warfare and hunting probably reflects the worldview of the Komnenian period. Despite its banality, *Spaneas* enjoyed popularity; it was imitated by later romances, esp. PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA (G. Spadaro, *Diptycha* 1 [1979] 282–88), and by FALIERI (N. Papatriantaphyllou-Theodoride, *Hellenika* 28 [1975] 92–101); it was reworked in southern Italy (G. Spadaro, *JÖB* 32.3 [1982] 281f) and Epiros (G. Zoras, *RSBN* 1 [1964] 47–77, with ed.) and translated into Serbian before 1332 (Dj. Radojičić in *Studi in onore di Ettore LoGatto e Giovanni Mauer* [Milan 1962] 563–66).

ED. Legrand, *Bibliothèque* 1:1–10. Wagner, *Carmina* 1–27. F. Hanna, *Das byzantinische Lehrgedicht Spaneas nach dem Codex Vindobonensis Suppl. gr. 77 und Oxoniensis Miscell. 284* (Vienna 1898). Idem, *Das byzantinische Lehrgedicht Spaneas nach dem Codex Vindobonensis Theolog. 193* (Vienna 1896).

LIT. G. Danezis, *Spaneas: Vorlage, Quellen, Versionen* (Munich 1987). V. Sacharov, "Opyt issledovanija teksta 'Ek tou Spanea,'" *VizVrem* 11 (1904) 99–114. I. Rosenthal-Kamarinea, "Die byzantinische Mahnrede im 12. Jahrhundert," *FoliaN* 4 (1982) 182–89. –A.K.

SPANOS (Σπανός), more properly *Akolouthia tou anosiou tragogene spanou* (Office for the Impious Goat-bearded Beardless Man). This anonymous PARODY survives in three versions (two in verse, one in prose), all dating to the first half of the 16th C. Eideneier (*infra*) argues that the original text was produced in Constantinople in the 14th or 15th C. *Spanos* closely follows the formal structure of an AKOLOUTHIA in commemoration of a saint, including vespers and *orthros*, complete with *kathisma*, *troparia*, and *epitaphios*. The *synaxarion* imitates hagiographic conventions, describing the birth of the beardless man to a donkey and his lengthy journey to find his paternal uncle, a wild goat, and obtain from him three-and-a-half chin hairs. The author, perhaps a cleric, was familiar with rhetoric and thoroughly versed in the liturgy. His language alternates between hagiographic formulas and a rich and bawdy vernacular vocabulary, which includes numerous extremely long compounds. The work is full of obscenities and sexual allusions and offers an extraordinary example of late Byz. HUMOR.

ED. *Spanos. Eine byzantinische Satire in der Form einer Parodie*, ed. H. Eideneier (Berlin–New York 1977).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 195f. –A.M.T.

SPARSIO. See LARGESS.

SPARTA. See LAKEDAIMON.

SPATHARIOS (σπαθάριος, lit. "sword-bearer"), a DIGNITY. In the late Roman Empire the term designated a bodyguard, either private or imperial (M. San Nicolò, *RE* 2.R. 3 [1929] 1545f). Imperial *spatharioi*, who belonged to the corps of

KOUBIKOULARIOI and were eunuchs, are known from the time of Theodosios II (Jones, *LRE* 1:567). The *Chronicon Paschale* (*Chron.Pasch.* 627.8–9) distinguished the "bearded" Eulalios from the "eunuchs and *spatharioi*" rather than including him in their ranks, as Oikonomides (*infra*) thinks. By the beginning of the 8th C. *spatharios* had probably become a title: Justinian II appointed the *spatharios* Elias (his future murderer) as governor of Cherson, and he gave the title *spatharios* to his friend, the future emperor Leo III. The title decreased in importance by the 9th C. It disappeared after 1075, and a 12th-C. historian (An.Komn. 1:95–97) mentions the *spatharios* as an insignificant person. In the 9th C. the term *oikeiakos spatharios* could still denote an imperial bodyguard (P. Nikitin, *ZapANIst-fil* 7.2 [1905] 158–65). (See also PROTOSPATHARIOS.)

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 112f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 297f. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 319–26. –A.K.

SPATHAROKANDIDATOS (σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος), a DIGNITY, the name formed by combining SPATHARIOS and KANDIDATOS. The first mentions of *spatharokandidatos*, in SEBEOS and a letter of Pope GREGORY II to Leo III, are dubious, but the title is attested from the first half of the 9th C. Bury's doubts concerning the TAKTIKON of Uspenskij are rejected by Oikonomides (*Listes* 52, n.29). In the *taktika*, *spatharokandidatos* occupies the place between *dishypatos* and *spatharios*. On seals it is connected with subaltern offices such as notary, *asekretis*, and lower judges. The last mention comes from 1094 (MM 6:94.6 and 11), and the title seems to have disappeared in the 12th C. (V. Laurent, *Hellenika* 7 [1934] 77, n.3).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 26f. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 326–33. –A.K.

SPECTABILIS (lit. "notable," Gr. περίβλεπτος [*peribleptos*]), the second-ranking title of SENATORS in the late Roman Empire, between ILLUSTRIS and CLARISSIMUS. First mentioned in 365, the title was bestowed primarily on proconsuls, VICARS, and *duces* (see DOUX), while the highest functionaries in the central administration, originally ranked as *spectabiles*, soon acquired the title of *illustris*. The term was not used in the Byz. hierarchy; the last mention of *peribleptos* as a title of an official is in the papyrus of 710 (P. Lond. IV 1542.7) in which it designated a modest functionary in local administration. (For *peribleptos* as an epithet of the Virgin, see VIRGIN HODEGETRIA.)

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 3 (1929) 1552–68. O. Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin 1913; rp. New York 1975) 663–71. –A.K.

SPEKION. See SAGION.

SPHAIRA (σφαῖρα, sphere, in Prokopios πόλος, celestial sphere), the orb, a symbol of imperial power used in the ancient world (e.g., M.R. Alföldi, *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 11 [1961] 19–32) and adopted by late Roman emperors. On coins the orb was at first depicted as surmounted by a Victory, then—from the time of Theodosios II onward—as a *globus cruciger*, a globe surmounted by a cross (although the Victory is still occasionally used, as by Justin II). Prokopios (*Buildings* 1.2.11) describes the equestrian statue of Justinian I in the Augustaion as holding in its left hand a *polos*, signifying that the whole earth and sea was in servitude (*dedoulotai*) to the emperor. Representations of *sphairai* are known until the reign of Alexios III Angelos, but not in the empire of Nicaea or during the Palaiologan period; the orb was, however used by the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond.

It remains under discussion whether the *sphaira* was a real emblem of power (J. Deér, *BZ* 54 [1961] 53–85), since it is not mentioned in any of the lengthy descriptions of coronation ceremonies; Grierson and Schramm (*infra*) argue that it may have been rather a symbolic representation of imperial power over the world. The symbol of the globe was adopted both in the West and in 16th-C. Russia (A. Grabar, *HistZ* 191 [1960] 344f). It is unclear whether the *sphaira* reflects a Byz. perception that the earth was round. Sometimes the *sphaira* was interpreted by the Byz. as an apple (A.R. Littlewood, *JÖB* 23 [1974] 55–57).

LIT. P.E. Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel* (Stuttgart 1958) 24–28. A. Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," *MDAI RA* 50 (1935) 117–20. *DOC* 2.1:84–86; 3.1:131–33. P. Arnaud, "L'image du globe dans le monde romain," *MEFRA* 96.1 (1984) 102–12. –A.K.

SPHENDONE (σφενδόνη, lit. "sling"), term designating anything resembling a sling, including the curved southwestern end of the HIPPODROME of Constantinople (Guilland, *Topographie* 1:375f).

The lexicographer HESYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA (5th/6th C.) considered the word as a synonym of *sphragis*, seal. A 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 175.26–32) defines *sphendone* as a seal to make wax sealings that was employed only by the emperor, his spouse, his son, and the dowager empress; other high officials, including *despotai* and patriarchs, had to employ lead sealings. The *sphendone* was inserted in a ring (*daktylion*). It was used for imperial PROSTAGMATA. The office of the PARAKOIMOMENOS of the [grand] *sphendone* existed from the reign of Michael VIII onward and was conferred upon various noble personages.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:208f. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 44. S. Pétridès, "Sceau byzantin à cire," *EO* 10 (1907) 83f. –A.K.

SPHRAGIS THEOU ("Seal of God"), or *sphragis Solomonos* ("Seal of Solomon"), interchangeable terms referring to the seal (i.e., signet ring) that, according to *The Testament of Solomon* (ed. C.C. McCown [Leipzig 1922] 10*), was given by God to King Solomon in order that he might "lock up all the demons" and thereby enlist their aid in the building of the Temple. According to the 6th-C. *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* (ed. P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana saeculi iiii–viii* [Prague-Vienna-Leipzig 1898] 154), this ring was venerated as a relic in Jerusalem. Some text variants describe the signet's device as the *pentalpha*; that the early Byz. understood it as such is suggested by the frequency of this device on amuletic rings, pendants, and armbands. The *sphragis theou* appears regularly on the reverses of haematite medical AMULETS.

LIT. P. Perdrizet, "*Sphragis Solomonos*," *REGr* 16 (1903) 42–61. Bonner, *Studies* 209f, 220. –G.V.

SPHRANTZES, GEORGE, courtier, diplomat, and historian; born 1401, died Kerkyra 1477/8. As a youth Sphrantzes (Σφραντζῆς) entered the service of Manuel II; upon Manuel's death, Sphrantzes joined the entourage of his son, the *despotes* (and future emperor) Constantine (XI). In his service he undertook numerous embassies to the Turks, Georgia, Trebizond, Morea, and the Aegean islands. He was appointed governor of Patras in 1430, *protovestiarites* in 1432, and governor of Mistra in 1446. He was taken prisoner in Constantinople at the time of the Ottoman conquest. After his release by the Turks, he continued to travel widely, in Italy, Serbia, and the Ionian Islands. He ended his days on Kerkyra as the monk Gregory.

The *Chronicon Minus*, based on the diary of Sphrantzes, covers the period 1413–77. It is a revealing personal memoir that combines annalistic accounts of events with records of the dates of birth (and death) of Sphrantzes' children. The language of this *Chronicon* is surprisingly colloquial and includes a number of Turkish and Italian words. It is now generally accepted that the expanded version of this work, the *Chronicon Maius*, is a 16th-C. compilation of the metropolitan of Monemvasia, Makarios MELISSENOS (R.-J. Loenertz in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, vol. 3 [Vatican 1946] 273–311). M. Carroll argues, however, that most of the "siege section" of the *Maius* is the work of Sphrantzes (*Byzantion* 41 [1971] 28–44; 42 [1972] 5–22; 43 [1973] 30–38).

ED. *Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii 1401–1477*, ed. V. Grecu, with Rumanian tr. (Bucharest 1966). Eng. tr. of *Chronicon Minus*—M. Philippides, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire: A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes, 1401–1477* (Amherst, Mass., 1980).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:494–99. R. Maisano, "L'opera memorialistica di Sfranze dentro e fuori i confini della storia," *Italoellenika*, vol. 1 (Naples 1988) 111–122. –A.M.T.

SPICES (μυρεψικά). In medieval merchant handbooks, the term *spezierie* designates a large number of items that were used in medicine, perfume making, and embalming, as well as dyestuffs and seasonings. Since many spices, including the most expensive ones, were produced in Southeast Asia and Africa, the term is associated with eastern trade, although among the spices are items such as saffron, produced in the western Mediterranean, and mastic, produced on CHIOS. For medieval commerce, pepper and ginger were the most important items; of small bulk and very high value, carried primarily on galleys, spices were very lucrative commodities.

Until the 7th C., Byz. territories included some spice-producing areas (Egypt) as well as the ports through which eastern spices reached the Mediterranean. After the loss of the eastern provinces, Constantinople became the most important market within Byz.; ALEXANDRIA remained a major outlet throughout the Middle Ages. In the 10th C., the campaign manual of Constantine VII (*De cer.*, [appendix to] vol. 1, 468.15–18) mentions as

items to be carried into the field: Greek incense, frankincense, mastic, saffron, musk, amber, aloe and wood aloe (or eaglewood), cinnamon of first and second quality, and cassia. All of these, and other spices, are mentioned in the BOOK OF THE EPARCH in the chapter on Myrepsoi (ch.10), which suggests that spices reached Constantinople primarily from the area of TREBIZOND. Symeon SETH lists a considerable number of spices along with their therapeutic qualities. In the 14th C., Constantinople and PERA were important centers of the spice trade as was CYPRUS, because Italian traders shunned the Egyptian ports to some extent. By the late 14th C., Alexandria became the major market for spices in the eastern Mediterranean.

LIT. Heyd, *Commerce* 2:563–609, 614–24, 626–29, 631–48, 658–70, 676. E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton 1983). –A.L.

SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP (*πνευματικὴ συγγένεια*) was contracted on a number of ritual occasions, such as BAPTISM (see GODPARENT), ADOPTION of a child or brother/sister (ADELPHOPOIIA), or taking monastic vows. In the cases of baptism and adoption, the spiritual relationship created by the rituals included not only the participants, the sponsor, and sponsored, but also others related to them by blood (see MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS). The language of spiritual kinship could also be applied to relationships not created by a ritual, such as that between a confessor and confessant (V. Christophorides, *He pneumatike patrotes kata Symeon ton Neon Theologon* [Thessalonike 1977]), superiors and monks/nuns, or between emperors and foreign Christian rulers (Dölger, *Byzanz* 183–96). The emperor's spiritual father or confessor could play an important political role (R. Morris in *Byz. Saint* 46–49). –R.J.M.

SPITHAME (*σπιθαμή*, lit. "space between the thumb and little finger"), a unit of length = 12 DAKTYLOI = 3/4 POUS (= 23.4 cm). As an official measure for the survey of fields it was also called *basilike* (imperial) *spithame*. Besides this official *spithame* there existed another *spithame* of 10 *daktyloi* (= 19.5 cm) or of 10.33 *daktyloi* (= 20.8 cm), called the *koine* (common) *spithame*.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 19f. –E. Sch., A.K.

SPLIT (Ἀσπάλαθος, Roman Spalatum), city on the Dalmatian coast on a promontory in Kaštelanski Bay, southeast of SALONA. The etymology suggested by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 29.237) from *palatium* (palace) is now considered incorrect—possibly, the Greek name was derived from a plant used in the manufacture of perfumes. Sometime before 305, Diocletian built a residence on this obscure site for his years of retirement; it was constructed of local limestone and brick, while marble, mosaic decoration, and statues of sphinxes were imported. Diocletian's villa was square in plan, had four gates, and was surrounded by limestone walls with square and octagonal towers. Two principal streets (in some places colonnaded) divided the villa complex into four quarters. The villa contained the Mausoleum of Diocletian, a temple, baths, private apartments, and an aqueduct.

After Diocletian's death Spalatum experienced a period of stagnation; according to the 5th-C. *Notitia Dignitatum*, it housed a military clothing factory. Excavations have uncovered only modest traces of building activity in the 5th–6th C.; baths were adapted for use as churches, and twin basilicas were erected outside the walls. In the 7th C. the inhabitants began to rebuild Spalatum as a small town: some columns and floor slabs were removed to obtain materials for renovation; the standard of living declined. Then new forms (in construction technique and pottery), reflecting Slav influence, emerged.

THOMAS THE ARCHDEACON relates that the inhabitants of Salona, after the destruction of their city in the 630s, fled to Split. The episcopal center was transferred there, and Diocletian's mausoleum was transformed into the cathedral. Small as it was, Split played an important role in the making of the Croatian state in the 10th–11th C. and as the site of local synods. The archbishop of Split tried to maintain ties with both Rome and Constantinople. Byz. claimed certain administrative rights over this area. From the 12th C. onward Split was several times sacked by the Hungarians and Venetians. In 1420 it finally recognized Venetian supremacy.

LIT. G. Novak, *Povijest Splita*, vols. 1–2 (Split 1978). *Vita religiosa, morale e sociale ed i concili di Split (Spalato) dei secoli X–XI*, ed. A. Matanić (Padua 1982). *Diocletian's Palace*, 4 vols., ed. J. Marasović et al. (Split 1972–79). J. Wilkes, *Diocletian's Palace, Split* (Sheffield 1986). S. McNally, "Diocletian's Palace," *Archaeology* 28 (1975) 248–59. –A.K.

SPOLIA, materials taken over for reuse from older buildings, particularly columns, capitals, and other MARBLE. The use of *spolia* in construction appeared in the early 4th C. and, as the supply of material and means of production diminished, continued throughout the Byz. period. Earlier structures provided builders with inexpensive, ready-made, and easily reusable material. *Spolia* were often employed in a conscious manner, as in pairing columns of the same material or capitals of the same style. In some Late Antique buildings the use of *spolia* from pagan temples sometimes symbolized the triumph of Christianity: the author of the vita of PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA interpreted the reuse of marbles from the temple of Zeus Marnas at Gaza in the pavement of that city's cathedral as a proper trampling on the remnants of idolatry.

Other materials were recycled from older artifacts simply because they were valuable. SILVER was frequently melted down, old mosaic tesserae were saved, seals were recut, and coins (Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 87f, 204–06) were overstruck. The reuse of Roman cameos and intaglios and of parchment in PALIMPSESTS is easily identified; less so is the removal of gems from crosses and Gospel books for items of personal adornment—a charge leveled at Isaac II (Nik.Chon. 443.78–82).

LIT. F.W. Deichmann, *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur* (Munich 1975). S.E. Bassett, "Omnium Paene Urbium Nuditate: The Reuse of Antiquities in Constantinople, 4th through 6th Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1985). –M.J., A.C.

SPOONS (*κοχλιάρια*), of silver, bronze, and bone, served both domestic and cult purposes. Silver spoons were elaborately decorated and plentiful in the 4th–6th C. Treasures of domestic silver PLATE contain two types of spoon used for eating, the *kochliarion* with round bowl and pointed handle and the *ligula* (a Lat. term) with pear-shaped bowl connected by a disk to a handle with finial or having a curved "swan's neck" handle; both kinds were decorated with images, inscriptions, and monograms. Although the *ligula*-type spoon replaced the *kochliarion*, the latter word continued to be used in the Greek East (cf. mod. Greek *chouliari*). Silver spoons of the 6th C. bearing crosses and (in two cases) dedicatory inscriptions form part of the ecclesiastical KAPER KORAON TREASURE and MAʿARAT AL-NUʿMĀN TREASURE and may be the earliest examples of the liturgical implement called *labis*, for which contemporary written evidence is, at best, ambiguous. In this period it is unclear if the spoon was used to stir the wine of the EUCHARIST or to distribute wine-soaked bread from the chalice.

LIT. M. Martin in *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst*, ed. H.A. Cahn, A. Kaufmann-Heinimann (Augst 1984) 56–96. Mango, *Silver* 118–27. W.D. Wixom, "A Mystery Spoon from the Fourth Century," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 57 (1970) 141–49. T. Totev, "Brovzova lŭžicka ot s. Vŭrbica, Šumensko," *Muzei i pametnici no kulturata* 13.2 (1973) 9f, 84, 86. –M.M.M.

SPORTS. Participation in (and attendance at) sporting events was one of the most important forms of ENTERTAINMENT in antiquity. The triumph of Christianity in the 4th C. brought about changes, as the church condemned dangerous sports, esp. those that could prove fatal: gladiators ceased to perform in the 4th C. (G. Ville, P. Veyne, *Annales ESC* 34 [1979] 651–71). Theodosios I abolished the Olympic Games in 393, but they apparently continued in Daphne, near Antioch, until 521 (J. Kerecstényi, *Olympiai játékok Daphnéban* [Budapest 1962]). Canon law accepted wrestling, boxing, running, jumping, and discus-throwing (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:360.7–8, 4:133.24–26). Running contests were held in the HIPPODROME. Basil I in his youth excelled in wrestling, and John I Tzimiskes is reported to have been outstanding at ARCHERY (Leo Diac. 97.4–10).

Equestrian sports were most common during the Byz. millennium. In addition to HUNTING, three different kinds of contests took precedence over CHARIOT RACES: *tzykanion*, *tornemen*, and *dzoustra*. *Tzykanion* (from Pers. *tshu-gan*), a ball game played on horseback, similar to polo, was introduced from Persia and known supposedly from the reign of Theodosios II, who built a stadium (TZYKANISTERION) in Constantinople for the game. Played on an open field, it involved two teams on horseback, equipped with long-handled nets with which they tried to hit a leather ball the size of an apple into the goal of the opposing team (Kinn. 263.17–264.11). It was a sport very popular at the imperial court and among the nobility: Basil I excelled in it (Genes. 89.92–90.3), and John I Komnenos Axouch, emperor of Trebizond (1235–38), was fatally injured while playing in the *tzykanisterion* at Trebizond (Panaretos, ed. O. Lampsides, *ArchPont* 22 [1958] 61.15–16).

Tornemen and *dzoustra* (Greek transcriptions of the Old French *tourneimen* and *joste*) were intro-

duced from the West and played according to the rules of Western chivalric encounters. Both derived from mounted warfare and were practiced as a means of military training. In the *tornemen* the participants fought as members of a group, while in the *dzoustra* the contestants met in individual combat. A 12th-C. writer (Nik. Chon. 108.56–110.91) describes a tournament in Antioch in which Byz. nobles led by Manuel I competed as members of a group against Western knights. In similar fashion a Palaiologan historian (Greg. 1:482.1–483.20) describes the two contests organized by Andronikos III Palaiologos at Didymoteichon in 1332 to celebrate the birth of his son John.

The horsemanship of famous riders performing in the hippodrome is depicted in the Madrid MS of John Skylitzes: Theodore Krateros in the reign of Theophilos, and Philoraios in that of Romanos II (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 130f, 352). Jousts and other equestrian sports seem to be parodied on bone CASKETS of the 11th or 12th C. (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, nos. 40, 53). (See also CHARIOTEERS.)

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 3:81–147. W. Rudolph, "Der Sport in der spätantiken Gesellschaft," *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 40 (1966) 208–210. L. Kretzenbacher, "Ritterspiel und Ringreiten im europäischen Südosten," *SüdostF* 22 (1963) 437–55. A. Ducellier, "Jeux et sport à Byzance," *Dossiers de l'archéologie* 45 (1980) 83–87. A. Pagliaro, "Un gioco persiano alla corte di Bisanzio," 5 *CEB* 1 (Rome 1939) 521–24. –Ap.K., A.C.

SPORTULAE. See SYNETHEIA.

SPYRIDON (Σπυρίδων), 4th-C. bishop of Trimithous on Cyprus; saint; born Askia, Cyprus; feast-day 12 Dec. A shepherd, he continued to herd his flock after having been elected bishop. His participation in the Council of Nicaea in 325 is questionable; ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, however, testifies that a certain Spyridon of Cyprus signed the acts of the Council of Serdica (342/3). RUFINUS knew oral traditions about Spyridon and mentioned two of his miracles: invisible ropes bound the thieves who stole his sheep, and his deceased daughter Irene identified from her grave the site of a treasure she had hidden before her death. Spyridon became popular in Byz. literature. A poem ascribed to his pupil Triphyllios, now lost, is mentioned in the *Souda*; it served as the basis for two 7th-C. vitae, one by Theodore of Paphos (completed by 655) and another possibly by LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS. The vitae describe miracles worked by Spyridon, including his healing of the emperor Constantine I; Theodore's Life mentions the deacon Stephen, who in 619 was reading a book about Spyridon, and also contains accounts of miracles performed at Spyridon's tomb. SYMEON METAPHRASTES used the Life by Theodore; Arabic and Georgian vitae also survive.

Though Spyridon is portrayed as a bishop in artistic representations, he wears a special cap as a reminder of his shepherd past. He has a pointed white beard.

SOURCES. *La légende de s. Spyridon évêque de Trimithonte*, ed. P. van den Ven (Louvain 1953), rev. G. Garitte, *RHE* 50 (1955) 125–40.

LIT. *BHG* 1647–48. Johann Georg, Herzog zu Sachsen, *Der heilige Spyridon, seine Verehrung und Ikonographie* (Leipzig-Berlin 1913). C. Weigert, *LCI* 8:387–89. –A.K., N.P.Š.

SPYRIDONAKES, JOHN, rebellious governor; fl. ca.1195–1201. A Cypriot craftsman, allegedly deformed, Spyridonakes (Σπυριδωνάκης) gained favor with ALEXIOS III. After rising to superintendent of the "inner treasury" he was appointed governor of the theme of Smolena. Here (like his contemporaries DOBROMIR CHRYSOS, Leo SGOUROS, and IVANKO) he sought independence. About 1201 Alexios's son-in-law Alexios PALAIOLOGOS overran Smolena and drove Spyridonakes to flee to KALOJAN. –C.M.B.

SQUINCH, a half-conical niche, arched or corbeled in brick or stone across the corners of a square bay. The function of the squinch was to create, above a square plan, an octagonal base for a dome, drum, or cloister vault. To smooth the transition from octagon to circle, smaller and shallower squinches were sometimes inserted at the corners of the octagon. Squinches appear in the stone architecture of Syria, Asia Minor, and Armenia, and in the brick superstructures of Hosios Loukas, the Nea Mone on Chios, and Daphni. In these 11th-C. Greek churches, the squinch created a non-Euclidean surface for mosaic compositions, the base of which consisted of flat surfaces set at right angles to one another in the corners of the naos, while the squinch vault itself united these two surfaces into a quarter sphere at the top. Like PENDENTIVES, to which they are aesthetically and programmatically related, squinches were normally adorned with images of the GREAT FEASTS or EVANGELIST PORTRAITS.

LIT. Mango, *Byz.Arch.* 181–84. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 344f. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic* 22–26. M. Rumpler, *La coupole dans l'architecture byzantine et musulmane* (Strasbourg 1956) 82–99. F. Antablin, "The Squinch in Armenian Architecture in the 6th & 7th cent.," *REArm* 18 (1984) 503–13. –W.L.

STABILITY, MONASTIC (ἰσόβιος ἄσκησις), the principle that monks and nuns should remain for life in the monastery in which they took their monastic vows. This idea was enjoined by both canon and civil law. The canons of the 4th and 7th ecumenical councils and commentaries on them (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:225–29, 641f) forbade a monk or nun to leave his or her original monastery, as did civil law (cf. Justinian I, novs. 5.4, 7; 123.42). There were, however, legitimate reasons for a monk to move, for example, if his monastery was closed, if he were needed at another institution, or if a move would promote his spiritual well-being or serve as punishment. The monk had to seek the permission of the *hegoumenoi* of both monasteries before making the move. If he left his monastery without permission he was excommunicated.

In reality, however, many monks (including those considered holy men) moved frequently from one monastery to another or alternated between a cenobitic and eremitic way of life; nuns, on the other hand, virtually always remained in the same convent for life (A.M. Talbot, *GOrThR* 30 [1985] 14f). Monks might move to escape enemy attack, to find an isolated *koinobion* more conducive to the ascetic life, or to escape worldly glory and live as a HERMIT (A. Kazhdan, *BZ* 78 [1985] 50–52). Beck (*Jahrtausend* 213) has suggested that a common motivation was the individualism of the Byz. monk and the difficulty of obedience to a *hegoumenos*. Most monastic *typika* were more realistic than canon law and permitted the admission of monks from other monasteries, although the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY required a thorough investigation of the alien monk's past, and certain monasteries prohibited his promotion to the post of *hegoumenos* (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 57f).

LIT. D.M. Nicol, "*Instabilitas loci*: The Wanderlust of Late Byzantine Monks," in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition* [= *SChH* 22] (London 1985) 193–202. E. Herman, "La 'stabilitas loci' nel monachismo bizantino," *OrChrP* 21 (1955) 115–42. Konidares, *Nomike theorese* 149–56. E.W. McDonnell, "Monastic Stability," in *Charanis Studies* 115–50. –A.M.T.

STAGOI (Στάγοι, etymology uncertain, mod. Kalampaka), on the site of ancient Aiginion, a stronghold (*phrourion* or *kastron*) and bishopric in Thessaly known from the 10th C. onward. According to an act of 1163, Stagoi belonged to the theme of SERVIA. This act (C. Astruc, *BCH* 83 [1959] 206–46, with add. E. Vranouse, *Symmeikta* 7 [1987] 19–32) gives a list of the properties of the bishopric (many villages having Slavic names) and exempts the bishop's *klerikoparoikoi* from diverse levies. John VI Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 1:474.1–3) names Stagoi among *phrouria* that had belonged to the GABRIELOPOULOI but in 1333 were occupied by John Orsini of Epiros. From the mid-14th C. all of Thessaly was controlled by Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, and Serbian *kephalai* administered Stagoi. Its bishop was suffragan of Larissa (*Notitiae CP* 7.574). The first monasteries at METEORA were apparently under the bishop's control, and his rights are confirmed in imperial rescripts of 1336 and 1393 preserved on the walls of the cathedral. The stronghold and the bishopric, however, soon declined and fell under the domination of either the monks or the bishops of TRIKKALA.

Several monuments are known to have existed in Stagoi, among them a Church of St. Barbara, but of these only the cathedral, dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin, survives. This is a three-aisled basilica, constructed probably in the late 11th or early 12th C. on the foundations of a church from the 4th–6th C.; the (rebuilt) AMBO, chancel screen, and *synthronon* of the earlier structure survive in the interior, and there are mosaics under the pavement of the floor. Some late 12th C. frescoes (standing portraits of saints) remain in the south aisle, although most of the decoration is from the latter part of the 16th C. (I. Pispa, *Ho hieros naos tes Koimeseos tes Theotokou en Kalampaka*[2] [Kalampaka 1988]).

LIT. *TIB* 1:262f. Abramea, *Thessalia* 158–61. Nicol, *Meteora* 78–80. G.A. Soteriou, "He basilike tes Koimeseos en Kalampaka," *EEBS* 6 (1929) 291–315. –T.E.G.

STAMENA. See HISTAMENON.

STAMPS, BREAD (*σφραγῖδες*), closely related to commercial STAMPS, were used to mark bread for ecclesiastical use. Typically 5–10 cm across—and most often made of clay, wood, or limestone—they may be divided into two basic types, depending on the impressed text or image that they bear. Some, intended for EULOGIA bread (i.e., that which is distributed apart from the Divine Liturgy on specific feastdays), carry an image or text designating the saint to be celebrated, whereas others, intended for the EUCHARIST itself, bear devices that guided the priest in subdividing the oblation (PROSPHORA), and texts corresponding to the symbolism or wording of the office. Specifically, some stamps are square, inscribed with a cross marked in its quadrants by the letters IC XC NIKA (for "Jesus Christ is victorious"); these evoke the Liturgy of John Chrysostom and closely resemble the eucharistic bread represented in MSS and monumental painting—as in the Church of Hagia Sophia at OHRID. Others, which are generally larger, bear a dense waffle pattern to facilitate removal of particles in honor of the Virgin, John the Baptist, and other saints; around the circumference of these might be the words recited at the institution of the sacrament: "Take, eat: this is my body that is broken for you."

LIT. G. Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy* (Madison 1970). –G.V.

STAMPS, COMMERCIAL. A continuation of Roman *signacula*, these stamps (*τύποι*) are typically 3–10 cm at their widest and formed in the shape of a rectangle, circle, foot, cross, or crescent. Nearly all have handles, in some instances with their own smaller stamping device; although specimens are known in wood, stone, and clay, the majority are of bronze. Usually much cruder in manufacture than their Roman predecessors, Byz. *typoi* almost invariably show raised (rather than INTAGLIO) framed devices, consisting of words or phrases, which are usually aligned backward. Private names (e.g., "of John") are common, as are good wishes ("health," "life," "immortality"), references to abundance ("fruits of God"), and apotropaic ACCLAMATIONS ("One God"). Like *signacula*, commercial stamps functioned primarily within the marketplace as is indicated by some of the inscriptions (e.g., "wine vat," "pithos key," "good wine," "Jesus, may you purify"), by their frequent allusions to prosperity or abundance (Fortuna, Hermes, the caduceus), and esp. from the fact that many parallel stamp impressions are preserved on MORTARIA, AMPHORAS, amphora stoppers, and BRICKS. A significant majority of surviving Byz. commercial stamps date from the 4th to 8th C.

A notable exception is a large and homogeneous group of amphora stamps, which are 9th–12th C. in date. Smaller and lighter in manufacture than the early stamps, they come in a richer variety of shapes (quatrefoils, birds, human heads) but bear only a limited range of devices—specifically, a handful of male names, in some cases combined or even repeated on a single stamp ("John, Leo"; "John, John, John"). Their dating and function are revealed by correspondences with impressions on the handles and necks of archaeologically excavated amphoras. The fact that they show only a first name (and neither a place of origin nor date) sets them apart from antique amphora stamps, which may have been used to guarantee volume or quality, or to ensure state control of the wine trade. Yet their homogeneity in design and device and their wide distribution suggest that they were not simple potters' stamps, but either those of vintners, to facilitate shipment or storage, or those of established (family?) pottery workshops, to control the manufacture or sale of the vessels.

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 25–28. –G.V.

STAPHIDAKES (*Σταφιδάκης*), writer; fl. ca.1320. His biography is totally unknown. His most important surviving work is a MONODY on an emperor of the Palaiologan dynasty, usually identified as MICHAEL IX (cf. R. Förster, *BZ* 9 [1900] 381 and S. Lampros, *NE* 1 [1904] 368–70). This brief oration laments the untimely demise of an emperor who predeceased his father and died in Thessalonike. It is a conventional piece, full of repetitions and empty formulas, reminiscent of contemporary works of the same genre. Two of the letters of Staphidakes are preserved (ed. S. Lampros, *NE* 12 [1915] 8–12), and some unpublished EPIMERISMS (in Vienna, ÖNB, phil. gr. 250, fol. 201r-207r) have been attributed to him.

ED. A. Meschini, "La monodia di Stafidakis," *Università di Padova. Studi bizantini e neogreci, Quaderni* 8 (Padua 1974) 3–20.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:138, 193, 236; 2:23, n.5. –A.M.T.

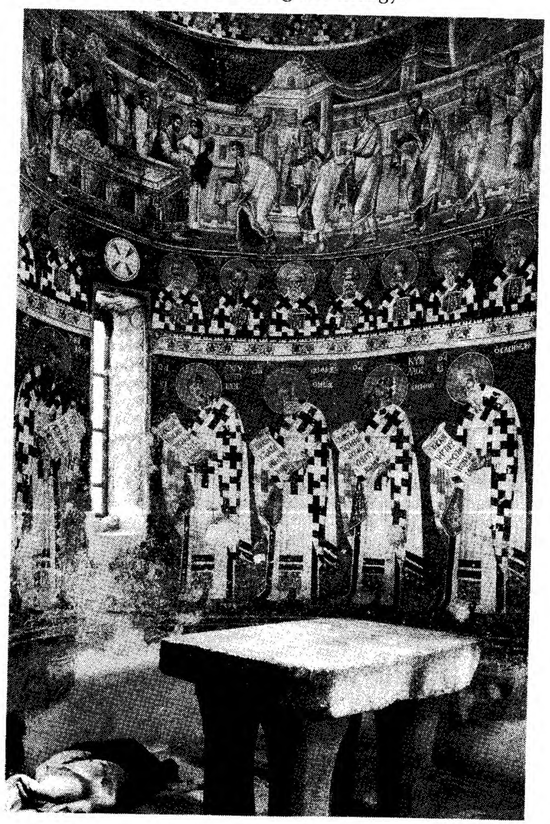
STAR (*ἀστήρ*). Ancient and Byz. writers on ASTRONOMY divided the celestial bodies into two groups: immovable stars, primarily those combined into 12 groups forming the CONSTELLATIONS of the Zodiac, and seven moving stars, or planets, to which also belonged the sun and the moon; a COMET could also be defined as a star (e.g., HEPHAISTION OF THEBES, lib. 1:22.14, vol. 1, p.64.20–21). The Old Testament rejected the astral cult, common in Babylonia, and reduced the stars to simple celestial "lamps" that emerged only on the fourth day of the Creation; ancient Greeks and Romans, however, saw in planets and stars divine essences—gods or mythical heroes taken to heaven. Christianity condemned the pagan attribution of divinity to stars and denied their control over human actions, even though rudiments of such a view were preserved by ASTROLOGY and the planets continued to bear the names of Greek gods. Nevertheless, the attitude toward the stars remained somewhat ambivalent: JOHN OF DAMASCUS (*Exp. fidei* 21.187–88, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:61) stresses that they are composite and perishable but confesses that "we do not know their nature [*physis*]." Some people continued to believe that stars were ethereal bodies, inanimate, and knowing God. Stars assumed an important place in Christian legends: the star of Bethlehem is said to have led the Magi to Christ's cradle, and Constantine I allegedly saw in the sky the sign of the Cross formed of stars.

Taking various forms (usually four-, five-, or seven-pointed), stars were frequent in carved epitaphs and as signs in early Christian epigraphy and on gems and lamps. In addition to their customary appearance in images of the ADORATION OF THE MAGI, they occur in many other scenes of the Infancy of Christ (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 129, 133, 169). Connotations of sanctity are implied by the eight-pointed stars adorning the books held by evangelists (ibid., no.152). God's intervention is suggested by the star in early images of the Raising of Lazarus and divine presence by the stars depicted in the vaults of the "Mausoleum" of Galla Placidia and other buildings in RAVENNA; set around the portraits of holy men in the crypt of HOSIOS LOUKAS they suggest a celestial vault. Particularly in later versions of the Transfiguration, the Anastasis, and the Dormition, Christ appears in a star-shaped or star-filled MANDORLA. Only rarely, as on St. Demetrios's costume in a mosaic in his church in Thessalonike (Lazarev, *Storia*, fig.45), does a star seem to denote an earthly rank; its precise meaning in this context is unknown.

LIT. F.W. Deichmann, "Zur Erscheinung des Sternes von Bethlehem," in *Vivarium: Festschrift Theodor Klauser zum 90. Geburtstag* (Münster 1984) 98–106. –A.K., A.C.

STARO NAGORIČINO, situated not far from Kumanovo, site of a monastery of St. George built by King STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN in 1313, according to an inscription on the lintel over the western entrance to the church. The latter was erected on the foundations of an 11th-C. basilica, traditionally believed to be a gift from the emperor Romanos IV Diogenes to St. PROHOR OF

STARO NAGORIČINO. Church of St. George. Frescoes in the south half of the apse. Above is the Communion of the Apostles (Lord's Supper); below are busts of bishops and bishops performing the liturgy.



PČINJA. The original three-aisled basilica has been combined with a cross-in-square structure having five domes and a narthex. The lower walls are constructed of large well-cut stones, and the upper walls are of stone and brick, enlivened by brick arches and decorative brick designs.

Two artists, MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS, painted their names in the church; another fresco inscription confirms their involvement and indicates they were at work between 1316 and 1318. The ambitious fresco program includes, along with the usual Byz. themes, scenes of the Passion, Miracles and Parables of Christ, and the Appearance of Christ after the Passion, all in the nave. There is also a life of St. GEORGE in the nave, the life of the VIRGIN MARY in the *prothesis*, and the life of St. NICHOLAS in the *diakonikon* (Ševčenko, *Nicholas* 42, 243–51). The marble iconostasis, which is original, preserves fresco icons of St. George the "Diassoritis" and the Virgin Pelagonitissa (see VIRGIN ELEOUSA). In the narthex, 365 scenes from the church CALENDAR are illustrated for the first time in Serbian art, and there are portraits of Milutin and his wife SIMONIS.

The vast number of episodes represented and the didactic character of the cycles as a whole nearly disrupt the balance between narrative and image achieved in the earlier work of these masters (e.g., at STUDENICA). Milutin appreciated their work nonetheless, for he called on some unidentified masters to repeat the program and style of Staro Nagoričino at GRAČANICA.

LIT. Radojčić, *Slikarstvo* 102–05. Djurić, *Byz. Fresk.* 71f. Miljković-Pepek, *Mihail i Eutihij*, esp. 22–25, 56–62.
–G.B.

STASIS (στάσις, lit. "stand," also *staseion* or *stasion*), in fiscal terminology, a homestead, frequently with noncontiguous parcels of arable land; more specifically, the taxable property of a taxpayer, usually a peasant. Through the 12th C., in KODIKES, the *stasis* of a taxpayer, as described within the STICHOS, consisted of the individual taxable parcels of land held by the taxpayer upon which his TELOS was based. The records of the cadaster of THEBES indicate that these parcels were frequently spread throughout a VILLAGE and, because of property transfers within the CHORION, the parcels themselves are often described as having been the *stasis* or part of the *stasis* of earlier taxpayers. In 13th- and 14th-C. documents from Trebizond, the word *staseis* is often used to denote particular geographic areas within a *chorion*, which, though the names they bear were apparently those of previous individual holders, were often divided among several subsequent tenants. In 11th–15th-C. *praktika*, a *stasis* (and the evidently synonymous *hypostasis* and *oikostasion*) consisted of land (CHORAPHION, vineyard, garden, etc.), animals (oxen, cows, sheep, etc.), dwellings, and agricultural capital (mills, boats, etc.).

The elements within the *stasis* could be alienated, divided, and inherited by the peasants. Similarly, through purchase and escheat, landlords often acquired the *staseis* of their peasants. The meaning of the term *hypostatikos* (e.g., *Lavra* 2, nos. 91.I.17; 109.644) is unclear. Dölger (*Sechs Praktika* 127) explains it as a free peasant who could exercise rights over his land.

LIT. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 158–60. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 118f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 55f, 60. K. Chvostova, "K voprosu o strukture pozdnevizantijskogo poselenija," *VizVrem* 45 (1984) 12–14. –M.B.

STATE PROPERTY. State land, as distinct from the vast imperial domains and/or the land of the crown, had the following characteristics: (1) the land was given to an individual on the basis of the amount of tax imposed; (2) there was no substantial difference between the state tax and private rent; (3) the state had an unrestricted right of confiscation—according to Symeon Metaphrastes (PG 114:1156A), there was a "bad habit" in Byz. that any land on which the emperor or the empress stepped became imperial property; the owner could be compensated by another allotment or JUST PRICE; (4) imperial confirmation was needed for the transmittance of a title of private property. Scholars who deny the concept of state property explain these phenomena as equivalent to state sovereignty, the state judicial system and/or as facts limited to the land of the crown. In this context the status of the settlers on state land is crucial: it is unclear whether such categories as STRATIOTAI, DEMOSIARIOI, or *exkoussatoi* of the DROMOS were full owners of their allotments or were conditional possessors of state property.

The concept of state property is in obvious contradiction to the Roman law of free property that was adopted by Byz. legislators. It always remains questionable, however, to what extent Byz. legal practice complied with Roman legal theory and to what extent state control over private estates (JUST PRICE, PROTIMESIS, ARITHMOS, i.e., number of the peasants allowed to be accomodated, etc.) accorded with the idea of free ownership.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 227–35. Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* 11–24. M. Ja. Sjuzjumov, "Suvernitet, nalog i zemel'naja renta v Vizantii," *ADSV* 9 (1973) 57–65. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 22–42. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 161f; *Erytheia* 9 (1988) 208f. –A.K.

STATES, HIERARCHY OF. The late antique concept of universality survived its factual destruction and became a prime constituent of Byz. imperial ideology and a potential irritant to smooth relations with foreign powers. TAXIS within Byz. society produced precedence; applied to the outside world, it produced a concept in which foreign powers were ranked relative to Byz. Some of Byz.'s diplomatic partners accepted the scheme (e.g., as a result of successful pressure SYMEON OF BULGARIA won a higher rank in the hierarchy); others, like FREDERICK I, did not. Lesser potentates received imperial dignities and thereby entered directly into the precedence scheme, helping to blur the distinction between Byz. CITIZENS and foreigners. The hierarchy of states shaped diplomatic communications' carefully calibrated wording of addresses and external form (guidelines for which are preserved in *De cer.*, bk.2, chs. 46–48; W. Ohnsorge, *BZ* 45 [1952] 320–39) as well as ambassadors' privileges. Subtle differentiations between emperor and barbarian ruler on insignia granted to the latter symbolically expressed this view, such as the crown Michael VII sent to Géza I of Hungary (1074–77).

The concept of the "family of princes" added a dimension of artificial kinship to the hierarchy of states: rulers with whom Byz. had privileged relations were classified as the emperor's brothers, sons, or friends. Their positions within the hierarchy of states changed to reflect circumstances. In the 6th C. Byz. recognized the Persian Empire as an equal: the shah was called BASILEUS and brother, while other rulers were *reges* or *archontes* and sons at best, like the West's Germanic kings. CHARLEMAGNE and his successors, however, rose to the level of "brothers." In late Byz. John VIII Palaiologos, for example, used the concept for his "brother" Sultan Murad II.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, "The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World-Order," *SlEERev* 35 (1956–57) 1–14. Dölger, *Byzanz* 34–69, 183–96. E. Chrysos, "Legal Concepts and Patterns for the Barbarians' Settlement on Roman Soil," in *Das Reich und die Barbaren* (Vienna-Cologne 1989) 13–33. –M.McC.

STAURAKIOS (Σταυράκιος), adviser of Empress IRENE; died Constantinople 3 June 800. A eunuch and *patrikios*, Staurakios was described as "the foremost man of his day and in charge of everything" (Theoph. 456.13–14). He became *logothetes tou dromou* in 781 during Irene's regency for Constantine VI. In 782, after TATZATES defected, Staurakios was captured while negotiating with the Arabs and held until a treaty was concluded with HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. Staurakios campaigned in 783 against the Slavs in Greece down to the Peloponnesos and celebrated a triumph in Constantinople in Jan. 784 (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 141). In 786 he helped Irene suppress ICONOCLASM by disarming imperial guards who had prevented iconophile bishops from meeting in Constantinople. In 790 Constantine conspired to remove Staurakios and in Dec. had him beaten, tonsured, and exiled to the Armeniakon. He returned with Irene in 792 and plotted with her against Constantine. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 471.23–25) says that in 797 Staurakios deliberately undermined Constantine's authority by frustrating his campaign against the Arabs. After Constantine's fall Staurakios's influence with Irene was eclipsed by that of AETIOS. When Irene fell sick in Feb. 800 Staurakios moved to seize power but was discovered and arrested. Seriously ill, he instigated a revolt in Cappadocia just before he died.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.IX (1970), 333f. Idem, "Les Logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 47. –P.A.H.

STAURAKIOS, emperor (28 July–1 Oct. 811); died Constantinople 11 Jan. 812. Son of Emp. Nikephoros I, he was crowned co-emperor in Dec. 803. Staurakios was "completely unfit in appearance, strength, and judgment for such an honor," according to Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 480.14–15), who also says that Staurakios raped two beautiful girls. Theophanes' evident hostility toward Staurakios likely stemmed from his own animosity toward Nikephoros. In Dec. 807 Nikephoros married Staurakios to Theophano from

Athens, a relative of Empress Irene who had previously been betrothed (Theoph. 483.18–19). On 26 July 811 Staurakios was gravely wounded during Nikephoros's fatal encounter with KRUM and was carried to Adrianople, where the *domestikos ton scholon* Stephanos proclaimed him emperor, despite considerable support for Michael (I) Rangabe, the husband of Staurakios's sister Prokopia. In Constantinople Staurakios tried to hand over power to Theophano and have Michael blinded, but Stephanos organized Michael's acclamation with the blessing of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I, whereupon Staurakios abdicated and took the monastic habit.

LIT. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 152–55, 174–77. Bury, *ERE* 16–21. –P.A.H.

STAURATON (*σταυράτον*), a name first applied in the mid-11th C. to a NOMISMA showing the emperor holding a scepter in the form of a cross (*σταυρός*). Later, more famously, it was used for the heavy silver coins (initially approximately 8.5 g, but falling to 6 g) that form the most characteristic feature of the last century of Byz. coinage. They were worth half a (notional) gold HYPERPYRON. The date of their introduction is uncertain: while they have been generally ascribed to the 1370s, either to John V or Andronikos IV (1376–79)—they figure as *istevret* in AŞIQPAŞAZADE's account of Bayezid's wedding in 1381/2—some evidence favors treating these as a revival of a type introduced by Andronikos III in the 1330s. The name is difficult to explain, for although the legends on these coins begin with crosses—an unusual feature on Byz. coins—these are not conspicuous in their designs. In Italian commercial documents they are termed *stravati* [*sic*]. One-half and 1/8th stavrata were also struck.

LIT. A. Cutler, "The Stavraton: Evidence for an Elusive Byzantine Type," *MN* 11 (1964) 237–44. Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 280f, 314–17. Hendy, *Economy* 536–46. –Ph.G.

STAURONIKETA (*Σταυρονικήτα*), small monastery on the northeast coast of Mt. ATHOS that flourished primarily in the post-Byz. era. It was probably founded in the late 10th C. by a Greek monk called "Stravoniketas" ("Squint-eyed Niketas"); this is the name given to the monastery when it is first mentioned in a document of 1013. By the 13th C. the monastery had been destroyed (by pirate raids?) and abandoned; in 1287 its lands and ruined buildings were granted to Koutloumousiou. It was revived and restored in the 16th C. The present buildings and treasures, with the exception of 79 MSS (Lampros, *Athos* 1:75–90; Polites, *Katalogoi* 178–95) and a 14th(?)-C. mosaic icon of St. Nicholas (Furlan, *Icone a mosaico*, no.27), are 16th C. or later.

LIT. Ch. Patrinelis et al., *Stavronikita Monastery* (Athens 1974). –A.M.T., A.C.

STAUROPEGION (*σταυροπήγιον*, lit. "fixture of a cross"). An act of 1047 mentions *stauropegia*, and specifically wooden *stauropegia* (*Ivir.* 1, no.29.11, 84), used as boundary marks. In a liturgical context *stauropegion* designated a cross fixed by a bishop on the site of a new church (Goar, *Euchologion* 485, 488). The term was employed primarily for patriarchal monasteries: for example, a *sigillion* of Patr. Polyeuktos of 964 (MM 5:251.24–30) proclaimed the monastery of the Philosopher, near the village of Demestane, as a patriarchal *stauropegion* and therefore independent of the metropolitan of Patras and the bishop of Lakedaemonia. The decision of Patr. George II Xiphilinos of 1197 (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 5:102.9–14) and the *enkyklika* of Patr. Germanos II of 1233 concerning Epirot monasteries (E. Kurtz, *BZ* 16 [1907] 138.38–44) contrast stauropegial communities with those under the jurisdiction of local bishops. Patr. Niphon in 1312 (*Prot.*, no.11.153.55) also did not draw a distinction between stauropegial and patriarchal monasteries. The *sigillion* of Patr. Antony IV of 1391 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 6, no.2892), on the other hand, distinguished between them; accordingly Antony, in a *sigillion* of 1393 (*Koutloum.*, no.40), granting the Koutloumousiou monastery the status of patriarchal monastery, did not use the term *stauropegion*; at that time only those monasteries that had been actually founded by the patriarch were considered stauropegial. In 1396, however, Antony gave stauropegial rights to the Pantokrator Monastery on Athos, even though he had not founded it (Pantokr., no.12.33).

Stauropegial monasteries acknowledged the jurisdiction of the patriarch, commemorated him in the diptychs, and paid him the KANONIKON. They provided an important source of revenue for the patriarchate; as a consequence Michael VIII, during his struggle against Patr. John XI Bekkos, temporarily abolished the right of *stauropegion*.

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu* 8, 10f, 103, 119. E. Herman, "Ricerche sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine," *OrChrP* 6 (1940) 353–55. N. Oikonomides in *Dionys.* 65f. P. Lemerle in *Koutloum.* 395, 397. –A.K., A.M.T.

STEATITE, a usually green or buff stone, carved into icons or pendants and known to the Byz. as *amiantos lithos* ("spotless stone"). Easier to carve than IVORY, it is also more fragile; examples are therefore generally more worn and often fragmentary. More than 170 steatite carvings survive, attributed by Kalavrezou (*infra*), with two 10th-C. exceptions, to the 11th C. and later. Many represent Christ, the Virgin, and esp. military saints. Cycles of the life of Christ are concentrated in 12th-C. specimens. From the 14th C. there survive two PATENS, one naming ALEXIOS (III) KOMNENOS of Trebizond. Although often technically and formally simpler than ivories—undercutting is little used—steatite may well have been carved by the same hands. Their small size suggests that steatite icons were intended for private chapels, while crosses, *phylakteria* (see AMULETS), and seals of this material were evidently for personal use. One steatite icon is listed in the inventory of the Eleousa monastery at VELJUSA (ed. L. Petit, *IRAIK* 6 [1900] 118.22–23), and two epigrams of Manuel Philes (*Carmina*, ed. Miller, 1, nos. CCXVIII, CCXIX) are devoted to a steatite of the Virgin.

LIT. I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, 2 vols. (Vienna 1985). A.V. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantii IX–XII vv.* (Moscow 1978) 89–114. –A.C.

STEELYARD (*καμπανός*, Lat. *statera*), a bronze instrument for gross weighing based on the second principle of unequal-arm beams. Invented by the Romans, steelyards are levers having one or more fixed points (fulcra) by which they are held, a shorter arm from which the load is suspended in a pan or by hooks, and a longer arm along which the counterpoise (see WEIGHTS) is slid until the beam is in balance; scales appropriate to the various fulcra are incised on the facets of the longer arm, which may also bear the owner's name. Steelyards were esp. popular in the 5th–7th C. An unusually large example, discovered in the early 7th-C. Yassi Ada shipwreck (G.K. Sams in G. Bass, F.H. Van Doorninck, Jr., *Yassi Ada* [College Station, Tex., 1982] 202–30), is 1.46 m long; with its bust weight of 24 Roman pounds (LITRA), it could handle a load equal to nearly 300 pounds avoirdupois.

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 32f. –G.V.

STEFAN LAZAREVIĆ, prince of Serbia (from 1389; called *krales* in Douk. 39.12) and *despotes* (from 1402); born ca.1373, died in village of Glavi near Kragujevac 19 July 1427. A son of LAZAR who fell at Kosovo POLJE in 1389, Stefan inherited his father's territory. He took part in the battles of ROVINE (1395), NIKOPOLIS (1396), and ANKARA (1402) as an Ottoman vassal; Doukas (Douk. 97.10–27) describes his heroism at Ankara in contrast to the cowardice of Bayezid I. En route back to Serbia, Stefan stopped in Constantinople, received the title of *despotes*, and soon thereafter (1405) married Helena, daughter of Francesco II GATTILUSIO.

The internal strife among the Ottomans following their defeat at Ankara enabled Stefan to consolidate Serbian territory and to form an anti-Turkish coalition; the Ottoman prince SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI had to acknowledge Stefan's authority. On the other hand, Stefan accepted Hungarian suzerainty for which he was granted the Mačva region and Belgrade (in 1403/4), which became his capital. He also inherited ZETA from his uncle Balša III in 1421. In his expansion, however, he encountered resistance from Venice, which claimed rights to the coast of Zeta and negotiated with the sultan against Stefan. In 1421 an alliance between Byz., Serbia, and the Turkish usurper Mustafa was being negotiated, while Venice sought the favor of MURAD II. In 1424 Stefan participated in negotiations between Sigismund of Hungary (1387–1437) and John VIII Palaiologos and in 1425 tried to bring about a reconciliation between Venice and Hungary. Although he was faced with Turkish attacks from 1425 onward, Stefan nevertheless refused to extradite Mustafa, who in 1427 had fled from Thessalonike to Serbia. His attempts to militarize Serbia for a new war against the Ottomans were ended by his death (J. Kalić, *Istorijski časopis* 29–30 [1982–83] 7–20). Since he died childless, his nephew GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ inherited his land.

Stefan, himself a writer, was a patron of literature and the arts and invited Grigorij CAMBLAK

and KONSTANTIN KOSTENEČKI to his court. The latter's biography of Stefan is an important work of Serbian literature. Stefan built as his mausoleum the Resava monastery (1406–18), where his portrait is preserved.

LIT. M.A. Purković, *Knez i despot Stefan Lazarević* (Belgrade 1978). *IstSrpskNar* 2:205–17. Fine, *Late Balkans* 500–525. –J.S.A.

STEFAN NEMANJA (Νεεμάν of Greek sources), grand *župan* of RAŠKA (i.e., Serbia) and founder of the NEMANJID DYNASTY; born Ribnica in Diokleia, died Mt. Athos 13 Feb. 1199 (F. Barišić, *HilZb*, vol. 2 [Belgrade 1971] 31–40) or 1200 (K. Jireček, J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba*^{2}, vol. 1 [Belgrade 1978] 160, n. 83). He was appointed grand *župan* (*satrapes* in Greek terminology) by Manuel I, probably sometime between 1165 and 1168 (J. Kalić in *VizIzvori* 4:144f, n.135) and ruled until 25 Mar. 1196 (R. Novaković, *ZRVI* 11 [1968] 129–39). With Hungarian and Venetian support, Nemanja rebelled against Byz., at first successfully. In 1172, however, Manuel attacked Nemanja with a large army and forced him to surrender; the Byz. emperor then took the conquered rebel to Constantinople and made a triumphal entry (Kinn. 287.18–288.3). Manuel's victory over Nemanja was depicted in wall paintings in the imperial palace.

Nemanja was restored to power as a Byz. vassal; in 1183, however, taking advantage of the chaotic situation after Manuel's death, he rebelled once more and invaded Byz. territory in alliance with BÉLA III of Hungary. The allies sacked Belgrade, Braničevo, Niš, and Sofia. Nemanja retained control over Niš, where in 1189 he cordially received Frederick I Barbarossa and other participants in the Third Crusade. The *župan* expanded his territory to the east and south and united ZETA with Raška. He eradicated the BOGOMILS, whose influence was spreading in Raška. In the early 1190s Nemanja tried to improve relations with Byz.: he married his second son STEFAN THE FIRST-CROWNED to Eudokia, a niece of Emp. Isaac II Angelos, who received the Byz. title of *sebastokrator*.

In 1196 Nemanja abdicated in favor of Stefan the First-Crowned, while giving Zeta to his eldest son Vukan to rule. He first retired to the monastery he had founded at STUDENICA and became the monk Symeon; later he went with his youngest son SAVA OF SERBIA to Mt. Athos and began the construction of the HILANDAR monastery, where he died. Nemanja also built the monasteries of Djurdjevi Stupovi and of the Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas in Toplica. His portrait (as Symeon) is represented on the frescoes of many Serbian monasteries. Both Sava and Stefan the First-Crowned wrote biographies of their father.

SOURCE. Domentian, *Život Svetoga Simeuna i Svetoga Save*, ed. Dj. Daničić (Belgrade 1865).

LIT. *IstSrpskNar* 1:208–11, 251–65. R. Novaković, "Kad se rodio i kad je počeo da vlada Stevan Nemanja?" *Istoriski glasnik* (1958) no.3/4, 165–89. –J.S.A.

STEFAN OF NOVGOROD, author of a description in Slavonic of Constantinople's sacred sites, based on a visit during Holy Week of 1348 or 1349. Stefan traveled "to revere the holy places and kiss the bodies of the saints," though his privileged reception by Patr. ISIDORE I BOUCHEIRAS and the *protostrator* Phakeolatos in Hagia Sophia may indicate an additional purpose: to bring a contribution from Rus' toward repairing the dome that had partially collapsed in 1346, and perhaps to win Byz. support against Muscovite pressure on the Novgorod archbishopric. His silence on the still-damaged dome is problematic (due perhaps to later editing or to the pilgrim's need for an unblemished description?). Stefan's work, whose arrangement suggests a series of six or seven daily itineraries, is permeated with a sense of wonder, yet among Eastern Slavic accounts it is also notably vivid and precise. Besides some unique information on monuments (e.g., the monastery of St. Demetrios and its tomb of "Laskariasaf," probably John IV Laskaris), Stefan also notes details of nonreligious topography (e.g., the harbor of Kontoskalion). His commentaries conflate history and legend, fusing victories over Chosroes II's allies in 629 and over the Rus' in 860 and claiming that Theodore of Stoudios sent books to Rus'. The economic aspect of religious tourism in Constantinople is illuminated by Stefan's comment that the stingy or impecunious pilgrim will have restricted access to relics.

ED. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 15–47, with Eng. tr.

LIT. I. Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.xv (1953), 165–75. Seemann, *Wallfahrtslit.* 221–28. –S.C.F.

STEFAN THE FIRST-CROWNED, grand *župan* of Serbia (1195–1217), king (from 1217); born ca.1165, died 24 Sept. 1227. The middle son of

STEFAN NEMANJA, in the early 1190s (A. Kazhdan in *Istočniki i istoriografija slavjanskogo srednevekov'ja* [Moscow 1967] 216f) he married Eudokia, the niece of Isaac II Angelos, and received the title of *sebastokrator* (B. Ferjančić, *ZRVI* 11 [1968] 168–70). After Nemanja's abdication Stefan succeeded him, but was opposed by his elder brother Vukan, who had the support of both Hungary and Rome. Civil war erupted, a degree of reconciliation being achieved ca. 1207, when SAVA OF SERBIA came from Mt. Athos, bringing with him Nemanja's relics. A condition of peace was probably the territorial division of Serbia; at any rate George, Vukan's son, acted from 1208 onward as a ruler of ZETA under Venetian sovereignty. The struggle continued despite Sava's appeals to brotherly love, but by 1216 Stefan conquered almost all of Vukan's former possessions. In 1217 Pope Honorius III sent a special delegation with royal insignia and crown and conferred upon Stefan the king's title. Stefan the First-Crowned wrote the vita of his father.

ED. *Žitije Simeona Nemanje od Stevana Prvovenčanoga*, ed. V. Ćorović in *Svetosavski zbornik* 2 (Belgrade 1939) 1–76. Germ. tr. S. Hafner, *Stefan Nemanja nach den Viten des hl. Sava und Stefans des Erstgekrönten* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1962).

LIT. St. Stanojević, "Stevan Prvovenčani," *Godišnica N. Čupića* 43 (1934) 1–56. E.P. Naumov, *Gospodstvujuščij klass i gosudarstvennaja vlast' v Serbii XIII-XV vv.* (Moscow 1975) 196–226. Lj. Maksimović, "O godini prenosa Nemanjinih moštiju u Srbiju," *ZRVI* 24/25 (1986) 437–44. Fine, *Late Balkans* 41–51, 103–09. –A.K., A.M.T.

STEFAN UROŠ I (Οὔρεσις), king of Serbia (1243–76); died in Zachlumia as the monk Symeon probably 1 May 1277. Son of STEFAN THE FIRST-CROWNED, Uroš succeeded on the throne his deposed brother Vladislav (ca.1234–43). Uroš had first to cope with the hostile alliance of Bulgaria and Dubrovnik, which continued to pose a threat until the Bulgarian tsar Michael Asen was murdered in 1257. In the south, Uroš joined the anti-Nicaean coalition of Manfred of Sicily and Michael of Epiros and in 1258 penetrated into Macedonia, occupying Skopje, Prilep, and Kičevo. In the following year, defeated by Michael VIII Palaiologos at PELAGONIA, Uroš lost these lands. In the north, he faced the rivalry of Hungary; after an unsuccessful war in 1268, he negotiated a peace agreement confirmed by the marriage of his older son Dragutin and the Hungarian princess Katalina, daughter of Stephen V. To improve his position in the Balkans, Michael VIII planned a marriage between his daughter Anna and Uroš's younger son STEFAN UROŠ (II) MILUTIN. In 1271–72 the Byz. emperor sent to Serbia Patr. Joseph I and John Bekkos to negotiate this marital alliance. Anna and her large retinue went as far as Ohrid. According to Pachymeres, the envoys were shocked at the sight of the simplicity and primitive conditions of Uroš's court (Pachym., ed. Failler, 2:453–57). The embassy returned to Constantinople with no results.

During his reign, Uroš consolidated his kingdom economically and politically and Serbia became an important power in the Balkans. Using Saxon miners, refugees from the Mongol invasion of Transylvania, he opened up rich mines of silver, gold, lead, copper, and iron. The development of metallurgy intensified trade, with centers at Uroš's coastal cities of Kotor, Bar, Ulcinj, and Scutari along with independent Dubrovnik. Uroš also minted the first Serbian silver coinage. In his later years his son Dragutin, under the pressure of Hungarian in-laws, demanded an appanage and an active role in state affairs. When Uroš refused these requests, Dragutin rebelled and, with the help of the Hungarian army, defeated his father at Gacko (Hum) in 1276. Uroš abdicated and died shortly thereafter. Uroš was the founder of SOPOĆANI, where his portraits are represented together with those of his family.

SOURCE. Danilo, *Životi Kraljeva*, ed. Dj. Daničić (Zagreb 1866; rp. London 1972) 7–21.

LIT. *IstSrpskNar* 1:341–56. Fine, *Late Balkans* 137–41, 199–204. S. Ćirković, "Srbija kralja Uroša I," in *Sedam stotina godina Sopoćana* (Belgrade 1965) vii-xii. –J.S.A.

STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN (Μηλωτῖνος), Serbian king (from 1282); died Nerodimlje Palace in Kosovo region 29 Oct. 1321. Second son of STEFAN UROŠ I, Milutin succeeded his disabled older brother Dragutin, who abdicated in 1282 but maintained and eventually expanded his appanage in northwestern Serbia. Milutin, whose first wife Helena was the daughter of JOHN I DOUKAS of Thessaly, took an anti-Byz. position from the beginning of his reign; he launched a war against the empire and captured Skopje (1282) and Dyrrachion as well as a great part of Macedonia. He repelled the attack of the Bulgarian Šišman of Vidin and managed to appease Šišman's suzerain,

the Tatar khan NOGAY. In 1298 Milutin agreed to change his policy toward Byz., signed a peace treaty, and took Andronikos II's daughter SIMONIS as his fourth wife. Despite a temporary alliance with CHARLES OF VALOIS in 1308, Milutin remained within the Byz. orbit: during his reign, the Serbian court adopted Byz. imperial ceremonial and titulature; Byz. influence increased in Serbia; in the lands he conquered Byz. institutions were retained. Milutin looked to Constantinople for support during internal tensions in Serbia when he faced the resistance of his brother Dragutin and of his own son STEFAN UROŠ III DEČANSKI, the "junior king" administering Zeta. He was able to suppress his son's revolt in 1314 and exile him to Constantinople.

Milutin also sought the support of the church by founding many monasteries and making generous donations to them. His biographer DANIIL II (Danilo) refers to 15 churches and monastic buildings constructed by Milutin in Serbia, Constantinople, Thessalonike, Mt. Athos, Jerusalem, and Mt. Sinai. They include the XENON OF THE KRAL in Constantinople, HILANDAR (main church), Banjska, St. NIKITA (Čučerski), GRAČANICA, STUDENICA (King's Church), STARO NAGORIČINO, and the Virgin of Ljeviška in PRIZREN. Portraits of Milutin are preserved at the last four mentioned churches and at ARILJE.

LIT. *IstSrpskNar* 1:437–95. L. Mavromatis, *La fondation de l'empire Serbe. Le Kralj Milutin* (Thessalonike 1978). M. Dinić, "Odnos izmedju kralja Milutina i Dragutina," *ZRVI* 3 (1955) 49–82. S. Ćurčić, *Gračanica, King Milutin's Church* (University Park-London 1979) 5–11. I. Djurić in *VizIzvori* 6:77–143. –J.S.A.

STEFAN UROŠ III DEČANSKI, son of STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN, Serbian king (1321–31; crowned 6 Jan. 1322); died in fortress of Zvečan 11 Nov. 1331. In his youth his father was forced to send him as a hostage to the Tatar khan NOGAY, with whom he stayed until 1299. As "junior king" he ruled ZETA from 1309. In 1314 he participated in an unsuccessful revolt of Zeta's aristocracy against Milutin. As a consequence he was imprisoned, partially blinded, and exiled with his family for seven years to Constantinople, where he remained under the protection of Andronikos II. Before Milutin died, he permitted his son to return to Serbia. According to legend, Stefan miraculously regained his sight after his father's death in 1321. After succeeding his father as king, he had to face opposition from his half-brother Constantine and his cousin Vladislav (son of Dragutin), but held on to his throne.

Stefan first married Theodora, a daughter of the Bulgarian tsar Smilac. After her death he took as his second wife ca.1324–26 Maria Palaiologina, daughter of the *panhypersebastos* John Palaiologos and granddaughter of Theodore Metochites. During the civil war of the 1320s between Andronikos II and Andronikos III, Stefan supported the old emperor and was rewarded with some lands near PROSEK. As a result he was in a precarious situation following the defeat of Andronikos II in 1328, especially after the victorious emperor Andronikos III formed an alliance with the Bulgarian tsar MICHAEL III ŠIŠMAN in 1330. Stefan, however, defeated this Byz.-Bulgarian coalition at the battle of VELBUŽD that same year and recovered for Serbia some Macedonian cities it had previously lost. Soon thereafter the semifeudal lords of Zeta revolted against Stefan; his own son Stefan Dušan, the "junior king" then ruling Zeta, defeated Dečanski and imprisoned him (Aug. 1331) in Zvečan, where he soon died. Folk tradition developed his image as a martyr allegedly blinded by his father and strangled by his own son.

Stefan started the construction of the church at Dečani, from which he derived his surname; the building was completed by Dušan. His portrait is preserved at Dečani, where he was buried. Biographies of Dečanski were written by Grigorij CAMBLAK and DANIIL II.

LIT. *IstSrpskNar* 1:496–510. Fine, *Late Balkans* 270–75. M. Purković, "Byzantinoserbica," *BZ* 45 (1952) 43–47. –J.S.A.

STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, Serbian *kralj* (from 8 Dec. 1331), *basileus* and *autokrator* of Serbia and "Romania" (from Dec. 1345); died 20 Dec. 1355. In his youth Dušan spent seven years in Constantinople with his exiled father, STEFAN UROŠ III DEČANSKI. After his return he ruled ZETA as "junior king" and distinguished himself in the battle of VELBUŽD (1330). In 1331 he deposed his father with the support of the nobles of Zeta.

Dušan devoted his principal efforts to the conquest of Byz. lands south of Serbia. First, he protected his western frontier by a treaty with Dubrovnik and established peace with Bulgaria by marrying in 1332 princess Helena, sister of tsar IVAN ALEXANDER. Then, in alliance with the Byz. rebel SYRGIANNES Dušan waged war against Andronikos III in Macedonia; seized Prilep, Ohrid, and the Strymon region; and forced the Byz. emperor to sign a truce (24 Aug. 1334), according to which the Serbian *kralj* retained the lands he conquered. The CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47 gave Dušan an excuse to intervene again in Byz. affairs. He backed John VI Kantakouzenos in 1342–43, but then, after the latter's success and the appearance of Turkish mercenaries in Macedonia, he shifted his support to John V Palaiologos. In the 1340s the Serbs annexed Epiros, Albania, and Thessaly, so that their power extended from the Danube to the Gulf of Corinth and from the Adriatic to the Aegean. In 1345, after his conquest of Serres, Dušan proclaimed himself emperor of the Serbs and the Rhomaioi; the next year he was crowned at Skopje and his son Stefan Uroš V became "junior king." At the same time the archbishopric at PEĆ was proclaimed a patriarchate independent of Constantinople.

Dušan's conquest of former Byz. territories intensified the process of the political and cultural hellenization of Serbia: Greek magnates and officials were integrated into the ruling elite of the Serbian empire; the administrative structure and titulature acquired Byz. features; Byz. legal texts were in part translated (*Syntagma* of Matthew BLASTARES), in part used as the basis of the new Serbian legal code (*Zakonik*); Dušan was a benefactor of monasteries on Mt. Athos and himself spent several months in 1347/8 at HILANDAR (M. Živojinović, *ZRVI* 21 [1982] 119–26); the Greek language was used by Dušan's chancellery; and Serbian diplomatics was influenced by Byz. formularies.

Portraits of Dušan are preserved in churches at Peć, Bela Crkva at Karan, Dečani, Lesnovo, Ljuboten, St. Nicholas in Ohrid, and Matejča.

SOURCE. *Vita* by Continuator of Daniil—*Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih*, ed. Dj. Daničić (Zagreb 1866) 215–31.

LIT. G. Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium during the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan (1331–1355) and His Successors* (Washington, D.C., 1984). *IstSrpskNar* 1:524–65. *VizIzvori* 6:262–96. G. Ostrogorsky, "Étienne Dušan et la noblesse serbe dans la lutte contre Byzance," *Byzantion* 22 (1952/53) 151–59. M. Dinić, "Za hronologiju Dušanovih osvajanja vizantiskih gradova," *ZRVI* 4 (1956) 1–11. V. Mošin, "Vizantiski uticaj u Srbiji u XIV veku," *Jugoslovenski istoriski časopis* 3 (1937) 147–59. –J.S.A., A.K.

STEFAN UROŠ V, also called Stefan Uroš Nejaki, "the Weak," Serbian tsar (from Dec. 1355); died 2 or 4 Dec. 1371. Son and heir of STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, he was crowned "junior king" in 1346 at the time of his father's coronation and entrusted with lands in the northern part of Dušan's empire. After he succeeded his father in 1355, he proved unable to control the heterogeneous components of the empire and the centrifugal tendencies of the regional governors. Thus he presided over the disintegration of the empire established by his father and its dismemberment into several independent states (Hum or ZACHLUMIA, ZETA, SERRES, etc.), with the result that Serbian territory became more vulnerable to the advancing Ottomans.

Soon after Stefan V became tsar, his uncle SYMEON UROŠ rebelled unsuccessfully; when the Serbian nobles supported Stefan Uroš at the national assembly in 1357, Symeon established independent rule in Thessaly and Epiros (1359). In 1365 Stefan Uroš appointed as co-ruler the powerful courtier VUKAŠIN, who soon came to dominate the partnership. Other semifeudal lords at this time were JOHN UGLJEŠA in Serres and CONSTANTINE DRAGAŠ in eastern Macedonia. The internal strife in BRANIČEVO enabled the Hungarians to impose their suzerainty over this province, which then seceded from Serbia. The Byz. took advantage of Stefan's weakness to launch attacks on Serbian territory: they occupied the region of CHRISTOUPOLIS and in 1356 Matthew I Kantakouzenos tried to seize Serres, but was taken captive.

Together with his mother Helena, Stefan Uroš built the Matejić monastery. The best portrait of him is in the church at Psača.

LIT. Soulis, *Dušan* 86–92. Fine, *Late Balkans* 345–50. Mihaljčić, *Kraj carstva* 11–79. –J.S.A.

STEMMA CODICUM (the pedigree of MSS), a means of demonstrating the interrelationship of extant MSS of a given text in order to clarify their dependence on the archetype (the common ancestor) and the original. The method consists of grouping the MSS in clusters (recensions) on the basis of their similarity (the spotting of common errors is an important means of establishing this similarity) and displaying them as "branches" sprouting from the archetype. The chronology of MSS is also crucial for establishing the stemma,

even though the oldest MSS are not necessarily "better," that is, closer to the archetype. The stemma aims at reconstruction of the author's text (unnecessary in those rare cases in which autographs survive) and tracing, albeit hypothetically, its destiny: thus on the basis of his stemma, J.L. van Dieten suggested that two sequential drafts of Niketas Choniates' *History* survive, and J. Koder surmised that the hymns of Symeon the Theologian underwent a stylistic pseudo-emendation after Niketas Stethatos had prepared their edition soon after his master's demise.

This method is hardly applicable to vernacular literary works for which the text has been modified substantially, partly by oral tradition: thus we cannot establish the stemma of the DIGENES AKRITAS but must deal with separate and mostly independent versions (not recensions). To a smaller extent, the same phenomenon can be observed in the transmission of popular romances of chivalry and in the development of hymnography and chronography (it is impossible to establish the stemma of the chronicle family of Symeon Logothete because the MSS are authors' versions rather than scribal copies).

LIT. P. Maas, *Textual Criticism* (Oxford 1972). G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*[2] (Florence 1952). *Neograeca medii aevi*, ed. H. Eideneier (Cologne 1986). H.-G. Beck, "Überlieferungsgeschichte der byzantinischen Literatur," in H. Hunger et al., *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, vol. 1 (Zurich 1961) 423–510. –A.K., W.H.

STEMMATOGYRION (*στεμματογύριον*, not *stematourgion*, as in Ferjančić), a crown worn by a DESPOTES. The term is used only in a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 275.6–14), where the crown is described as being decorated with precious stones and pearls; if the *despotes* was the emperor's son, the crown had a small arc (*kamara*) on each of four sides; if he was the emperor's son-in-law, the *stemmatogyrion* had only one arc in front. George Akropolites (Akrop. 159.9) uses the phrase *despotike tainia* for the crown of the *despotes*, while Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler, 2:433.12) is even less specific, referring to the *kalyptra* (headdress) of the *despotes*.

Although attempts have been made to identify as *stemmatogyria* certain crowns depicted in miniatures (Piltz, *infra*), such identifications should be viewed as hypothetical.

LIT. E. Piltz, "Couronnes byzantines réfléchies dans les sources littéraires," *Byzantina* 3–4 (1974–75) 8f. Piltz, *Kamelaukion* 32f, 64, 89. Ferjančić, *Despoti* 22f. –A.K.

STENIMACHOS (*Στενίμαχος*), a site southeast of Philippopolis, in the southern part of modern Asenovgrad, Bulgaria, at the entrance to a gorge of the river Asenica. A *chorion* in the late 11th C., it is characterized as *phrourion* and *eryma* in Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 518.20, 642.70), *asty* in George Akropolites (Akrop. 121.14), and *polis* in Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 1:135.19–20). In the 11th C. it belonged to Gregory PAKOURIANOS and is described in detail in his *typikon* (P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 35.272–78, 111.1532–44, 131.1842): a large village, Stenimachos contained two *kastra*, estates, and monastic institutions; Pakourianos founded there a *xenodocheion* that was to be supplied by the village (two *modioi* of wheat, two *metra* of wine, seeds, and vegetables every day); he also gave to this *xenodocheion* a water-mill and a *paroikos* exempted from regular rents and services but obliged to provide the *xenodocheion* with water and wood; a *panegyris* (fair) took place in Stenimachos.

At the time of the Fourth Crusade Stenimachos played a substantial role in wars between the Bulgarians, Latins, and Byz.: IVANKO controlled Stenimachos until Alexios III captured it in 1200. The knights of Renier of Trit were besieged by the Bulgarians in the "strong castle of Estanemac" for 13 months (1205–06); when Renier departed, the fortress was taken by Kalojan. John III Vatatzes conquered it in 1246, but Stenimachos kept changing hands; finally Anna of Savoy surrendered it to the Bulgarians in 1344, but the whole area of Philippopolis was occupied by the Turks in 1364.

Excavations have revealed remains of medieval Stenimachos. With the exception of a necropolis of the 3rd–4th C., the monuments are to be dated in the 12th–14th C. A hoard found nearby contains coins from Alexios I to the imitations of those of the Latin emperors of Constantinople. A lead seal of Alexios I was also discovered. The center of the site formed a stronghold (the so-called fortress of Asen) north of which lay the town proper whose population was involved in both agriculture and craftsmanship (metalworking, production of ceramics, and weaving). The remains of fortresses located nearby on the way to Philippopolis were found on a hill near the Church of the Archangels and on the slope where the Church of John the Baptist (of the 12th–14th C.) still stands.

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 162–66. R. Moreva, "Stenimachos," *Balcanica Posnaniensia* 2 (1985) 167–80. D.Ončev, St. Stoilov, "La forteresse d'Asên," *BS* 22 (1961) 20–54. Ch. Džambov, R. Moreva, "Architekturni problemi na Asenovata krepost v svetlinata na novite razkopki," *Architektura na Părvata i Vtorata Bŭlgarska dŭržava* (Sofia 1975) 136–49. St. Bojadžiev, "Cŭrkvata Sv. Ivan Predteča v Asenovgrad," *Izvestija na bŭlgarskite muzei* 1 (1969/71) 155–68. –A.K.

STEPHANITES AND ICHNELATES. See SETH, SYMEON.

STEPHEN (*Στέφανος* "crown, wreath"), personal name. It existed already in antiquity. The name was widely used in the 4th and 5th C. (*PLRE* 1:852f, 2:1028–32). The popularity of Stephen the First Martyr no doubt contributed to the spread of this name in the Christian milieu; for example, Sozomenos mentions, besides the first martyr, two ecclesiastics of this name. The growth of its popularity, however, coincided with the period of Iconoclasm; several Stephens were executed during this time, according to legends. Two patriarchs of Constantinople of the 9th–10th C. bore the name. Theophanes the Confessor names 19 Stephens, as many as PAUL, and in Skylitzes there are 17 Stephens, more than NIKETAS. Relatively numerous in *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), in which Stephen precedes Athanasios and Euthymios and holds twelfth place, the name is very infrequent in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.). –A.K.

STEPHEN, jurist active in the time of Justinian I, author of a Greek paraphrase (*indix*) of the DIGEST provided with notes (*paragraphai*). A great number of fragments of this work have been preserved, esp. in the scholia to the BASILIKA. It is unclear whether the detached résumés of passages of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS attributed to Stephen in the MSS, and commonly assigned to a separate course of his lectures on the *Codex*, are also taken from what must have been an extensive commentary on the *Digest*. H.J. Scheltema (*Tijdschrift* 26 [1958] 9–14) has with good reason connected the text of Reinach papyrus Inv. 2173 to Stephen's series of lectures on the *Digest*.

LIT. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:32, 49–54, 78–80. Scheltema, *L'enseignement* 24–29, 66f. L. Burgmann, S. Troianos, "Appendix Eclogae," *FM* 3 (1979) 63–66, 121–24. –A.S.

STEPHEN. See also ISTVÁN; STEFAN.

STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA, philosopher; probably born in Athens between about 550 and 555, died Constantinople? after 619/20. According to Wolska-Conus (*infra*), he is the same person as Stephen of Athens. His teaching activity in Alexandria is attested by John MOSCHOS (PG 87.3:2929D). He was close to the circle of John PHILOPONOS. The hypothesis that Herakleios summoned Stephen to Constantinople and appointed him *oikoumenikos didaskalos* was rejected by H.-G. Beck (in *Polychronion* 72f), but found a new supporter in A. Lumpe (*ClMed Dissertationes* 9 [1973] 150–59). The list of his works is not yet established. Stephen wrote a commentary on several treatises of Aristotle and, probably, on the *Introduction* by PORPHYRY; he also wrote an *Explanation* to the astronomical commentary of THEON. J. Duffy considers as his main extant works the commentaries on the *Prognosticon* and *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, and the *Therapeutics* of Galen (in the title of which Stephen is called an Athenian). More questionable remains the attribution to Stephen of some alchemical works preserved under his name. Not authentic is a treatise (apparently of 775) allegedly predicting the destiny of Muḥammad's dynasty. On the other hand, the commentary on Ptolemy ascribed to John TZETZES in fact belongs to Stephen (R. Browning, *ClRev* 15 [1965] 262f).

ED. *Stephanus of Athens: Commentary on Hippocrates' Aphorisms*, ed. L. Westerink (Berlin 1985). *Stephanus the Philosopher: A Commentary on the Prognosticon of Hippocrates*, ed. J. Duffy (Berlin 1983).

LIT. W. Wolska-Conus, "Stéphanos d'Athènes et Stéphanos d'Alexandrie," *REB* 47 (1989) 5–89. H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig-Berlin 1914) 3:247–322. Lemerle, *Humanism* 88f. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:300f. –A.K.

STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, author of the *Ethnika*, a list of geographical names complete with related proverbs, oracles, and miracles; fl. probably ca.528–35. There is no external evidence for Stephen; from the *Ethnika* it has been concluded that he was a Constantinopolitan grammarian who dedicated his book to Justinian I. Constantine VII

Porphyrogennetos seems to be the last scholar who was familiar with the complete text of the *Ethnika*. The *Souda* lexicographers and Eustathios of Thessalonike used the abridgment of a certain *grammatikos*, Hermolaos, who is otherwise unknown; this epitome survives in several MSS of the 15th C. and later. Although drawing primarily on ancient geographers (including PTOLEMY, STRABO, and PAUSANIAS), grammarians (the 5th-C. Oros of Miletos and others), commentators on Homer (H. Erbse, *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien* [Munich 1960] 251–69), and historians (Polybios, etc.), Stephen on occasion gives contemporary names (the Goths, Anastasioupolis, George CHOIROBOSKOS); there is always the possibility that such information originated with Hermolaos and that the mention of Choiroboskos is an interpolation. Stephen was a Christian who characterizes Bethlehem as the birthplace "of our God and Savior," yet he rarely cites Christian authors (Eusebios and Synesios are each mentioned once). Stephen's geographical knowledge is poor (J. Pargoire, *EO* 2 [1898–99] 206–14), and his etymologies are confused. The significance of the *Ethnika* lies more in its preservation of ancient tradition than in its originality.

ED. *Ethnicorum quae supersunt*, ed. A. Meineke (Berlin 1849), with corr. R. Keydell in *Studi in onore di Anthos Ardizzoni*, vol. 1 (Rome 1978) 477–81.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* 2.R. 3 (1929) 2369–99. A. Diller, "The Tradition of Stephanus Byzantius," *TAPA* 69 (1938) 333–48. –A.K.

STEPHEN OF SOUGDAIA, Iconodule bishop of SOUGDAIA (Surož); saint; born village of Borisabos, Cappadocia, ca.700?, died Sougdaia after 787; feastday 15 Dec. Information on his life is found in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, and a short Greek *enkomion*, whereas his longer vita is known only in a 15th-C. Slavo-Russian version (preserved in a 16th-C. MS). The data about Stephen are confusing (e.g., whether he was educated in Athens or Constantinople), and the chronology inconsistent: he was supposedly ordained by Patr. GERMANOS I (early 8th C.), but also sent to Sougdaia by Leo V the Armenian (early 9th C.). Probably he was appointed by Leo III, recalled by Constantine V, imprisoned, and released through the intervention of an influential lady, Irene, identified by Vestberg (*infra*) as wife of Constantine V and daughter of Theodore, Khazar ruler of Kerč. The Slavo-Russian version of Stephen's vita became the object of heated controversy because it mentions an attack of the Rus' on Crimea led by prince Bravlin; if we believe the vita, this would be evidence of the first attack of the Rus' on Byz. territory. The authenticity of the vita, however, was denied by G. da Costa-Louillet (*Byzantion* 15 [1941] 242–44); it was supported with qualification by Vasiliev (*Russian Attack* 81–83), but is accepted by Soviet scholars (e.g., Levčenko, *Rus-VizOtn* 50–55).

SOURCES. V. Vasil'evskij, *Russko-vizantijskija issledovanija* (St. Petersburg 1893) 2:74–79, with Slavo-Russian version, 80–103. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 3:72–98.

LIT. *BHG* 1671. F. Vestberg, "O žitii sv. Stefana Surožskogo," *VizVrem* 14 (1909) 227–36. –A.K.

STEPHEN OF TARŌN. See ASOŁIK.

STEPHEN SABAITES, also called Manṣūr, hagiographer and hymnographer; born Damascus 725?, died in Lavra of St. SABAS in Palestine on 2 Apr. 807 (S. Eustratiades, *Nea Sion* 28 [1933] 601f). Nephew of JOHN OF DAMASCUS, Stephen lived in the Lavra from the age of ten, according to his vita written by his pupil Leontios. He wrote the *Martyrdom* (*Martyrion*) of 20 monks murdered in the Lavra by Arabs in 797 as well as various hymns. He can also be identified with the author of the Life of Romanos the Younger (died 780) that is known in a Georgian translation (P. Peeters, *AB* 30 [1911] 393–427). I. Phokylides (*Nea Sion* 10 [1910] 64–75) distinguished the hymnographer from the hero of the vita by Leontios; Leontios, however, says explicitly that his Stephen produced a *Diegesis* of the pillage of the Lavra (*AASS* Jul. 3:578B), while the author of the *Martyrdom* states that he also "wove hymns" (*PPSb* 19.3, p.39.29–30). Stephen's poetry includes *heirmoi*, *kanones*, and *idiomela* (i.e., hymns sung to a unique melody) that were dedicated to the Virgin, saints, and festivals. The *kanon* on the translation to Bari of the relics of NICHOLAS OF MYRA, preserved under Stephen's name, cannot be his work on chronological grounds.

ED. S. Eustratiades, "Stephanos ho poietes ho Sabaites," *Nea Sion* 28 (1933) 651–73, 722–37; 29 (1934) 3–19, 113–30, 185–87. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Exegesis etoi martyrion ton hagion pateron," *PPSb* 19.3 (1907) 1–41; add. R.P. Blake, *AB* 68 (1950) 27–43.

SOURCE. Vita by Leontios—*AASS* Jul. 3:504–84.
LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 507f. *BHG* 1670. –A.K.

STEPHEN THE PERSIAN, chief eunuch and *sakellarios* under Justinian II. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 367.16–17) describes him as "lordly and authoritative, exceedingly bloodthirsty and cruel." Initially in charge of administering finances, in 694 Stephen was also made responsible for supervising Justinian's building projects, including additions to the GREAT PALACE. Stephen's harsh treatment of contractors and laborers greatly increased popular dissatisfaction with Justinian. Theophanes (367.18–21) also reports that he whipped Justinian's mother Anastasia while the emperor was away. During the uprising of 695 a mob seized Stephen and dragged him along the Mese to the Forum Bovis, where he was burned alive.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:67–73. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:360. –P.A.H.

STEPHEN THE YOUNGER, saint; born Constantinople ca.713, died Constantinople 28 Nov. 764 (O. Volk, *LThK* 9:1049), a date questioned by G. Huxley (*GRBS* 18 [1977] 105–07); feastday 28 Nov. A lateborn son of a craftsman, Stephen was baptized by Patr. GERMANOS I. His parents brought him to Mt. AUXENTIOS, where he lived as a hermit and worked as a calligrapher. After the death of John, his spiritual father, Stephen founded a monastery that became, according to his hagiographer, a center of monastic resistance against the Iconoclastic policy of CONSTANTINE V. Supposedly Stephen advised the monks to flee to the Black Sea, Rome, Lycia, and elsewhere. After his refusal to accept the local council of HIERIA in 754, he was accused of illegally tonsuring an imperial favorite, George Synkletos, brought to Constantinople and executed after long confinement and tortures. Stephen the Deacon, author of Stephen's vita, notes that he wrote it 42 years after Stephen's martyrdom (in traditional chronology ca.806).

The vita is full of precious details, for example, the procedure of "washing-away" the monastic habit from George Synkletos. The role of icons is prominent: an icon of the Virgin predicted Stephen's birth, and icons helped heal a blind man (Ševčenko, "Hagiography" 120). Many passages of the vita were borrowed from the Life of EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT by CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS (J. Gill, *OrChrP* 6 [1940] 114–20). The vita influenced many authors who wrote on Iconoclasm, for instance, GEORGE HAMARTOLOS. Another vita was written by SYMEON METAPHRASTES.

Representation in Art. The portrait of Stephen differs from those of other monks in that, as the great martyr of Iconoclasm, he holds an icon or icon diptych, which usually bears the bust figures of Christ and the Virgin. At the Enkleistra of St. NEOPHYTOS, he holds a large icon of the type known as the VIRGIN ELEOUSA, perhaps meant to represent the famous nearby icon of the Virgin Kykkotissa. Stephen is depicted as still fairly young, with black hair and beard. His death by dragging is illustrated in one MS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (Athos, Doch. 5, fol.254r). He is one of the witnesses to the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY on a 14th-C. icon in the British Museum.

SOURCE. PG 100:1069–186. *Simeone Metafraste, Vita di s. Stefano minore*, ed. F. Iadevaia (Messina 1984), rev. E. Follieri, *BZ* 79 (1986) 144.

LIT. *BHG* 1666–1667a. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 2:297–350. M.F. Rouan, "Une lecture 'iconoclaste' de la Vie d'Étienne le Jeune," *TM* 8 (1981) 415–36. C. Weigert, *LCI* 8:404f. Mouriki, *Nea Moni* 156–58. –A.K., N.P.Š.

STETHATOS, NIKETAS, theologian, monk, and probably, at the end of his life, *hegoumenos* of STOUDIOS; born 1005?, died Constantinople ca.1090. A disciple of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, Stethatos (Στηθᾶτος) wrote his vita and published his works. Apparently Stethatos polemicized against MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS concerning the right of Stoudite deacons to wear girdles (*zonai*). In 1054 he participated in the dispute against the Latins, but his tone was relatively moderate; HUMBERT declared that Stethatos eventually yielded and became the legate's friend (PL 143:1001). Unlike Symeon, Stethatos ascribed great importance to hierarchy: in accordance with pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE he regarded the earthly hierarchy as resembling the celestial one. In Stethatos's theology there is no place for an agonizing search for salvation, as in Symeon: man is the summit of creation, the king of creatures, and, having both soul and body, he mediates between the world and God. The historical Eden is of no avail now; the visible world is a paradise from which man can rise to God by understanding the

symbolism and significance of intelligible objects. Stethatos also wrote discourses against the Jews and Armenians.

ED. *Opuscules et lettres*, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris 1961). *Mystika syngrammata*, ed. P. Chrestou (Thessalonike 1959). "Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien," ed. I. Hausherr, G. Horn, *OrChrAn* 12 (1928) 2–228.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 535–38. D. Tsames, *He teleiosis tou anthropou kata Niketan ton Stethaton* (Thessalonike 1971). J. van Rossum, "Reflections on Byzantine Ecclesiology: Nicetas Stethatos' 'On the Hierarchy,' " *SVThQ* 25 (1981) 75–83. –A.K.

STICHARION (*στιχάριον*), a long tunic with sleeves, the primary vestment of the higher orders of the Orthodox clergy (deacons and above). It was usually made of linen or silk and could be of any color. The *sticharion* of a bishop was adorned with two pairs of dark vertical stripes called *potamoi* (see CLAVUS); the *sticharion* of a deacon was usually plain white, to judge by representations, and was never belted.

LIT. Bernadakis, "Ornements liturgiques" 129f. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 92–101. –N.P.Š.

STICHERARION (*στιχηράριον*), a liturgical MS with musical notation, containing the STICHERA for Orthros and Vespers services throughout the year. Three sets of *stichera* make up the bulk of a complete *sticherarion*: from the MENAION, from the TRIODION and the PENTEKOSTARION, and from the OKTOECHOS; *stichera* were also frequently included for special saints' days or feasts of local significance. Presumably because of the sheer mass of material involved, the sets of *stichera* were often divided into separate volumes. An 11th-C. revision of the *sticherarion* (with some saints' days removed) continued in use until the 15th C., when more florid melodies replaced the previous syllabic style. Several hundred *sticheraria* survive, each normally containing about 2,000 *stichera*.

ED. C. Høeg, H.J.W. Tillyard, E. Wellesz, *Sticherarium (Vindob. theol. gr. 181)* (Copenhagen 1935). E. Wellesz, *Die Hymnen des Sticherarium für September* (Copenhagen 1936). H.J.W. Tillyard, *The Hymns of the Sticherarium for November* (Copenhagen 1938).

LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 142f, 244f. D. Stefanović in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie (London 1980) 18:140. –E.M.J.

STICHERON (*στιχηρόν*, from *στίχος*, "verse"), a HYMN, a form of TROPARION, sung during Orthros and Vespers after a "verse" of a psalm (usually the last three to six verses). Of many varieties (*anastasimon*, "On the Resurrection," THEOTOKION, "On the Theotokos," etc., or appropriate to a feast or a saint), they are written in rhythmic prose and offer meditations suitable for the day. As with the *heirmoi* in the HEIRMOLOGION, the melodies for the *stichera* (normally syllabic and without ornamentation) would be marked as either unique (*idiomela*) or modeled on others (*prosomoia*). *Stichera* were assembled in a STICHERARION.

LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 243–45. Szövérffy, *Hymnography* 2:231–306. –E.M.J.

STICHOS (*στίχος*, lit. "line"), the basic entry in a PRAKTIKON or KODIX, the smallest fiscal unit and the nucleus of cadastral organization, so called because originally, or customarily, the entire *stichos* was entered on a single line of the *kodix*. *Stichoi* were normally composed of three parts: (1) the name of the taxpayer responsible for paying the tax (in the *kodix* this was not necessarily the person who actually worked the land; in the *praktikon*, other members of the taxpayer's household were usually listed as well); (2) a description of the STASIS of the taxpayer (in the *kodix*, only immovable properties are listed; in the *praktikon*, immovables as well as animals owned by the taxpayer); and (3) the TELOS the taxpayer owed the fisc (for the *kodix*) or his lord (for the *praktikon*). By semantic transference, *stichos* was occasionally used in the 10th–12th C. to denote the properties themselves.

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 22–24. –M.B.

STIGME. See HOUR.

STILBES, CONSTANTINE, rhetorician and poet, *didaskalos* (teacher) at the Patriarchal School in Constantinople, metropolitan of Kyzikos (under the name of Cyril) from ca.1204. Stilbes (*Στιλβής*) devoted two (?) poems to fires in Constantinople—those of 1197 and 1198 according to Ch. Loparev (*VizObozr* 3 [1917] 72–88), whereas Browning considers the verses to be two redactions of the same poem ("Patriarchal School" 27, n.1). His speech to Alexios III (ed. R. Browning, *Byzantion* 28 [1958–59] 36–40; see J. Darrouzès, *REB* 18 [1960] 184–87) describes the political situation of ca.1192/3. Stilbes also wrote a discourse against the Latins and speeches addressed to Patr. George II XIPHILINOS as well as letters (e.g., U. Criscuolo, *RSBS* 3 [1984] 11–19) and educational treatises. In a short note (ed. W. Lackner, *JÖB* 34 [1984] 107–21), Stilbes indicated that there were multiple forgeries of Chrysostom's works; the reader should not be deceived by the antiquity of the MSS, but distinguish authentic texts from the false ones by examining the tenets, vocabulary, figures of speech, rhyme, structure, and other points of style.

ED. J. Darrouzès, "Le mémoire de Constantin Stilbes contre les Latins," *REB* 21 (1963) 61–91. U. Criscuolo, "Nuovi contributi alla storia letteraria del XII secolo: inediti di Costantino Stilbes," *SBNG* 293–99. Idem, "Didascalia e versi di Costantino Stilbes," *Diptycha* 2 (1980–81) 83–94. *La prolusione del maestro dell'Apostolo*, ed. L.R. Cresci (Messina 1987).

LIT. Browning, "Patriarchal School" 26–32. –A.K.

STILICHO (*Στιλίχων*), *magister militum* and virtual ruler of the West (395–408); died Ravenna 22/3 Aug. 408. Son of a Vandal father and a Roman mother, Stilicho rose through the army; married Serena, the adopted daughter of Theodosios I; and commanded the emperor's troops against the usurper EUGENIUS in 394. Named *magister militum praesentalis* in the same year, he used the office as the basis of personal power. Theodosios made Stilicho guardian of his son HONORIUS in 395, and he had *de facto* control of both Eastern and Western armies. Stilicho's campaigns against ALARIC in Greece were hindered by rivalry between RUFINUS and EUTROPIOS, and Stilicho was briefly declared a public enemy in Constantinople. Named consul in 400 and again in 405, Stilicho put an end to the revolt of GILDO in Africa and forestalled several barbarian invasions of Italy. His daughters Maria and Thermantia married Honorius in turn. Upon the death of Arkadios in 408, Stilicho suggested that he be sent to rule the East, but his enemies convinced Honorius that Stilicho was scheming against the Theodosian house (Zosim. 5.31–34), and he was executed. Stilicho was the archetypal barbarian *magister militum* who exercised power in the name of a weak emperor.

Stilicho is depicted on one leaf of a DIPTYCH in Monza (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no.63), with Serena and their son Eucherius on the companion leaf. A challenge to this identification (K.J. Shelton, *JbAChr* 25 [1982] 132–71) is to be rejected.

LIT. S. Mazzarino, *Stilicone* (Rome 1942). Al. Cameron, "Theodosius the Great and the Regency of Stilico," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 73 (1969) 247–80. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos* 14–62. H.R. Minn, "Stilicho and the Demise of the Western Empire," *Prudentia* 4 (1972) 23–32. –T.E.G., A.C.

STILO, small town in southeastern CALABRIA. Owing to the presence of two Greek monasteries, St. Leontios and St. John Theristes (S. Giovanni Vecchio), whose archives have been partly preserved, Stilo is much better documented for the 11th–12th C. than any other medieval Calabrian town. The archive of St. John Theristes (founded by Gerasimos Athoulinos in the mid-11th C.) contains 51 Greek documents, only one of which was issued before the Norman conquest of 1071. This act of 1054 testifies to a division of a significant property among seven parties that seem to have possessed it in common from approximately 900.

The so-called Cattolica at Stilo is probably the best known monument of Byz. southern Italy. The date and circumstances of its foundation are unknown. It is a tiny (7.4 × 7.5 m) five-domed building like S. Marco at ROSSANO but more refined, with four spoliate columns instead of piers and brick masonry rather than local stone. Suggested datings range from the 10th to the 13th C.; Krautheimer (*infra*) favors the 10th.

SOURCE. S.G. Mercati, C. Giannelli, A. Guillou, *Saint-Jean-Théristès (1054–1264)* (Vatican 1980).

LIT. *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 4:303–08, 317–19. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 402f. –A.K., D.K.

STIPULATION (*ὁμολογία*), in Roman law, was an oral CONTRACT based on the exchange of promises in question-and-answer form; it was unilateral in the sense that it imposed an obligation only on the promiser. It is generally accepted that in the postclassical era the verbal contract lost its previous significance (e.g., Taubenschlag, *Law of GRE* 396f). F. de Visscher (*Eos* 48.2 [1956–57] 161–69), however, considers the formulaic clause of the papyri—*eperotetheis homologesa*, "after being asked, I stipulated"—not as an empty phrase but as local notarial practice.

By the 7th C. the terminology of the stipulation was being used in the context of pious donations. For example, in describing the charitable action of a man who "loaned" 50 miliaresia to the poor in a church, John Moschos (PG 87:3060A) used the verb *rogeuein*, a typical Latin term for questioning in a stipulation. In later documents one of the formulaic *eperoteseis* ("askings") became an

element of the guarantee clause: the sellers provided the purchaser "with a full *defensio* and other legal *asphaleia* (guarantee) and *eperotesis*" (*Lavra* 2, no.83.3–4, a.1290?). Another element of the stipulation formula, the *homologia*, was also applied to written contracts—one could "stipulate the deed of purchase" (*Docheiar.*, no.35.25, a.1361).

The names of specific Roman types of stipulation are attested in later documents. A charter of 1081 mentions the Roman *acceptilatio* and Aquilian stipulation (*eperotesis—Lavra* 1, no.42.5) that was formerly a means of discharging any debts between two parties; here, however, the terms have a different meaning and describe a regular transfer of ownership for which 24 litrai were paid.

LIT. Buckland, *Roman Law* 434–45. –A.K.

STIRRUP (*σκάλα*). The iron stirrup, which was unknown to the Romans, was first mentioned in the early 7th-C. *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat. Maurik.* p.80.41–42); it probably entered the empire via the Avars. An ivory in Baltimore (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.86b), now said to be of the mid-7th C., shows an emperor (with bare feet!) using stirrups. On an 8th-C. textile from Mozac, now in Lyons (Beckwith, *ECBA*, fig.144), given to Pepin by Constantine V, emperors use stirrups as they spear lions. Stirrups occur regularly in post-Iconoclastic representations of riders except, notably, in the 10th-C. JOSHUA ROLL.

It should be noted that from the 7th to the 11th C. the stirrup facilitated the rider's mounting of the HORSE, but did not serve to anchor him in the saddle. The CAVALRY could wield lances and bows well without the use of stirrups.

LIT. J. Werner, "Ein byzantinischer 'Steigbügel' aus Caričin Grad," in *Caričin Grad*, vol. 1, ed. N. Duval, V. Popović (Belgrade-Rome 1984) 147–55. Bivar, "Cavalry" 271–91. J. Wiita, "The Ethnika in Byzantine Military Treatises" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Minn., 1977) 347–69. –A.C., E.M.

STOA (*στοά*), generally, a long narrow, rectangular building with colonnades on both short sides and along one long side; also a freestanding colonnade or portico. Stoas usually enclosed the sides of an AGORA and were used to line important streets in front of public buildings. As such they were found in all cities of the late Roman Empire. As noted by Downey (*infra*), the term was used by Byz. writers to denote any building or part thereof that consisted basically of columns supporting a roof. The term remained in use for a long time: Choniates (Nik.Chon. 554.22) knew stoas—along with agoras—as the main element in Constantinopolitan architecture.

LIT. G. Downey, "On Some Post-Classical Greek Architectural Terms," *TAPA* 77 (1946) 22–34. Janin, *CP byz.* 87–94. –M.J., A.K.

STOBAIOS (*Στοβαῖος*), more correctly John of STOBI in Macedonia, writer; fl. 4th/5th C. For the edification of his son Septimios, Stobaios excerpted Greek literature from Homer to THEMISTIOS, arranging the extracts in a form of anthology (FLORILEGIUM) under various headings denoting material objects or ethical topics, the whole in four books ultimately divided into two volumes entitled *Eclogues* and *Anthology*. Its pronounced NEOPLATONISM and avoidance of Christian authors suggests a defiantly pagan posture on his part. PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.167) thought it a useful synthesis for those who had read the originals in full, a short cut to learning for those who had not. Byz. used Stobaios extensively (cf. the important 10th-C. MS, Vienna, ÖNB, philol. gr. 67), and his predilections helped to shape Byz. taste, e.g., his weakness for Theognis helped give that poet a particularly rich MS tradition.

ED. *Anthologium* (including *Eclogues*), ed. C. Wachsmuth, O. Hense, 5 vols. (Berlin 1884–1912).

LIT. S. Luria, "Entstellungen des Klassikertextes bei Stobaios," *RhM* 78 (1929) 81–104. K. Wachsmuth, *Studien zu den griechischen Florilegien* (Berlin 1882; rp. Amsterdam 1971). A.L. Di Lello-Finuoli, "A proposito di alcuni codici Trincavelliani," *RSBN* 14–16 (1977–79) 349–76. D. Campbell, "Stobaeus and Early Greek Lyric Poetry," in *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of Leonard Woodbury*, ed. D.E. Gerber (Chico, Calif., 1984) 51–57. –B.B.

STOBI (*Στόβοι*), a Roman *municipium* in northern Macedonia, in the Vardar valley, on the route connecting Thessalonike with the middle Danube. The ancient city, with its orthogonal street plan, was destroyed in the 3rd C. and replaced by a new urban plan, with a zigzagging main street of varying widths; the ancient theater was abandoned in the 4th C. The zenith of late Roman Stobi is variously dated to the 5th C. (e.g., Kitzinger) or the 4th C. (I. Mikulčić in *Palast und Hütte* [Mainz 1982] 536). To this period belong six "palaces" (e.g., the so-called Fuller's house) and

various churches: the episcopal basilica, or that of Bishop Philip; the Old Basilica below the level of Philip's church; the North and Central Basilicas, the latter being erected on the site of a synagogue destroyed between 457 and 474; basilicas outside the city walls, etc. In some basilicas FLOOR MOSAICS and sculptures were found as well as church furniture, crosses, etc. Geometric pavements in the Old Basilica were laid in two phases. An inscription included in the second-phase work praises a bishop named Eustathios for renewing the church (R. Kolarik, *DOP* 41 [1987] 295–306).

In 386 Stobi became the capital of the province of Macedonia II (Salutaris). It sustained damage from an attack of the Ostrogoths in 479 and from the earthquake of 518. The splendid "palaces" were replaced by huts. In the 6th C. Stobi ceased to be an urban center, even though its bishops are known until 692, and the refurbishing of the old templon in the basilica of Philip is dated in the 8th C. (I. Nikolajević, *ZRVI* 4 [1956] 157f). Stobi was occupied by the Slavs, whose tombs between the North and Central Basilicas are of the 9th–12th C.

The *phrourion* of Stypeion captured by Basil II in 1014 (Skyl. 351.4–5) is usually identified as Stobi; more questionable is Stobi's identification as the Stoumpion attacked by the "Vlachs" ca.1191 (Nik.Chon. 434.16). B. Saria (*RE* 2.R. 4 [1932] 51f) hypothesizes that the unnamed "grad" (fortress) in a chrysobull of 1372–75 (*Pantel.*, p.170: an interpolation in the version B, lines 35–37) may be Stobi, by then possibly in ruins.

LIT. *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi*, ed. Dj. Mano-Zeissi, J. Wiseman, 3 vols. (Belgrade 1973–Titov Veles 1983). J. Wiseman, *Stobi* (Belgrade 1973). E. Kitzinger, "A Survey of the Early Christian Town of Stobi," *DOP* 3 (1946) 81–162. B. Aleksova, "The Early Christian Basilicas in Stobi," *CorsiRav* 33 (1986) 13–81. –A.K.

STOICISM, philosophical school founded in the 4th C. B.C. by Zeno of Kition, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus, disappeared by the 3rd C. A.D. Its doctrines, however, as conveyed in the works of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius and as assimilated in NEOPLATONISM and patristic theology remained very much alive in Byz. If the claim, in Stoic physics, that all reality is corporeal and that matter is structured by an immanent god (*logos* or *pneuma*) was not acceptable to Byz. Christians, the vision of the COSMOS as a complex unified rational whole seemed to some to express the idea of divine providence. Elements of Stoic logic survived in Byz. as incorporated in Neoplatonic interpretations of Aristotelian LOGIC.

It was esp. Stoic ETHICS, however, that proved popular in Byz. as providing a means for formulating the Christian and in particular the monastic way of life. According to this ethics, virtue (equated with wisdom) is cultivated by the control of our judgment as to what is good and bad. The purpose is liberation from enslavement to our passions (*pathe*) and to externals, such as riches and fame, which are not in our power and therefore not "goods," but rather "indifferents." The good, or happiness, is then freedom from external influences (*apatheia*) and control of one's judgment, which alone is in one's power. Continual exercise in correct action and judgment is required by the learner in order to advance toward the ideal of the virtuous life (*prokope*).

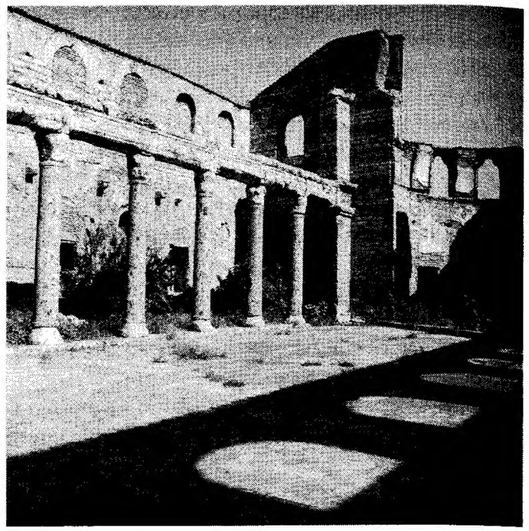
The adaptability of these ethical concepts and the interest taken in them in monastic circles can be traced in the fortune of Epictetus's *Manual*, of which a number of Byz. Christian paraphrases, adaptations, and commentaries are known, some attributed to appropriate monastic heroes, St. ANTONY THE GREAT and NEILOS OF ANKYRA. The popular appeal of Stoic ethics can also be traced in the Byz. fortune of various stoicizing moralizing anthologies of late antiquity (sayings of the "seven sages," those ascribed to Democritus, etc.) and of the larger excerpts from Epictetus and other Stoic authors contained in Byz. moralizing anthologies such as the *Loci communes* attributed to Maximos the Confessor (PG 91:721–1018) and the MELISSA. Byz. scholars also took an interest in the Stoic philosophers: Photios read Epictetus, as did Arethas of Caesarea, who also had a copy made of Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*. Latin Stoic sources were used by Barlaam of Calabria in his *Ethics according to the Stoics* (PG 151:1341–64).

LIT. F. Sandbach, *The Stoics* (London 1975). M. Spanneut, *Le stoïcisme des Pères de l'église* (Paris 1957). Idem, *DictSpir* 4 (1960) 830–49. Idem, "Stoïcisme byzantin autour du IXe siècle d'après un document inédit," in *Universitas: Mélanges de science religieuse* (Lille 1977) 63–79. –D.O'M.

STOTZAS (*Στότζας*), soldier in the army of BELISARIOS; retainer (*doryphoros*) of an officer Martinos; died Thacia (Africa) end of 545. When the soldiers of the expeditionary force in Africa re-

belled against SOLOMON on 27 May 536, they elected Stotzas their leader. The main reason for the mutiny was Solomon's decision to ascribe to the state or the imperial domain lands confiscated from the Vandals that the soldiers wanted to apportion among themselves. Solomon fled to Sicily, but Belisarios managed to drive Stotzas to Numidia. Some Moors and many fugitive slaves joined the revolt. GERMANOS defeated Stotzas at Scalae Veteres; he barely escaped. In 544 a few soldiers supported by the Moors rose again in revolt; Solomon soon fell in battle. Stotzas was active in Byzacena and seized Hadrumetum, but soon was killed in single combat by John, son of Sisiniolos, commander of the Byz. troops; nonetheless, the insurgency continued until it was crushed in the winter of 545/6.

LIT. W.E. Kaegi, "Arianism and the Byzantine Army in Africa 533–546," *Traditio* 21 (1965) 43–50. Pringle, *Defence* 25–32. –A.K.



STOUDIOS MONASTERY. Church of St. John, Istanbul. North colonnade and east end of the church.

STOUDIOS MONASTERY (Imrahor Camii), located in the Psamathia region of Constantinople. Dedicated to St. John the Baptist (the Prodromos), the monastery was founded by a certain Stoudios, not in 463 (as in Theophanes) but before 454 (C. Mango, *BMGS* 4 [1978] 115–22). Brick stamps uncovered in recent excavations suggest that the church was begun in 450 (U. Peschlow, *JÖB* 32.4 [1982] 429–33). Its official name was the monastery of the Prodromos *ton Stoudiou* (*τῶν Στουδίου*) or *en tois Stoudiou*. The Stoudios monastery first attained prominence at the end of the 8th C. during the controversy over ICONOCLASM, when it was a bulwark of support for image veneration under the leadership of its celebrated *hegoumenos*, THEODORE OF STOUDIOS. The rules established by Theodore (catecheses), his *diatheke*, and other sources (*hypotyposis* ascribed to Theodore), provide information on the organization of the monastery: the number of monks is calculated at 700 (surely an exaggerated figure, unless it includes monks in outlying METOCHIA); for their support the monastery was granted (under Empress Irene?) a stipend (*basilikoi eisodoi*); it also possessed lands, gardens, vineyards, water mills, livestock, a wharf with boats, workshops. The monks had to work on the land or in workshops, in the kitchen or refectory, to fish or to tend livestock. The monastery tried to be self-sufficient. Theodore's reforms followed the general outlines of the ideal KOINOBION of Basil the Great, although Basil was not his only source (J. Leroy, *Irénikon* 52 [1979] 491–506). In the early 9th C. the monastery became a center of intellectual activity, where HYMNOGRAPHY and a SCRIPTORIUM flourished (Lemerle, *Humanism* 137–46).

In the political struggles of the 9th C. Stoudios maintained an independent position against both the emperor (in the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY) and the patriarch, accusing both Patr. Tarasios and Nikephoros I of inconsistency in their resistance to the Iconoclasts; Patr. METHODIOS condemned the Stoudite leaders Athanasios and Naukratios, insisting that they should obey the patriarch rather than criticize him. In this situation the monastery sought an alliance with the papacy. After the conflict over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI in the early 10th C., the Stoudios came to an understanding with the emperors and subsequently provided them with candidates for the posts of *synkellos* and patriarch (Antony III [974–79], ALEXIOS STOUDITES, and Dositheos [1189–91]). The monastery also served as a place of confinement for unsuccessful rebels and deposed emperors (e.g., Michael V Kalaphates, Isaac I Komnenos, and Michael VII Doukas). The rules of Theodore served as a model for the organization of several monasteries, including some on Mt. ATHOS. The Stoudios played a lesser role under the Komnenoi and entered a period of decline during the Latin occupation of Constantinople. It was restored in 1293 and in the 14th C. held first place among the monasteries of Constantinople.

The original large 5th-C. three-aisled basilica still stands, although in ruinous condition, and is the oldest church surviving in Istanbul. Preceded by a porticoed atrium and a narthex, the nave was flanked by monolithic columns of green marble. Columns with Ionic IMPOST CAPITALS marked the galleries that enclosed the church on three sides. The semicircle of the apse, which was polygonal on its exterior, contained a SYNTHRONON. Rich sculptural decoration found at the site (Grabar, *Sculptures I*, 45, 49) included a relief of the Entry into Jerusalem.

SOURCES. Diatheke of Theodore—PG 99:1813–24. Hypotyposis—Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:224–38.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 430–40. Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 1:396–590. E. Patlagean, "Les Stoudites, l'empereur et Rome," in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo*, vol. 1 (Spoleto 1988) 429–60. J. Leroy, "La réforme studite," *OrChrP* 153 (1958) 181–214. N.E. Eleopoulos, *He bibliotheke kai to bibliographikon ergasterion tes mones ton Stoudiou* (Athens 1967). Mathews, *Byz. Churches* 143–58. Mathews, *Early Churches* 19–27. –A.K., A.M.T., A.C.

STOUDITE TYPIKA, liturgical TYPIKA of the BYZANTINE RITE codifying the synthesis of Palestinian monastic and Constantinopolitan liturgical usages begun at Stoudios by the reform of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS in 799 and first compiled in rudimentary form after his death (826) in the Stoudite *Hypotyposis* (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:224–38; PG 99:1704–20). Stoudite *typika* ruled the rite of most Byz. monasteries outside Palestine until supplanted by SABAITIC TYPIKA during the hesychast ascendancy on Mt. Athos. Early Stoudite *typika* are characterized by the fact that the liturgical directions begin with a description of the Easter Vigil (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:173, 225, 246). A 12th-C. example, that of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY (ibid. 1:256–656), had great influence on the usages of many other monasteries, esp. on Mt. Athos.

LIT. Taft, "Mount Athos" 182–87. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" nos. 30, 34, 37f, 40, 42–47, 52. –R.F.T.

STRABO, Greek geographer; born Amaseia in Pontos ca.63 B.C., died ca.A.D. 21, but probably after 23 or 26. He wrote two lengthy works, the *Historical Notes* (extant only in a few fragments) and the *Geography*. The latter was well known in the 6th C., when STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM quoted it abundantly; other contemporary authors (Hesychios of Miletos, Prokopios of Caesarea, Evagrios Scholastikos, Cassiodorus) also mention Strabo. A 6th-C. palimpsest of the *Geography* survives, containing primarily books 8–17. Forgotten in the 7th and 8th C., Strabo was one of those ancient writers in whom interest later revived: a 9th-C. MS (Heidelberg, Palat. gr. 398) contains an epitome of the *Geography* as well as the *Periplous of the Erythrean Sea*, tales of paradoxographers, mythological lore, and other texts. The epitome mentions, among other tribes, the "Scythians or Slavs." A 10th-C. codex (Paris, B.N. gr. 1397) is the earliest medieval MS of the full text of the *Geography*. Two of Psellos's treatises were based on Strabo (F. Lasserre, *AntCl* 28 [1959] 55–61). Eustathios of Thessalonike and John Tzetzes used the *Geography*, but the real explosion of interest in Strabo occurs at the end of the 13th C. From this period several MSS are preserved, and excerpters of the *Geography* included Planoudes, Plethon, and Plethon's friend Demetrios Raoul Kabakes (S. Lilla, *Scriptorium* 33 [1979] 68–75). Bessarion's library held three Strabo MSS, and Italian scholars of the 15th C. (Guarino, Gregorio Tifernate, Giovanni Andrea Bassi) translated the *Geography* into Latin.

LIT. A. Diller, *The Textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography* (Amsterdam 1975). W. Aly, F. Sbordone, *De Strabonis codice rescripto* (Vatican 1956). E. Mioni, "I manoscritti di Strabone della Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia," in *Bisanzio e l'Italia* (Milan 1982) 260–73. –A.K.

STRABOROMANOS, MANUEL, writer; born ca.1070. His father, perhaps the *megas hetaireiarches* Romanos Straboromanos (*Στραβορωμανός*), fell from favor and had his property confiscated, so that Manuel grew up in poverty. Manuel spent seven years in imperial service and then held some sort of military command. By the time he declaimed a funeral oration for Michael Doukas, brother-in-law of Alexios I (delivered between 1108 and 1118), he was already *protonobelissimos* and *megas hetaireiarches*. Straboromanos took his literary activity very seriously, arguing that

literature achieves three goals: it reveals the internal sense (*logos*) of events, increases our knowledge of the world, and brings solace.

In addition to the *logos* of consolation addressed to Empress Irene Doukaina at the time of her brother Michael's death, Straboromanos composed a eulogy of Alexios I. His mainly conventional praise of the emperor contains some concrete details, including unique evidence about the Byz. acquisition of the Cimmerian Bosporos (G. Litavrin, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 221–34). Straboromanos perceives Alexios within a broad historical framework: the Roman state, flourishing under Augustus, had no one to fear and therefore plunged into disorder and civil wars, lost Asia and Libya, and retained only a tiny part of Europe; then came the Franks and the Pechenegs. According to Straboromanos, God did not want to destroy "this iron state," however, and sent Alexios, who reinstated the beauty and power of the empire.

ED. P. Gautier, "Le dossier d'un haut fonctionnaire d'Alexis Comnène, Manuel Straboromanos," *REB* 23 (1965) 178–204, with corr. by W. Bühler, *BZ* 62 (1969) 237–41. –A.K.

STRATARCHES (στρατάρχης, lit. "general"), a term that in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos and the *De ceremoniis* designated a special category of high officials: HETAIREIARCHES, DROUNGARIOS TOU PLOIMOU, LOGOTHETES TON AGELON, *protospatharios* of the BASILIKOI ANTHROPOI, and KOMES TOU STAULOU. Most of these officials held an intermediary position between military dignities and civil functionaries. The conventional meaning of the term was, however, lost, and from the end of the 11th C. *stratarches* (in Digenes Akritas *stratarchos*) as well as *megas stratarches* and *panstratarches* became honorific epithets of high-ranking generals. The term was applied to the commanders of the past, for instance to Belisarios.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:394f. –A.K.

STRATEGIKA (στρατηγικά), military treatises, also called *taktika*. The Byz. consulted, copied, and excerpted ancient military writers who were regarded as authorities on different topics, esp. Aelian the Tactician (tactics and terminology), Onasander (generalship), Sextus Julius Africanus and Polyainos (devices and stratagems), and Aineias and Hero (sieges and war engines). Late Roman *strategika* first appear in the 5th and 6th C. Known authors and works include Ourbikios (a contemporary of Anastasios I); Syrianos Magistros (on naval warfare); an untitled, anonymous tactical handbook (the first leaf is lost; ed. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 1–136); and the Strategikon of Maurice. The 10th C. witnessed renewed interest in military science; the great military MSS (Florence, Laur. 55-4; Milan, Ambros. 139 [B 119 sup.], among others) date from this period. The Taktika of Leo VI (ca.905), Sylloge tacticorum, Naumachika (both from the 950s), and the *Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos (ca.1000) are lengthy compilations paraphrasing classical and late Roman treatises but containing some contemporary material. Practical handbooks based on firsthand experience stem from the circle of Nikephoros II Phokas and Basil II, including the Praecepta militaria (ca.965), De velitatione (ca.975), and De re militari (ca.1000). Although some *strategika* closely follow older traditions, others are valuable sources for the theory and practice of warfare in Byz., the army's social basis, and the habits and attitudes of hostile neighbors. The production of *strategika* stopped after Basil II.

The Byz. themselves were convinced of the utility of such works. The *Book of Ceremonies* (*De cer.* 467.4–14) recommended bringing tactical treatises along on campaigns, while Kekaumenos urged consultation of *strategika* in combination with personal inventiveness (Kek. 142.12–18, 148.22–27). The number of *strategika* attests their widespread popularity; soldiers, often great bibliophiles such as the 11th-C. warrior John Doukas (Psellos, *Chron.* 2:181–83), avidly collected and read them.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:321–38. A. Dain, *Histoire du texte d'Elien le Tacticien* (Paris 1946). Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 140–75. V. Kučma, "Vizantijskie voennye traktaty VI–X vekov," *ADSV* 4 (1966) 31–56. –A.K., E.M.

STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE. The attribution of this military treatise to Emp. Maurice is uncertain, but as the *Strategikon* does not refer to the Arabs it must date from before the 630s. Whereas classical military treatises had emphasized the use of infantry, the *Strategikon*, the first distinctly Byz. military treatise, is essentially a manual for cavalry warfare, stressing mobile, flexible tactics, and showing the influence of the empire's eastern enemies, esp. the Persians, on equipment and skills. The author gives detailed instruction on cavalry training and formations (bks. 1–3, 6), supplemented by diagrams (C.M. Mazzucchi, *Aevum* 55 [1981] 111–38), and includes sections on strategy (bk.7), attacks and ambushes (bks. 4, 9), and sieges (bk.10). An account of infantry tactics (bk.12) was appended to the original text, but short pieces on encampments and hunting are later additions. The survey of foreign peoples (bk.11) is useful not only for comparative methods of warfare, but also for the social structure and early history of the nomadic Avars, Antae, and Hunnic tribes. The *Strategikon* demonstrates that up to the early 7th C. Latin was still the language of military commands in Byz. armies (3.5) and the terminology of the text attests the heavy influence of Latin on military Greek.

ED. G.T. Dennis, E. Gamillscheg, *Das Strategikon des Maurikios* (Vienna 1981), with Germ. tr. Eng. tr. G.T. Dennis, *Maurice's Strategikon: Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy* (Philadelphia 1984).

LIT. F. Aussaresses, *L'armée byzantine à la fin du VI^e siècle d'après le Strategicon de l'empereur Maurice* (Bordeaux-Paris 1909). A. Kollautz, "Das militärwissenschaftliche Werk des sog. Maurikios," *Byzantiaka* 5 (1985) 87–136. V.V. Kučma, "'Strategikos' Onasandra i 'Strategikon Mavrikija': Opyt sravnitel'noj charakteristiki," *VizVrem* 43 (1982) 35–53; 45 (1984) 20–34; 46 (1986) 109–23. Bivar, "Cavalry" 271–91. J. Wiita, "The Ethnika in Byzantine Military Treatises" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Minn., 1977). –E.M.

STRATEGIS (στρατηγίς), term infrequently used to designate both the function of the strategos and (as a synonym of theme) an administrative unit under the command of a *strategos*. A 9th-C. historian (Nikeph. 73.14–15) says that Constantine V summoned sailors and soldiers from "the maritime *strategides* and other districts"; Constantine VII equated the terms *thema* and *strategis* (e.g., *De them.*, ch.2.31, ed. Pertusi, p.88) and frequently used the word *strategis* for themes such as Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, Lykandos, Charsianon, etc. However, the taktikon of Escurial (Oikonomides, *Listes* 273.10–14) lists the *chartoularioi* of the major themes (Anatolikon, Thrakesion, Charsianon), then the *chartoularioi* of the *tagmata* and *strategides*, then the *topoteretai* of themes, thus implying that at the end of the 10th C. the term referred to an administrative unit smaller than the theme. Anna Komnene also describes relatively insignificant districts, such as Hagios Elias and Borze, as *strategides*. The *Taktikon* of Beneševič applied the term *strategia* to the district administered by a *strategos*.

LIT. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 30f. –A.K.

STRATEGOPOULOS (Στρατηγόπουλος, from στρατηγός, "general," + the diminutive -πουλος), one of the noblest families in the empire of Nicaea. In 1216 the *megas logothetes* and *sebastos* John Strategopoulos presided over a tribunal in the imperial court, when the monks of St. Paul in Latros had a dispute with the inhabitants of the town of Sampson. Constantine, son of the well-known general Alexios (see Strategopoulos, Alexios), was blinded by Theodore II in 1255; three years later he went over to Michael VIII. His wife, a niece of John III Vatatzes, lived until at least 1291. Michael Strategopoulos, perhaps a grandson of Alexios, likewise served as a general: *strategos* in Herakleia Pontike, he was deposed in 1280 and escaped blinding only through the merciful intervention of the empress. Appointed *protostrator* (1283), he was accused of conspiracy in 1294 and died in prison four years later. His wife was most probably the *protostratorissa* Anna Komnene Raoulaina Strategopoulina, by whom he had a son, Andrew. Apparently the influence of the family later declined. Simon Strategopoulos is known as a captain of Ioannina in the service of Carlo I Tocco in 1411. About one year later, in the battle of Kranea against the Albanians, he was wounded and his son Paul was captured. In June 1448 Strategopoulos Skantzileres conspired with some other adherents of the late Theodore II Palaiologos against Emp. John VIII (E. Trapp, *Byzantina* 13 [1985] 962).

LIT. Angold, *Byz. Government* 77, 82, 85, 149, 325. Fassoulakis, *Raoul* 31–33. *Chron. Tocco* 57f. –E.T.

STRATEGOPOULOS, ALEXIOS, 13th-C. general. Of aristocratic background, Strategopoulos began his career under the emperor John III Vatatzes with campaigns in Europe. In 1254/5 he commanded a division of the Nicene army at Serres. Under Theodore II Laskaris he fell from favor and was imprisoned; his son Constantine was accused of treachery and blinded. Therefore Strategopoulos supported Michael (VIII) Palaiologos's usurpation and was promoted to *megas domestikos* after 1258. He participated in the Nicene

victory at PELAGONIA, captured Arta in 1259, and was rewarded with the title of caesar. The culmination of his career occurred in 1261 when he recovered Constantinople from the Latins, almost by accident. En route to Thrace, at the head of 800 Greek and Cuman soldiers, Strategopoulos perceived that the capital was virtually undefended. Taking advantage of the absence of the Venetian fleet on an expedition to the Black Sea, Strategopoulos entered the city on 25 July with the assistance of local Greeks. In 1262 he was captured by MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros and delivered to MANFRED of Sicily. Michael VIII secured his release by restoring to Manfred his sister, Constance-Anna of Hohenstaufen.

LIT. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 92–123. –A.M.T.

STRATEGOS (στρατηγός), ancient term for a general; the term is still used in this sense in the *Strategikon of Maurice*. In the 8th C. or possibly earlier it came to designate the military governor of a THEME who also directed local financial and judicial administration (see PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION). The *strategoi* of major themes were the most powerful figures in the empire at the beginning of the 8th C. when they fought each other for the throne of Constantinople. Gradually, however, their power was restricted, and major themes were divided: the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij has a list of 18 *strategoi* (from ANATOLIKON to KLIMATA), while the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS includes 26. Other limitations on *strategoi* were their appointment for terms of three to four years, and the prohibition on buying lands in their district. On seals and in narrative sources the title of *strategoi* varies from *spatharios* to *patrikios* (I. Sokolova, *Bŭlgarskoto srednovekovie* [Sofia 1980] 137–41), rarely *magistros*. The staff of the *strategos* consisted of military officers (TOURMARCHES and others) as well as officials with civil and police duties. At the end of the 10th C. many new *strategoi* were introduced, mainly on the eastern frontier, where they commanded small territorial and military units (Oikonomides, *Listes* 345f); the *taktikon* of Escurial (ca.971–75) lists about 90 *strategoi*. Their role decreased through the 11th C.: civil administration was given to thematic JUDGES, and *strategoi*, as commanders of garrisons and small units, were put under the control of DOUKES. Later the term lost its technical meaning.

The term *strategetes* was occasionally used for *strategos* (Guilland, *Institutions* 1:395); in the 8th–9th C. *monostrategos* designated a general commanding several *strategoi* (V. Laurent, *BZ* 60 [1967] 186), not a Byz. "marquis," or governor of vast frontier lands (R. Lopez in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, vol. 1 [Poitiers 1966] 77–80). The term *strategos-autokrator,* meaning commander in chief, was in use in the 6th C. and reappeared in the 10th–11th C. (Guilland, *Institutions* 1:382–84); nontechnical expressions such as *archistrategos* or *protostrategos* had the same meaning. *Hypostrategos,* however, signified lieutenant-general, and could also be used for a *strategos* in contrast to the emperor as *strategos*.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 36–52. F. Winkelmann, *Byzantinische Rang- und Ämterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1985) 72–118. Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 118–21. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 111–16. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija* 294–98. –A.K.

STRATEGY (στρατηγία), military art or wisdom, was not clearly distinct from the everyday tactical aims of warfare. The central tenet of Byz. strategy, beginning with the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE, was that the outcome of war was dictated by Providence; accordingly, MILITARY RELIGIOUS SERVICES attracted the attention of many strategists. Since God's will is unfathomable, the unknown or unexpected was always a factor in warfare, meaning that military prowess alone was no guarantee of success; caution thus prevailed over the adventurous, daring combat typical of the Western knight. Byz. strategy derived from two sources: the theoretical tradition of classical tacticians and the general's own practical experience, esp. the observation of hostile peoples; Byz. STRATEGIKA reflect these two approaches.

Although war was considered evil (see PEACE AND WAR), PATRIOTISM and the belief that Byz. was the defender of Christian and classical values fostered the readiness for resistance and counterattack. The Byz. pursued an essentially defensive strategy in campaigns of attrition where partial victories and defeats formed the links of a coherent whole, making diplomacy, reconnaissance, occupation of strategic points or fortifications, and ruses the major means of warfare. During the 6th C. the Byz. discarded the infantry-dominated tactics of the Romans in favor of the rapid, flexible cavalry tactics (esp. the use of mounted archers) of the HUNS and AVARS (A.D.H. Bivar, *DOP* 26 [1972] 271–91); BELISARIOS used these tactics to win victories in the East, and they also helped to maintain a mobile defensive strategy after the 7th C. In the 10th C. an offensive strategy was revived, highlighted by the development of the elite corps of KATAPHRAKTOI responsible for the victories of Nikephoros II Phokas and John I Tzimiskes; the revitalized INFANTRY supplied a secure defensive base. In the late period, strategy was restricted by declining manpower. Although Byz. "knights" could contend with Western feudal forces during the 12th and 13th C. in spite of severe reverses (Thessalonike in 1185; Constantinople in 1204), they were powerless against Ottoman encroachment.

Two 11th-C. MSS, Vat. gr. 1164 (Weitzmann, *Studies* 192), and Venice, Marc. gr. 516 (Furlan, *Marciana* 4:34f, figs. 25–27), contain diagrams of such tactics as the cavalry wedge (*embolos hippike*) as well as an encircling maneuver (*hyperkerasis*) and various phalanx formations.

LIT. W.E. Kaegi, *Some Thoughts on Byzantine Military Strategy* (Brookline 1983). Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 177–257. V.V. Kučma, "Iz istorii vizantijskogo voennogo iskusstva na rubeže IX–X vv.," *ADSV* 12 (1975) 79–85; *VizVrem* 38 (1977) 94–101. –A.K., E.M., A.C.

STRATEIA (στρατεία), a term equivalent to the Lat. *militia* (Jones, *LRE* 377f), signified enrollment into state (civil or military) or ecclesiastical service and the attendant obligations (Oikonomides, *Listes* 283f). The military *strateia* imposed on its holder (STRATIOTES) either personal military service (the *stratiotes* provided for his own equipment) or the obligation to maintain a soldier; in the latter case the *strateia* could be supported singly or jointly (see SYNDOTAI). Originally personal and hereditary (passing either to widows or offspring), by the 10th C. the *strateia* had become attached to the properties (STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA) that supported it. Varying levels of military *strateiai* are attested in the sources. Constantine VII referred to the *strateiai* of cavalrymen and sailors (Zepos, *Jus* 1:222.9–223.9; *De cer.* 695.14–18), and Zonaras (Zon. 3:505.16–506.10) lists maintenance of the *dromos*, sailor, infantryman, cavalryman, and a new service of heavy cavalryman (KATAPHRAKTOS) as the *strateiai* in which Nikephoros II Phokas had his subjects, poorest to richest, assessed and registered. During the 11th C. the *strateia* appears to have shed all trappings of personal service, becoming instead a uniquely fiscal obligation; it is sometimes listed among exemptions from various fiscal burdens.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 222–29. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 10–24. Haldon, *Recruitment* 41–65. –E.M., A.K.

STRATELATES (στρατηλάτης) had two different meanings in the late Roman Empire: first, it designated a general and was used to translate into Greek the term MAGISTER MILITUM; second, it was a modest title equated to that of the APO EPARCHON in Justinian I's novel 90. In this capacity the term *stratelates* often appears on seals of the 6th–8th C., sometimes as an "isolated" dignity, sometimes in connection with the relatively low offices of notary, *kommerkiarios, kourator, komes*, etc. This meaning was still preserved in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS. In the 10th–11th C. the term was widely used to designate a general or commander in chief, such as the *stratelates* of East or West. At the same time the *tagma* (or phalanx) of the *stratelatai* was a select group of common soldiers: thus Bardas Phokas reportedly conveyed his plan of rebellion "primarily to the *tagma* of the *stratelatai*" (Skyl. 315.92), and the *stratelates* Polyeuktos in the vita of Neilos of Rossano (PG 120:101B) was at most a low-ranking officer. More complicated is the case of the *stratelates* Alyates (Aleates) from an inscription in Preslav (V. Beševliev, *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien* [Berlin 1964] no.254) who seems to be a commander rather than a rank-and-file soldier.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:385–92. Bury, *Adm. System* 23f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 332. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 333–39. –A.K.

STRATIOTES (στρατιώτης). In narrative texts, STRATEGIKA, and other documents, the term *stratiotes* meant soldier; in legislative texts it denoted the holder of a STRATEIA. *Stratiotai* were sometimes contrasted with peasants (*georgoi*): the NOMOS STRATIOTIKOS prohibited *stratiotai* from involvement in agriculture or trade, and the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (11.11) described peasants who maintained *stratiotai* and *stratiotai* who defended peasants as the "twin pillars" of Byz. society. *Stratiotai* were listed in muster-rolls as the possessors of STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA and were exempted from all taxes save the state KANON and AERIKON. They were paid for serving in expeditions and for such labor as building fortresses, roads, bridges, and

ships. *Stratiotai* were divided into several general categories, such as sailor, infantryman, or cavalryman, and a chrysobull of 1086 lists more specific groups, including archers, spearmen, men armed with maces, etc. (*Lavra* 1, no.48.40–41).

The exact nature of *stratiotai* is debatable. G. Ostrogorsky (*VfSWG* 22 [1929] 131f) linked the establishment of *stratiotai* as soldier-peasants with the introduction of the thematic system and considered them the backbone of the Byz. army during the 7th through 11th C.; he argued that they were later replaced by MERCENARIES and holders of a PRONOIA. P. Lemerle (*Agr. Hist.* 116–25), on the other hand, denied the existence of such soldier-peasants and held that the *stratiotai* of 10th-C. legislation provided material support only, whereas effective soldiers were allegedly labeled *strateuomenoi*. The last term, however, is rare, and when found (e.g., Zepos, *Jus* 1:204.9–10; *De cer.* 695.18–21) is synonymous with, not opposed to, *stratiotai*. Both in hagiographical texts (e.g., the Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful) and 10th-C. legislation *stratiotai* appear as people of modest income, who tilled their land in peacetime and presented themselves with their equipment and horses when called up for campaign. In the 11th C. *stratiotai* are listed with other privileged groups within the rural population, such as *demosiarioi* or *exkoussatoi tou dromou* (*Lavra* 1, no.33.33–34, from 1060).

The term later acquired two meanings: in the chartulary of Lembiotissa *stratiotai* are modest landowners on a level not much higher than ordinary peasants, and in a 1321 *praktikon* of the Lavra (*Lavra* 2, no.109.157) a *stratiotes* named John Kaseidares appears as a dependent. Yet *stratiotai* are also mentioned as holders of *pronoia* and owners of PAROIKOI, and the term *basilikos stratiotes* (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.11.5, from 1311) probably applied to them. The *basilikos stratiotes* may have been titled the emperor's DOULOS. Although some *stratiotai* of the second type did hold *pronoiai*, it is impossible to identify *pronoia*-holders as *stratiotai*.

LIT. Haldon, *Recruitment* 41–65. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 153–62. P. Mutafčiev, *Izbrani proizvedenija* 1 (Sofia 1973) 518–652. –A.K., E.M.

STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA (στρατιωτικὰ κτήματα, "soldiers' properties"). The profits derived from *stratiotika ktemata*, that is, soldiers' estates or lands, provided the revenues necessary to supply a thematic soldier with the equipment and horse required for military service. A novel of Constantine VII (Zepos, *Jus* 1:222–26) called for the registration of *stratiotika ktemata* and, regulating what previously had been customary, restricted their sale by setting the minimum inalienable values at four pounds of gold for cavalrymen and two for sailors. Only unregistered property above these minimum values was freely disposable. Constantine also decreed that properties sold or abandoned were to be restored to the original owners without compensation to the purchaser or current holder retroactive 40 years; if the owners were unavailable, rights of preemption or PROTIMESIS were extended to relatives, SYNDOTAI, or members of the same community who, singly or jointly, would fulfill the *strateia* attached to the property. Later, a decree of Nikephoros II Phokas (Zepos, *Jus* 1:256) raised the minimum inalienable value of soldiers' properties from 4 to 12 pounds of gold to ensure that those wealthy enough either to serve as, or to sustain the expense of, KATAPHRAKTOI would be obliged to support this newly created *strateia*.

The *stratiotika ktemata* are not specifically attested before 10th-C. legislative texts. They appear to have originated during the late 7th C. when the state was forced to offer land in lieu of cash payments for personal, hereditary military service (Hendy, *Economy* 619f), and over time these personal or fiscal obligations became fixed to the property that supported them. The term is not found after the 10th C.

LIT. J.F. Haldon, *Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Army c.550–950: A Study on the Origins of the Stratiotika Ktemata* (Vienna 1979). Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 115–31. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 10–24. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 237–53. –E.M.

STRATIOTIKON. See LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU.

STRATOPEDARCHES (στρατοπεδάρχης), a term for a military commander, infrequently used in literary texts and papyri from the 1st to the 2nd C. (E. Kiessling, *RE* 2.R. 4 [1932] 329). From the 5th through the 9th C. the term was a synonym of STRATEGOS. The term was applied metaphorically to heavenly generals such as Moses and Elijah (e.g., PG 86:261D). It does not appear in the lists of official functions before the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escurial, which names *stratopedarchai* of West and East. In 967 Nikephoros II Phokas created an official post of *stratopedarches* for the eunuch Peter Phokas; according to Oikonomides (*Listes* 334), it was to substitute for the position of DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON, which eunuchs could not hold. In the 11th–12th C. *stratopedarches* was one of the official designations of the commander in chief that appeared on seals (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2680) and was bestowed on many bearded generals such as Isaac (I) Komnenos, the future emperor, and the *sebastokrator* Isaac DOUKAS.

From the mid-13th C. the term *megas stratopedarches* was used, the first known being George MOUZALON. A 14th-C. ceremonial book places the *megas stratopedarches* between the *protostrator* and *megas primikerios* and considers him responsible for provisioning the army (pseudo-Kod. 174.10–13). Under his command were four officers: the *stratopedarchai* of *monokaballoi* (cavalry), of *tzangratores* (crossbowmen), of *mourtatoi* ("renegades"), and of TSAKONES. In reality, however, in the 14th–15th C. *stratopedarches* was a title, and few individuals titled *stratopedarches* were actual commanders of troops.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:498–521. Stein, "Untersuchungen" 54f. Oikonomides, "Evolution" 141–43. Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 123–26. –A.K.

STRATOR (στράτωρ), in narrative sources often *hippokomos*, "groom," an office that existed in the Roman Empire. The *stratores* formed a corps (*schola*) both at the imperial court and in the service of some high-ranking provincial administrators. Their functions went beyond the simple care of the stable and included purveyance of horses (F. Lammert, *RE* 2.R. 4 [1932] 329f). Their chief was the KOMES TOU STAULOU, later *domestikos* of the *stratores* (Theoph. 388.22). Many seals of *stratores* are preserved, beginning with some Latin ones of the 6th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 391, 2827). It seems that on seals of the 8th and 9th C. the term was used as a title of subaltern officers (*tourmarches, droungarios*) and provincial officials (*komes tes kortes, archon* of Mesembria, *chartoularios* of Thrace, *protonotarios* of Thessalonike). Probably to distinguish them from the actual grooms under the command of the PROTOSTRATOR the latter were defined as *stratores* of the imperial *stratorikion* (*Kletorologion* of Philotheos: Oikonomides, *Listes* 155.26). The latest mention of *strator* is in the cadaster of Thebes (Svoronos, *Cadastre* 11,18), as the title of certain landowners. *Strator* reappears on an inscription from Cyprus of 1402 in the form of *staratoros*. The term *strator* was known in the West from 754; R. Holtzmann (*HistZ* 145 [1931] 301–50) hypothesized that it was introduced under Byz. influence.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 298f. C. Kyrris, "Staratoros = [Proto]strator, or Strator," *EEBS* 36 (1968) 119–38. –A.K.

STREMMA (στρέμμα, lit. "that which is twisted, thread"), a measure of land (for both arable land and for vineyards). In the 11th C. the term designated a piece of land, and an act of 1015 speaks of a "few *stremmata* prepared for planting vineyards" (*Ivir.* 1, no.20.43f). By the 13th C. *stremma* had acquired the meaning of a land measure: a charter of 1239 (MM 4:157.27–28) registers the sale of a *choraphion* "measured at approximately 20 *stremmata*." There is no direct data concerning the size of a *stremma*, but an act of the early 14th C. (*Xerop.* no.16.153–56) seems to equate *stremma* and *modios*. A list of tenures of ca.1307 (*Docheiar.*, no.10) employs the term *stremma* exclusively, whereas other *praktika* prefer *modios* and use *stremma* only as an exception (e.g., *Dionys.*, no.25.78; Guillou, *Ménecée*, no.35.63). On the other hand, in deeds of purchase *stremma* appears no less often than *modios*.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 61–67. –E. Sch., A.K.

STROBILOS (Στρόβιλος, mod. Aspat or Çifut Kalesi), fortress and port on the coast of CARIA; never a bishopric. First mentioned in 724, Strobilos rose to prominence when it served as a place of exile or refuge. An important link in the coastal defenses, Strobilos was a bastion of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme; an *archon* administered it. The Arabs attacked Strobilos in 924 and 1035; the Turks captured it ca.1080. Thereafter, it lay in ruins until the Komnenoi restored it and gave concessions there to the Venetians. It was lost to the Turks of MENTESHE in 1269. As one of the few towns of Anatolia that came into existence in the Middle Ages, Strobilos should reveal the appearance of a distinctively Byz. site. It is a small

place on a steep conical hill overlooking the strait between Kos and the mainland. Remains consist of docks and magazines, scattered habitation on the slopes, a monastery in a cave (mentioned in a document of 1079), and a small but powerful fortress whose Byz. walls, apparently of the 12th C., were extensively rebuilt by the Turks.

LIT. C. Foss, "Strobilos and Related Sites," *AnatSt* 38 (1988) 147–74. –C.F.

STRYMON (Στρυμών), the name of both a river and a theme.

STRYMON RIVER. A Balkan river, now called the Struma, it rises not far from Serdica and flows southward, emptying into the Aegean Sea at AMPHIPOLIS. An important road ran through the Strymon Valley from the interior of the Balkans to Serres and the sea; it also served as a significant invasion route in the 7th C. and later. The valley of the Strymon, esp. its eastern part, is the most fertile region of southern Macedonia.

LIT. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 24–26. –T.E.G.

THEME OF STRYMON. In the 10th C. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 3.1–5, ed. Pertusi 88f) was not sure whether Strymon was a theme or a *kleisoura*—he knew only that the district was populated by "Scythians" (Slavs) from the time of Justinian II. It was a region that suffered from Bulgarian attacks in the 8th and 9th C.: in 809 they killed a *strategos*, *archontes*, and "*archontes* of other themes" there (Theoph. 484.29–485.3). The phraseology of Theophanes seems to indicate that the region of Strymon was already a theme by 809, but the *strategos* of Strymon was unknown to the mid-9th-C. *Taktikon of Uspenskij* and reappears only in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos in 899. The offices of both *archon* and *strategos* of Strymon are known from seals of the 9th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1753, 2659). In the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escurial* two themes are listed: Strymon, or Chrysaba (Krusovo), and New Strymon, unknown to other sources and identified by Oikonomides (*Listes* 357) as the region of BOLERON. The administrative structure of the area was very unstable: at the end of the 10th C. Strymon is described as united with Thessalonike or with Thessalonike and Drougoubitia (*Ivir.* 1, no.10.2), in the 11th C. with Boleron. The area preserved a substantial stratum of Slav population. Important towns in the Strymon region were SERRES, PHILIPPI, CHRISTOUPOLIS, and CHRYSOPOLIS.

After 1204 Strymon was assigned to the kingdom of Thessalonike, but in 1246 John III Vatatzes conquered and restored it as a distinct theme (e.g., *Lavra* 2, no.71.30). In 14th-C. documents it is usually combined with Boleron and other administrative units or *kastra* (Thessalonike, Serres, etc.).

LIT. Lemerle, *Philippes* 124–28. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 47f. M. Rajković, "Oblast Strimona i tema Strimon," *ZRVI* 5 (1958) 1–7. Z. Pljakov, "La région de la Moyenne Struma aux XIe–XIIe siècles," *Palaeobulgarica* 10 (1986) no.3, 73–85. Zacos, *Seals* 2:190f. –T.E.G.

STRYPHNOS, MICHAEL, fl. ca.1190–1203. Brother-in-law of Empress EUPHROSYNE DOUKAINA KAMATERA, Stryphnos (Στρυφνός) was chief of the VESTIARION in the reign of Isaac II; he became MEGAS DOUX under Alexios III. For his private profit, he sold the fleet's anchors, sails, and other gear, while oppressing Genoese merchants. Circa 1201–02 he went to Hellas to restrain Leo SGOUROS; unsuccessful there, he was still lauded in an oration by Michael CHONIATES. Because of his maladministration, the Fourth Crusade encountered no opposition from the Byz. fleet. A massive enameled gold ring, inscribed with his name, is preserved (A. Cutler, *JÖB* 31.2 [1981] fig.7, following p.764). –C.M.B., A.C.

STUDENICA, monastery near Ušće, in south central Serbia, founded after 1183 by STEFAN NEMANJA. Nemanja's son SAVA OF SERBIA became abbot of the monastery in 1208, introducing into Serbia via Studenica the set of rules contained in the *typikon* of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople (Babić, *Chapelles annexes* 50f).

At least four churches were erected within the monastic enclosure. The Church of the Virgin was begun by Nemanja but completed by his sons after his withdrawal to Mt. Athos. Built of finely dressed local marble as his grave church (Nemanja's body was brought from Athos to Studenica in 1208), the church blends Romanesque and Byz. elements into a new architectural entity: a single-aisled basilica of Italian-Dalmatian type having a byzantinizing dome over the crossing and a large narthex, a façade decorated with pilasters and corbel-table friezes under the eaves, and figural stone carving on a tympanum over the west door. The narrow cross-arms of the basilica are preceded by a series of recessed arches and resemble Italian porches. The plan and decoration of this royal foundation, the prototype for monuments of the so-called Raška school, was to have a profound effect on later Serbian developments (e.g., MILEŠEVA, SOPOĆANI, Dečani).

A painted Greek inscription in the dome names the sons of Nemanja along with Stefan himself, and provides the date of 1208/9 for the fresco decoration. What remains of the original program (much of it was overpainted in 1569) shows a conscious attempt by the fresco painter to imitate mosaic: in the highest levels of fresco, gold leaf is applied to the background. Lower levels have a yellow ground instead, while the Crucifixion on the west wall has a ground of blue sprinkled with stars. In the latter composition (much of it repainted in the later 13th C. as well as in the 16th), the huge solemn figure of the dead Christ already shows a notable departure from the nervous configurations of late 12th-C. Komnenian art. Serbian, instead of Greek, is used as the language of the painted inscriptions on certain of these frescoes.

An exonarthex was added about 25 years later by Nemanja's son Stefan Radoslav, and to this narthex were appended two chapels. That on the south side was dedicated to Stefan Nemanja; it was adorned in ca.1233/4 with four scenes from his life, including a representation of the translation of his body from Hilandar to Studenica, the earliest extant historical composition in Serbian monumental painting.

The independent Chapel of St. Nicholas, also located within the enclosure, was probably built about the same time as the Church of the Virgin; it has fragments of frescoes of the first half of the 13th C. akin to those adorning the church at Mileševa.

Another independent chapel within the precinct was known as the King's Church ("Kraljeva crkva"); it was built by King STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN and dedicated to Saints Ioakeim and Anna. A domed cross-in-square in plan, the chapel was constructed in 1313/14, according to an inscription carved on the east façade.

The frescoes were probably executed in 1314. The Pantokrator in the dome is surrounded by the four Evangelist symbols, cherubim with wheels of fire, and the Divine Liturgy (see LORD'S SUPPER). Eight prophets carry scrolls referring to the Resurrection, and 34 busts of the ancestors of Christ refer to the earthly life of the Son of God. The usual Evangelist portraits and ten Great Feasts occupy the pendentives and the upper zone of the walls, while the life of the Virgin Mary is depicted in the lower zone. The portraits of Milutin and his wife SIMONIS are on the south wall, facing the Nemanjid saints Stefan Nemanja and Sava of Serbia and the Virgin and Child with saints; a parallel is thus drawn between the ancestors of Milutin and those of Christ. The large number of bishops in the sanctuary (in bust, full figure, and officiating) emphasizes the importance of the Orthodox church and its tradition; it includes as recent a figure as EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. The modeling in rich tones of ochre, red, green, and white, and the highly individualized heads recall the saints in the lower zone of the Church of St. George at STARO NAGORIČINO, justifying the current attribution of the frescoes of the King's Church to the artists of Staro Nagoričino, MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS.

The ruins of a fourth chapel may be those of a chapel of John the Baptist.

LIT. M. Kašanin, V. Korać, D. Tasić, M. Šakota, *Studenica* (Belgrade 1968). S. Mandić, *The Virgin's Church at Studenica* (Belgrade 1966). R. Hamann-MacLean and H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien* (Giessen 1963) 19–22, pls. 53–79, plans 8–11. G. Babić, *Kraljeva crkva u Studenici* (Belgrade 1987). *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade 1988). –N.P.Š., G.B.

STUDENT (φοιτητής). The student had a private relationship with his TEACHER that was defined and confirmed in special contracts, a sample of which survives in a 14th-C. MS (P. Schreiner, *Byzantina* 13.1 [1985] 286–88). The contract even regulated the student's schedule, such as time for sleep and meals. Byz. teachers (e.g., Psellos) often complained of their students' bad discipline and truancy from SCHOOL, and they sometimes had difficulty collecting fees from the students' parents. Nevertheless, the student-teacher relationship could be cordial and stable. Eustathios of Thessalonike, among others, affectionately reminisced about a "holy and great man" who instructed and educated him (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula*, p.103.90–93) and about his other wise teachers. Theodore Metochites spoke with deep

affection of his old teacher, JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES. Students formed close groups supporting their teachers in their scholarly and personal endeavors. Popular teachers attracted pupils from different parts of the world, and from the 13th C. onward some Greek youths studied at Western universities.

The novel of Constantine IX on the organization of the LAW SCHOOL in Constantinople contains some evidence about the status of students. Admission was available to everyone regardless of origin or social position, and EDUCATION was free. The legislator stressed that students should refrain from bribing teachers, but he did not prohibit, indeed even recommended, offering presents to the professor after completing the course of education. Students had to pass examinations and received a diploma testifying to their knowledge. A lively picture of the extracurricular activities of students is offered by canon 71 of the Council in Trullo (691/2) and Theodore Balsamon's commentary, as well as by Christopher of Mytilene, poem 136.

LIT. M.J. Kyriakis, "Student Life in Eleventh-Century Constantinople," *Byzantina* 7 (1975) 375–88. C. Kunderewicz, "Le gouvernement et les étudiants dans le Code Théodosien," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 50 (1972) 575–88. –A.K., R.B.

STUMA TREASURE. See KAPER KORAON TREASURE.

STYLE. This term, as applied to literature and art, has been used in a variety of overlapping senses. In literature it might be defined as "alternative modes of expressing the same (or approximately the same) content" (I. Ševčenko, *JÖB* 31.1 [1981] 289). In both letters and arts it may designate either "levels" of production ("high," "middle," "low") or a particular "ductus" that may be personal or else characterize a genre, a period, or even a geographical area. In Byz. literature the existence of several levels of expression, distinct as they are linguistically and grammatically, and independent of the date of a given group of works, is clearly apparent and was recognized by the Byz. themselves. It is possible to date works of middle or low level by their style; the dating of works written in "high style" is difficult; and the search for an individual style has proved yet more difficult, even in the case of the most famous authors. The task, however, is not hopeless. We are still not clear about the correlation between the style of different "arts" and genres—visual arts and literature, and, within literature, prose and poetry, hagiography and historiography, the so-called monastic chronicle and contemporary history. The concept of levels without reference to time can be applied to art, mostly with regard to the level of skill, some works being naturally more accomplished, others more rustic. The concept is less useful in terms of regional "schools." On the other hand, the existence of period style (e.g., the Komnenian, the "rococo" of the late 12th C., or the Palaiologan) is undeniable in art. The common stylistic points between literature and art are the strength of tradition and the invisibility of individual hands.

The term "style" is normally understood by art historians to be the sum of details—drapery folds, proportion, PLASTICITY, etc.—which, when put together, allow us to date and even to localize an artifact. Style is sometimes viewed as a manifestation of the way an epoch expresses itself in its different arts and modes of thinking (painting, architecture, literature, music, e.g., Baroque style). Such an approach, if applied to Byz., would meet with difficulties, since "styles" in various Byz. arts of a given period are indebted more to devices of the past than to contemporary developments. This approach should be nevertheless tried (one can speak of the Komnenian and Palaiologan periods both in letters and art). Rather than concentrating on "stylistic" or formal qualities of an object, more recent art-historical scholarship, often under the influence of disciplines other than art history, has paid particular attention to the nature and function of that object, or to the social and political circumstances of its creation, and found that these factors strongly affect, if not determine, its form.

LIT. I. Ševčenko, *Three Byzantine Literatures* (Brookline, Mass., 1985). H. Hunger, "Stilstufen in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts: Anna Komnene und Michael Glykas," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 139–70. H. Belting, "Kunst oder Objekt-Stil?" in *Byz. und der Westen* 65–83. C. Walter, "Style, an Epiphenomenon of Ideological Development in Byzantine Art," *JÖB* 32.5 (1982) 3–6. –C.M., I.Š., A.C.

STYLE MIGNON (sometimes "Style cloisonné"), modern term for a manner of book illustration current in the third quarter of the 11th C. It is characterized by brilliantly colored, enamellike figures silhouetted against flat landscapes or interiors like stage sets. The key dated examples of this style are a *menologion* in Moscow, Hist. Mus. 9 (of 1063); the THEODORE PSALTER (1066); a Praxapostolos, Epistles, and Apocalypse (Moscow, Univ. Lib. gr. 2280) produced for the emperor Michael VII in 1072 and a MS of the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimax (Princeton, Univ. Lib. 16) of 1081. Less precisely dated but related in style are the Paris MS, B.N. gr. 74 (one of the FRIEZE GOSPELS), a Klimax MS in the Vatican, gr. 394, and several icons at Mt. Sinai. Their two-dimensional forms have been interpreted as expressing "the ascetic spirit of monasticism" and even the mysticism of Symeon the Theologian, but gold is widely used to separate areas of color in the garments, and normally unmonastic, classical personifications occur, esp. in the Vatican Klimax. The "Style mignon" coexisted with several other contemporary manners of book illustration and has no equivalent in monumental painting of the period.

LIT. Weitzmann, *Studies* 271–313. Lazarev, *Storia* 187–89. Spatharakis, *Corpus*, nos. 78, 80, 92, 100. V.D. Lichačeva, *Vizantijskaja miniatjura* (Moscow 1977) 15f. –A.C.

STYLITE (στυλίτης), a type of ascetic monk who stood on a platform atop a pillar (*stylos*), which was connected with the ground by a ladder. Such platforms were open to rain, snow, and winds, although some included a small shelter. To increase their suffering, stylites often wore chains placed so that they formed a cross (e.g., PG 100:1104C, *AASS* Nov. 3:520C). The purpose of ascending the pillar was to disengage oneself from the sinful world (and from the crowd of pilgrims) and to find tranquility among the "pure" elements; stylites, however, were also involved in political activity, and DANIEL THE STYLITE even descended from his column to lead a demonstrating mob to Constantinople. The movement started in the 5th C., with SYMEON THE STYLITE THE ELDER, and soon became popular; stylites attracted pilgrims who stimulated the development of trade and innkeeping. Veneration of stylites, which often flourished during their lifetime, took the form of image worship: according to THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (*Histoire des moines de Syrie*, vol. 2 [Paris 1970] 782.19–21), Symeon's icons adorned the entrance to workshops (*ergasteria*) as far away as Rome, while Daniel's vita mentions a silver icon of the saint that weighed 10 *litrae* and was given to a church. Special Symeon tokens (see PILGRIM TOKENS) with the image of SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER were produced for pilgrims (G. Vikan, *DOP* 38 [1984] 67–73). A few women also joined the movement (H. Delehaye, *AB* 27 [1908] 391f).

It is plausible that Iconoclasm caused a reduction of stylites; Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 442.18–24) relates the cruel execution of the stylite Peter by Constantine V, and the vita of THEODORE OF EDESSA presents a stylite community as declining in the 9th C. (A. Kazhdan, *GOrThR* 30 [1985] 473f). From the end of the century the movement again revived; in the 10th C., LOUKAS THE STYLITE claimed to be the fifth in the series of great stylites. Some saints spent "only" a few years on columns (e.g., seven by LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS) and were closely connected with nearby monasteries. A similar form of extreme asceticism was that of the dendrites who lived in trees, such as DAVID OF THESSALONIKE.

Representation in Art. Stylites were depicted as ancient, white-bearded monks, visible only to their shoulders or waists, atop marble columns; the two Sts. Symeon generally wear the *koukoullion*, or monastic hood. Hands raised before their chest, the stylites are protected from falling by an iron railing that runs around the large, fancy capital. Many churches are adorned with images of stylites, often painted on piers or other narrow vertical surfaces, so that the painted column resembles a colonnette applied to the pier; when two portraits flank the bema arch in this way, they reinforce its triumphal character. There is sometimes a little door or niche visible in the column shaft, which suggests the existence of an internal stairway, or sometimes an access ladder is shown propped against the column. When the image has room to expand, as on a MS page, however, a flight of stairs or a circular wall pierced by a passageway may be included to either side of the column.

LIT. H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites* (Brussels-Paris 1923). K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, vol. 2 (Tübingen 1928) 388–98. B. Kötting, "Das Wirken der ersten Styliten in der Öffentlichkeit," *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 37 (1953) 187–97. A. Leroy-Molinghen, "Mention d'un stylite dans un papyrus grec," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 635. I. Pena, P. Castellana, and R. Fernandez, *Les stylites syriens* (Milan 1975). A. Xyngopoulos, "Hoi stylitai eis ten byzantinen technen," *EEBS* 19 (1949) 116–29. I. Djordjević, "Sveti stolpnici u srpskom zidnom slikarstvu srednjeg veka," *ZbLikUmet* 18 (1982) 41–52. V. Elbern, *LCI* 8:413. A. Chatzinikolaou, *RBK* 2:1071–77. –A.K., N.P.Š.

STYPPEIOTES (Στυππειώτης), a family that produced some generals and diplomats from the 9th C. onward. The name is interpreted by H. Moritz (*Zunamen* 1:29, 2:42) as derived from a toponym, but is more probably to be connected with Gr. *styppeion*, "flax or hemp fiber." Kesta (the first known Styppeiotes), *domestikos ton scholon*, died in 883 during an expedition against Tarsos. Michael, *patrikios* under Romanos I, participated in negotiations with Symeon of Bulgaria. Another Michael was general ca.1116.

From the end of the 11th C. onward the Styppeiotai primarily held posts in the civil administration: Demetrios, official in the bureau of the *megas logariastes* in 1094; Theodore, *kanikleios* of John II and Manuel I, was involved in a plot, deposed, and blinded in 1159. Michaelitzes Styppeiotes, mentioned in the *typikon* of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople as an intimate retainer of John II, is an enigmatic figure: Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 3:192.5–8) states that Michael Styppeiotes gave Alexios I a slave and barbarian, also called Styppeiotes; perhaps he should be identified with Michaelitzes. It is questionable but possible that Patr. Leo Styppes (1134–43) belonged to the family (P. Wirth, *ByzF* 3 [1968] 254f). A certain Strongylos Styppeiotes served as *vestiarites* of John III in 1237 or 1252, while Demetrios and Theodore, priests in Constantinople, signed a patriarchal document in 1357.

LIT. Kresten, "Styppeiotes." G.S. Henrich, "Kesta ho Styp[pe]iotes und die Namen von Štip," *Onomata* 9 (1984) 83–89. –E.T., A.K.

SUANIA (Σουανία), a land at the eastern end of the Black Sea. STRABO (11.2.19) notes that the Soanes controlled the summits of the Caucasus above Dioscurias (SEBASTOPOLIS). The language of the Svan, with Laz and Georgian, belongs to the Kartvelian family.

By the 6th C. the Svan were Christian; Prokopios (*Wars* 8.2.23) notes that their priests were appointed by the bishops of the Laz, although politically the Svan were independent of them and of the Persians. Suania figures prominently in the Persian-Byz. wars (ibid., 8.14.53, 16.14; MENANDER PROTECTOR, 76–86); its loyalties wavered between Byz. and Persia. Suania was later controlled by Georgian princely houses.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 2:117, 123. M.J. Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice* (Washington, D.C., 1939) 36–38, 58. Toumanoff, *Caucasian Hist.* 257. –R.T.

SUBDEACON (ὑποδιάκονος). As the title indicates, the subdeacon was created to assist the DEACON in the performance of his duties. His primary function in the liturgy was to stand guard at the doors during the exit of the CATECHUMENS. Before the eucharistic celebration he was responsible for preparing the sacred vessels, lighting the altar lamps, and helping the priest dress (Council of Laodikeia, canons 20–22, 43). At the Council in TRULLO the age at which a candidate could enter the subdiaconate was fixed at 20 (canon 15). According to the same council, subdeacons (like the major orders of CLERGY) could not marry after ordination (canon 3). The Byz. church always viewed the office as a minor clerical rank immediately below the deacon. Western practice, however, differed: by the early 13th C. the office had been raised to major orders. The earliest mention of subdeacon is in the 3rd C.

LIT. A. Catoire, "Le sous-diaconat dans l'Église grecque," *EO* 13 (1910) 22–24. W. Croce, "Die niederen Weihen und ihre hierarchische Wertung," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 70 (1948) 257–314. H. Petzold, "Das Verhältnis des Subdiakonats zum Weihesakrament in der alten Kirche und seine Stellung im klassischen orthodoxen Kirchenrecht," *Österreichisches Archiv für Kirchenrecht* 4 (1967) 394–455. –A.P.

SUBSTANCE (οὐσία). The notion of *ousia* entered the history of Christian THEOLOGY in the 4th C. when the Council of Nicaea acknowledged in its creed the concept of HOMOOUSIOS. Generally the term *ousia* designates the real existent, which in the Aristotelian tradition is called the "primary essence." On the one hand, this is contrasted to the abstract idea or species ("secondary essence"); on the other hand, it is distinguished from accidents. If in the interpretation of the Nicaean Creed proposed by the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS a distinction is made between the common *ousia* and the HYPOSTASES of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, there is the danger of seeing this essence as a universal, as in the MONARCHIAN interpretation of MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA modified by GREGORY OF NYSSA (R. Hübner in *Epektasis: Mélanges Jean Daniélou* [Paris 1972] 463–90), or of taking it in the sense of the Aristotelian secondary essence as in the TRITHEISM of John PHILOPONOS. Nevertheless, in BASIL THE GREAT and GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS the concept of *ousia* as that which is common (*koinon*) is joined with Stoic ontology and logic, and in this connection *ousia* signifies the individual: *ousia* is the "subject" (*hypokeimenon*) that "lies under" the individual characteristics and natural qualities that attach to one substance and not to another.

NEO-CHALCEDONISM, whose starting point was the Trinitarian terminology of the Cappadocians, interpreted the doctrine of two natures of Christ put forth by the Council of CHALCEDON in such a way that nature and substance signify the same thing. Subsequent to this, one observes that the high standard of the Christologies of theologians such as LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, the salient features of which were two radically distinctive modes of individuation (the specific and the hypostatic-personal), could not be maintained. *Ousia*, or nature, is mostly understood as a simple reality, or that which truly exists (ANASTASIOS OF SINAI, ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux*, 2.3, lines 6–12; cf. 8.5, lines 120–24). This modified view of Anastasios typifies the level of theological reflection in Byz. as soon as this formula took precedence over the development of thought.

The question of the essence of God, which in the context of apophatic theology and PALAMISM is inexpressible, directs attention to the ENERGIES of God. This theory is encountered also in John KYPARISSIOTES (PG 152:794A–798C), for example, who followed pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE in teaching that God can be spoken about, but knowledge of God in the created order is attained through inference on the basis of experience, that is, its starting point is taken from his energies or their effects.

LIT. G.L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*[2] (London 1952). H.A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers*[3], vol. 1 (London 1970). H. Martin, "La controverse trithéite dans l'Empire byzantin au VI[e] siècle" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Louvain [n.d.]). K.-H. Uthemann, "Sprache und Sein bei Anastasios Sinaites," *StP* 18 (1987) 221–31. G.C. Stead, *Divine Substance* (Oxford 1977). –K.-H.U.

SUCCESSION (περὶ διαθέσεων). Byz. law recognized two fundamentally different ways of transferring the property of a deceased person to his HEIRS. The estate could be distributed through a disposition (*diathesis*) made during the person's lifetime that was to become operative in event of death (see WILLS) or, when such a disposition did not exist, the estate passed to certain heirs in accordance with the law (INTESTATE SUCCESSION). Informal agreements could also be made when the DOWRY was promised for a marriage contract, so that these agreements assume the character of both marriage and inheritance contracts. Since the appointment of an heir was no longer deemed a prerequisite for the validity of a will (as in Roman law) and since LEGATA, FIDEICOMMISSA, donations in view of death, pious foundations, distributions of money for the good of the soul (*psychika*), and similar arrangements could be made independently, without being part of a formal will, the will presented itself as only one of many dispositions made "during lifetime and in view of death." Such private and individual dispositions conflict with succession in accordance with the law, a system of preference by which the children of the deceased and their descendants (= grandchildren) were favored over the parents and their descendants (= siblings), who were in turn favored over the grandparents and their descendants (= uncles/aunts) in the line for inheritance.

Claims on Inheritances and Restrictions on Succession. Byz. law had to deal with certain specific problems involving succession. First of all, Christianity encouraged donations at death to churches and monasteries as well as the distribution of part of the inheritance among the poor. Second, the state demanded a certain part of the inheritance in the form of voluntary grants or as a mandatory obligation (ABIOTIKION). The right to transfer property upon death was not given to slaves, but wills of women and monks are known, and PAROIKOI were entitled to transfer their lands to heirs, though probably only with the approval of their lords. The right to receive an inheritance could be restricted: various heretics as well as apostates and even children of a mixed marriage with a heretic were excluded from succession, and manumitted slaves might receive only the so-called LEGATA.

Specific types of property had restrictions on succession: STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA, for example, could be inherited only by those capable of fulfilling military service. Succession could be restricted by time, though some grants could be made for two or three generations (esp. CHARISTIKION). The medieval right of primogeniture had no place in Greek society: Jacoby (*Féodalité* 35) has emphasized the difference between two systems of succession in the Latin Peloponnesos—Western primogeniture and the local tradition of apportioning the land between all the sons and daughters.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 133–207. W. Selb, "Erbrecht," *JbAChr* 14 (1971) 174–84. E.F. Bruck, "Kirchlich-soziales

Erbrecht in Byzanz," in *Studi in onore di S. Riccobono*, vol. 3 (Palermo 1936; rp. Aalen 1974) 377–423. B. Albanese, "L'abolizione postclassica delle forme solenni nei negozi testamentari," *Sodalitas*, vol. 2 (Naples 1984) 777–92.
–A.K.

SUCIDAVA (Συκίβιδα in Prokopios), a Roman fortress located 3 km west of mod. Corabia in Rumania, on the left bank of the Danube, facing Palatiolon (anc. Oescus) on the other side of the river. It was retained by the Romans after Aurelian yielded DACIA to the barbarians. The coins found in Sucidava show an uninterrupted series from Aurelian to Theodosios II. Constantine I the Great restored the citadel of Sucidava and connected it with Oescus by a stone bridge. In the mid-5th C. Sucidava suffered from the attacks of the Huns but was again restored, probably under Justin I, whose coins are found in great quantity in the area, or by Justinian I according to his novel 11. A Christian basilica was constructed in Sucidava in the 6th C. and a "secret well" dug out. Ceramic finds include both autochthonous forms and imports from the Aegean region, Asia Minor, and North Africa (D. Tudor, V. Barbu, 14 *CEB* 2 [1975] 638). Circa 600 the Byz. garrison left Sucidava.

LIT. D. Tudor, *Sucidava* (Brussels 1965). Idem, *Sucidava* (Bucharest 1966). –A.K.

SUDAK. See SOUGDAIA.

SUDŽA, a tributary of the Dnieper River, beside which, in the village of Bol'šoj Kamenec in the region of Kursk, two "hoards" were found in 1918–19 and 1928 containing objects probably from the tomb of a barbarian "prince." Among these were a fragment of a bronze bucket, a gold necklace and bracelets, and a well-preserved silver ewer with nine Muses produced ca.400 (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 1, no.37).

LIT. L. Maculevič, *Pogrebenie varvarskogo knjazja v Vostočnoj Evrope* (Moscow-Leningrad 1934). Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, no.84. –A.K.

SUFETULA (mod. Sbeitla, in central Tunisia). Among the more prosperous towns in BYZACENA, its wealth was derived from olive oil produced on the numerous villas and small farms within its territory. The late 4th and early 5th C. saw the construction of three basilicas (one perhaps belonging to the Donatist community) inside the remnants of two court-style temples and the public basilica attached to the forum. A small votive shrine to the martyrs Sylvanus and Fortunatus was also established in the main necropolis. Under the VANDALS, a bishop of Sufetula, Praesidius, was exiled to Sardinia. In the late 5th or early 6th C. a new church and ecclesiastical complex was erected on the site of an earlier villa or villas on the northern edge of the city. After the Byz. reconquest, new churches were constructed over the shrine in the necropolis and at the southeast entrance to the city. Repairs and liturgical modifications of existing basilicas were also carried out over the course of the 6th and 7th C. and, evidently, in the early Arab period.

Sufetula was also the site of a number of provincial councils in the 6th C. A group of Latin Christian epitaphs dating from the Justinianic period and 7th C. indicates that the city was an important military, cultural, and religious center, although the absence of substantial fortifications raises questions about its overall value in the frontier defensive system established under Justinian I. Despite the apparent prominence of Byz. Sufetula, there is evidence that some streets and quarters of the city were falling into disuse; at some point an olive press was built over a main road in the southeast quarter. Archaeological surveys also indicate a decline in the number of active rural settlements in the 6th and 7th C. In 646 the rebellious exarch of Carthage, GREGORY, established his headquarters at Sufetula. In the following year, however, he was defeated by the Arabs and Sufetula was sacked. There is some archaeological evidence suggesting that a small Christian community remained on the site in the early Arab period.

LIT. N. Duval, "Observations sur l'urbanisme de Sufetula," *Cahiers de Tunisie* 12 (1964) 87–103. Idem, *Sbeitla et les églises africaines à deux absides*, vol. 1 (Paris 1971). Idem, "L'epigraphie chrétienne de Sbeitla (Sufetula) et son apport historique," *Atti del IV Convegno di studio su "L'Africa romana"* (Sassari 1987) 385–414. P.V. Addyman, W.G. Simpson, "Archaeology of the Sbeitla Area," *Brathey Exploration Group, Annual Report and Account of Expeditions* (1966) 153–70. J. Barbery, J.P. Delhoume, "Le Route de Masclianae" *AntAfr* 18 (1982) 27–43. Pringle, *Defence* 63, 113, 142, 284f.
–R.B.H.

SUICIDE (*αὐτοκτονία*). Even though recent scholarship has rejected the traditional image of a Roman mania for suicide, in the Roman Empire of the 1st–2nd C. suicide was evidently still considered an acceptable and even noble way to solve personal or political problems. Only in the 3rd C. did PLOTINOS take a negative stand toward suicide by equating it with murder. Christianity, in its earlier stages, was not hostile toward suicide: AMBROSE praised St. PELAGIA THE VIRGIN for killing herself after she had been raped. A position critical of suicide was taken by LACTANTIUS and esp. AUGUSTINE, who consistently rejected this course of action. At the same time the law changed its perception of suicide, which began to be treated as a confession of depravity. In the East, PALLADIOS of Galatia in the 5th C. still considered suicide a possible means of protecting one's chastity, but later canon law prohibited killing oneself. A certain ambivalence remained in the literary appraisal of martyrs, who in fact sought death through execution, and of ascetics whose starvation was a slow self-destruction: the righteous could yearn for DEATH as the gateway to union with God, but the moment of death had to remain in the hands of God. The negative attitude toward suicide was enhanced by the image of JUDAS, who died by hanging himself. The question of the guilt of those who urged others to commit suicide was discussed at the Council of Ankyra in 314; accomplices were condemned to 10 years of penitence.

Documented instances of suicide are indeed infrequent in Byz., a rare example being the scribe Melitas who hanged himself in 1303 because he was despondent over his indebtedness (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:385–88). The vita of St. Makarios of Pelekete attributed the attempted suicide of a certain Gregory to demoniac possession (P. van den Gheyn, *AB* 16 [1897] 162.27–34). Unhappy wives sometimes used the threat of suicide by drowning, hanging, or hurling themselves from a high rock to obtain a DIVORCE (A. Laiou, *FM* 6:309–12), since suicide was considered a worse crime than divorce.

LIT. J.D. Ehrlich, "Suicide in the Roman Empire" (Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University 1983) 190–213. Y. Grisé, *La suicide dans Rome antique* (Paris 1982) 283–89. A. Vandenbossche, "Recherches sur le suicide en droit romain," *AIPHOS* 12 (1952) 500–05. –A.K., A.M.T.

SUIDAS. See SOUDA.

SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI (Σουλαϊμάνης and other forms), second son of BAYEZID I, and ruler (1402–11) over part of the Ottoman realm; born 1377?, died Düğüncü-Ili 17 Feb. 1411. After Timur's victory over Bayezid, Süleyman Çelebi fled eventually (20 Aug. 1402) to Gallipoli (KALLIPOLIS). He was acknowledged as sultan in Rumeli, but his brothers in Anatolia—Isa and MEHMED (I)—disputed his claims. He strengthened his position by accommodation with local Christian powers, including Byz. By the peace of Jan.–Feb. 1403, Constantinople recovered Thessalonike and other places and was freed from tribute payments. In 1403–10 Süleyman Çelebi expanded his rule into Anatolia, perhaps eliminating Isa before mid-March 1403 and otherwise holding his own against Mehmed. In Rumeli he generally preserved the status quo.

His position crumbled in 1410–11. Early in 1410, Mehmed dispatched his younger brother MUSA to Rumeli, and on 13 Feb. he and his Balkan allies defeated Süleyman Çelebi's *beylerbeyi* Sinan at Iambol. Facing disaster, Süleyman Çelebi renewed his accord with Manuel II (late May), possibly marrying then a daughter of THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS. He twice defeated Musa the following summer: 15 June at Kosmidion, a suburb of Constantinople; 11 July near Edirne (ADRIANOPLE), but the Rumelian Turks then shifted support to Musa, whose austerity and unsubmissiveness to Constantinople they esteemed. Early in 1411 Musa defeated Süleyman Çelebi's army near Sofia (SERDICA), and he fled from Edirne for Constantinople. On 17 Feb., however, he perished at Düğüncü-Ili—assassinated, or captured and then strangled on Musa's orders.

Süleyman Çelebi's passion for drink and debauchery was renowned. The historian Doukas also depicts him as gentle, guileless, compassionate, and generous; Chalkokondyles praises him as a brave soldier. Süleyman Çelebi apparently felt a special reverence for Christ, and some of his fellow Muslims viewed him as overly sympathetic to Christians.

LIT. E. Zachariadou, "Süleyman Çelebi in Rumili and the Ottoman Chronicles," *Der Islam* 60 (1983) 268–96. Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 289–96. Barker, *Manuel II* 247–55, 281–84. –S.W.R.

SÜLEYMAN IBN KUTULMUŞ, first Seljuk ruler in Anatolia; died near Aleppo 1086. Son of Kutulmuş (or Kutlumuş), cousin of TUGHRUL BEG, Süleyman (Σολυμάν) and his brother Manṣūr were in Anatolia by 1078, where they supported the usurpation of NIKEPHOROS III and gained lands

around NICAEA. During Nikephoros's reign, MALIKSHĀH sent Bursuk to subdue the brothers. Manṣūr was killed, but Süleyman expanded his domain. The rebel Nikephoros MELISSENOS granted him Nicaea, Chrysopolis, and other cities. In 1081 ALEXIOS I, in return for aid against the Normans, recognized Süleyman's boundaries; the Byz. called him "sultan" (Bryen. 303.26), but this term may reflect Turkoman usage rather than an officially conferred title. Circa 1084, abandoning Nicaea to his supporter Abu'l-Qāsim, Süleyman moved east, where he seized Antioch from Philaretos BRACHAMIOS, only to perish in battle with Malikshāh's brother Tutuş. –C.M.B.

SÜLEYMAN PASHA (Σουλιμάν in Kantakouzenos), eldest son of ORHAN; died near Bolayır 1357. He was a leader in the earliest Ottoman conquests and settlements in Thrace after ca.1352. Previously he had participated in the conquests of Nicaea (1330), the beylik of KARASI (1334–35), and Nikomedeia (1337). After Orhan's marriage in 1346 to Theodora, daughter of John VI, Süleyman Pasha was thrice dispatched with Turkish forces to assist the Kantakouzenoi (1348, 1350, 1352). In 1352, his troops captured Tzympe near KALLIPOLIS, which they refused to evacuate. On 1–2 Mar. 1354, an earthquake severely damaged fortifications in the Thracian Chersonnese, and many Byz. fled. He quickly seized Kallipolis and other places, which he refortified and colonized with Anatolian emigrants. From these bases he and his ghazis pressed further into mainland Thrace. By his death the Turks had penetrated throughout much of the Marica Valley corridor. He established his headquarters at Kallipolis and Bolayır, where he was buried following a fatal hunting accident.

LIT. Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 239–47. M. Tekindağ, *İA* 11:190–94. İnalcık, "Edirne" 189–95. –S.W.R.

SULTAN (σουλτάνος). An Arabic word that appears in the Qur'ān with the meaning of moral or magic power; later it took the meaning of administrative power and finally of the possessor of the power (i.e., the ruler). In the 11th C., with the rise of the SELJUKS, it became specifically the title borne by strong and independent rulers whose vassals and provincial princes received the title of *malik* ("king" in Arabic) or *shāh* ("king" in Persian). The Islamic world was considered an entity guided by the caliph, the religious spiritual leader, and the sultan, to whom the caliph delegated military and administrative authority. The term *sultan* appears in late 11th-C. Byz. sources as a loanword from Arabic/Persian, and was used to designate the Seljuk, the MAMLŪK, and finally the OTTOMAN monarch. A 14th-C. Byz. view of a sultan is provided by a figure, identified as a sultan in Arabic but as PTOLEMY in Greek, in a MS in Venice (Furlan, *Marciana* 4:38–40, fig. 33). He is shown seated cross-legged, but wears a tunic decorated with imperial purple EAGLES.

LIT. J.H. Kramers, *EI* 4:543–45. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:286–89. –E.A.Z., A.C.

SUN AND MOON. The sun (HELIOS) was a major concern of late antique theology and, in the form of SOL INVICTUS and SOL JUSTITIAE, played a part in Christian cosmological and ethical concepts. In Byz. art the sun and moon are depicted either as schematic heads in circles or as PERSONIFICATIONS. Both types are found in depictions of the CRUCIFIXION, the most important context in which they occur. Diagrammatic versions of the sun and moon occur on the Barberini ivory, flanking the bust of Christ; they "stand still" beside Jericho in the Joshua Roll. Similarly enduring is the tradition of depicting the luminaries as human busts. The sun takes this form in a 6th-C. pavement at Skythopolis and, four centuries later, in the PARIS PSALTER where it appears above the ailing Hezekiah. Both Helios and Selene were understood as moving STARS. The interchangeability of their position in images of the Crucifixion has been ascribed by J. Engemann (*infra*) to legends preserved in pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and elsewhere. In such scenes, as in painted versions of the CREATION and Ascension where they are also found, the sun is normally a red male while the moon is a blue female. When sun, moon, and stars appear together as in the Vienna GENESIS (Gerstinger, *Wien. Gen.*, pl.29), only the two main luminaries are personified. In this case their presence is justified by the text (Gen 37:9); lacking this basis, their function on the DAVID PLATES and elsewhere may witness to their symbolic role in events understood as divinely inspired.

LIT. H. Laag, *LCI* 4:178–80. J. Engemann, "Zur Position von Sonne und Mond bei Darstellungen der Kreuzigung Christi," in *Studien Deichmann* 3:95–101. –A.C.

SUNDAY (Κυριακή, "the Lord's day"), the weekly Christian feastday from earliest times, though some judaizing Christians continued to observe the Jewish Sabbath, a practice that was condemned by St. Paul and eventually suppressed by the 2nd C. Sunday was not a Christian Sabbath, however; it was an ordinary workday until Constantine I the Great proclaimed it a day of rest in 321, prohibiting all kinds of work except that in the fields and all legal transactions except manumissions. In 386, theatrical and circus performances were also forbidden on Sunday. Judaizing tendencies were a recurring problem, however, and the church fathers (e.g., Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom) criticized those observing Saturday as a day of rest.

Sunday was the day symbolic of the New Age, the day on which the LORD'S SUPPER is celebrated, sign of the continued presence of the Risen One until he comes again. It was also called "the eighth day," meaning that as the new day, symbol of the arrival of the final age, it was outside the normal Jewish cycle of time, conceived in multiples of seven. Originally EUCHARIST was celebrated only on Sunday, and because it was a day of joy, KNEELING and FASTING were prohibited. In the 3rd C. Christians began to celebrate Eucharist on Saturday too and to prohibit fasting and kneeling on Saturday as on Sunday. In the West, however, Saturday was a fast day, and this became a source of dispute between Rome and Constantinople.

From the 4th C. onward Sunday was celebrated with great splendor in liturgical services focused on the paschal mystery, so that Sunday came to be considered a "Little Easter." The festivities commenced Saturday night with a Resurrection VIGIL comprising three antiphons, prayers, the burning of INCENSE in memory of the spices that the MYRROPHOROI brought to the tomb of Jesus, and the proclamation by the bishop of the Gospel story of Jesus' death and resurrection. This was followed at dawn by the customary ORTHROS and Eucharist and, in the evening, by VESPERS. All these elements were integrated into the Byz. Sunday services.

LIT. W. Rordorf, *Sunday* (Philadelphia 1968). C.S. Mosna, *Storia della domenica* (Rome 1969). Taft, *East & West* 31–40. –R.F.T.

SUNDAY OF ORTHODOXY. See TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY.

SUNDIAL (ἀνάλημμα). PTOLEMY described the principles of the sundial in *On the Analemma*. This work was not known in Constantinople after the late Roman period but is preserved in a Latin translation by WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE in 1269.

A number of stone sundials survive from antiquity, at least some of which are probably late Roman. There are fragments of at least five portable sundials from the 4th to 6th C., of which one includes a gearing mechanism to display the calendar (J.V. Field, D.R. Hill, M.T. Wright, *Byzantine and Arabic Mathematical Gearing* [London 1985] 1–138). (See also HOROLOGION.)

LIT. S.L. Gibbs, *Greek and Roman Sundials* (New Haven, 1976). J.V. Field, M.T. Wright, *Early Gearing* (London 1985) 5–13, 18–20. Eadem, "More Gears from the Greeks," *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* 11 (1986) 10–12. –D.P.

SUPERFICIES (ὑπερῷον, ἐποικοδομηθέν, lit. "upper story, built up"), all things built upon or attached to the ground, esp. houses and buildings, but also trees and other plants. According to the Roman principle sanctioned by Justinian I, *superficies solo cedit*, the ownership of the *superficies* always fell to the owner of the ground. However, the *superficiarius*, that is, the one who built on another's land or cultivated it, was by no means devoid of rights. As long as he acted with the consent of the landowner, either a SERVITUS or an EMPHYTEUSIS could apply. Both legal institutions ensured the *superficiarius* a lasting return on his investments; the *emphyteusis*, moreover, ensured a right like that of ownership with regard to the heritability and the alienation of the *superficies*. In late Byz. practice the principle *superficies solo cedit* was generally neglected, so that separate property ownership rights could exist on a piece of land and on its *superficies*: a mill or chapel, for example, could be disposed of separately from the land.

LIT. F. Sitzia, *Studi sulla superficie in epoca giustinianea* (Milan 1979). –M.Th.F.

SURETYSHIP (ἐγγύη), a simple and, next to the PIGNUS, the most popular transaction for the security of financial claims of all kinds. It consisted of the written promise of a person, the guarantor, that he would fulfill the claim of the creditor in case of insolvency of the (chief) debtor. The complicated late Roman development culminated in

Justinian I's regulation of 535 (*Nov.Just.* 4) that remained in force until the end of the Byz. Empire (e.g., Harm. 3.6). The creditor who wished to collect a claim had to apply first to the chief debtor, then to the guarantor, and finally to third parties who possessed objects belonging to the debtor (e.g., pawns). The legal collections associate suretyship with financial LOANS; therefore the prescriptions on suretyship are found in the titles dealing with "loans" or close by. In practice, however, the setting of sureties occurred in the most diverse cases, for example, the obligation to return a dowry (*Peira* 65.2), to hand over the father's property (*Peira* 65.5), to fulfill public or private services (*Peira* 65.1, 65.15), etc. In the later period suretyship was even involved in obligations that cannot be calculated in terms of money (Hunger-Kresten, *PatrKP*, no.89, a.1325: surety for abstaining from sexual intercourse). Independent formulas are not known, perhaps because suretyship was already absorbed into the legal transaction between creditor and chief debtor (*Docheiar.*, no.3.4, a.1112).

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:457–61 (§278). –D.S.

SURGERY. Discussing surgery and its implements in book 6 of his medical encyclopedia, PAUL OF AEGINA gathers Greco-Roman operations and techniques and adds 7th-C. Byz. advances. Several operations are detailed for various wounds, malformations of external structures surrounding the eyes, the surgical correction of pterygium (a growth of the conjunctiva), and couching of cataracts. Paul has sensible descriptions of tooth extraction, surgical correction for ankyloglossia (tongue-tie), tonsillectomy, the removal of the uvula, and a clipped account of tracheotomy quoted from the works of Antyllos (fl. ca.150). Among dozens of operations, Paul provides detailed instructions for lithotomy (removal of bladder stones), a technique for draining pus in empyema, the surgical repair of enterocele (intestinal hernia), and embryotomy. Cautery crudely seals amputations, but excellent methods for splinting, setting, and bandaging fractures, dislocations, and sprains are given. Trephination is recommended for certain kinds of skull fractures, with good results claimed by Paul and his sources. Although later Byz. medical texts devote little attention to surgery, other evidence attests to the continuation of a wide variety of operations. One notable example was the (unsuccessful) separation of Siamese twins in the 10th C. (G.E. Pentogalos, J.G. Lascaratos, *BHM* 58 [1984] 99–102).

Among the over 200 known Byz. surgical instruments (as distinguished from those of Greek or Roman manufacture) are traditional probes, scalpels, bone chisels and saws, and lancets for venesection as well as sophisticated ear syringes, periosteal elevators, surgical scoops for removing weapons or missiles, variously shaped cauteries, and rectal and vaginal specula. Several MS illuminations (Florence, Laurent. 74.7) of around 900, possibly executed under the direction of the physician Niketas, depict many methods in the *Bandages* of Soranus (fl.98–117) and the reductions of dislocations in the *Commentary on Hippocrates' Joints* by Apollonios of Kition (fl.ca.50 B.C.). Arabic surgery absorbed much data from Byz. texts, esp. Paul of Aegina.

LIT. L. Bliquez, "Two Lists of Greek Surgical Instruments and the State of Surgery in Byzantine Times," *DOP* 38 (1984) 187–204. J.S. Milne, *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times* (Oxford 1907; rp. New York 1970). J. Scarborough, *Roman Medicine* (London 1969) pls. 39–44. –J.S.

SURVEY. See CADASTER; LAND SURVEY.

SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS. See COMMENDATIO ANIMAE.

SUTTON HOO TREASURE, dated to the 6th or 7th C. and discovered in 1939 in a burial mound at Woodbridge in Suffolk as part of the grave goods placed between 625 and 630 in the tomb of a king of East Anglia, probably Raedwald, who had been interred inside a ship. In addition to objects of local and Scandinavian manufacture, there are works of late Roman and Byz. silver that include a bowl similar to others in the MILDENHALL TREASURE; a large niello-inlaid plate with SILVER STAMPS of 491–518, decorated with small busts of personifications of Rome and Constantinople; a set of ten bowls similar to the pair in the LAMPSAKOS TREASURE; and two spoons, one inscribed "Saul," the other "Paul," once thought to be baptismal gifts. Other works of Byz. manufacture in this treasure that could have reached Anglo-Saxon England by trade are two bronze bowls of a type often described as "Coptic."

LIT. R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, 3 vols. (London 1975–83). –M.M.M.

SUZDAL' (Σούσδαλις), one of a cluster of towns in northeast Rus', often linked politically to Rostov and to Vladimir-on-the-Kljaz'ma. Political, commercial, and cultural relations with Byz. grew in the mid-12th C. under the princes JURIJ DOLGORUKIJ and ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO: Byz. silks have been found at several sites in the region (M. Fechner, *SovArch* 3 [1977] 30–42); Jurij and Andrej were useful allies of Manuel I in that they curbed the effectiveness of the pro-Hungarian princes of KIEV; Andrej, through his patronage of art, literature, and public buildings in Vladimir attempted to create a prestigious cultural center in the Byz. style. The bishopric of Rostov-Suzdal' was founded in the 1070s (A. Poppe, *Byzantion* 40 [1970] 193–97). Patr. LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES, however, refused Andrej's request to establish there a metropolitan see independent of Kiev. From ca.1250 the metropolitan of Kiev tended in fact to reside in Vladimir—an arrangement Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS formalized in 1354 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2367), although from 1308 the actual residence of the metropolitan was Moscow. Later Suzdal' was elevated to an archbishopric. A letter by Patr. Neilos Kerameus of 1381 mentions Dionysios, archbishop of Suzdal' (MM 2:33.33; on the date—*RegPatr*, fasc. 6, no.2729). In 1393 Euphrosynos, archbishop of Suzdal' (MM 2:196.12–13), was in conflict with KIPRIAN, the metropolitan of all Russia, contesting his jurisdiction over the *kastra* of [Nižnij] Novgorod and Borodetzion (Gorodec) (*RegPatr*, fasc. 6, no.2938).

LIT. Tikhomirov, *Ancient Rus* 415–49. Meyendorff, *Russia* 216–20, 248f. Ju.A. Limonov, *Vladimiro-Suzdal'skaja Rus'* (Leningrad 1987). E. Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij: The Man and the Myth* (Florence 1980). –S.C.F.

SVJATOSLAV (Σφενδοσθλάβος), prince of Kiev from ca.945; died at the Dnieper rapids early spring 972. Son of IGOR and OL'GA, Svjatoslav spent his life in military expeditions, leaving the domestic administration to Ol'ga. In the 960s Svjatoslav destroyed the KHAZAR state, razing to the ground their strongholds SARKEL and Itil. After NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS failed in negotiations with the Bulgarians, the emperor decided to use Svjatoslav against Bulgaria. The following chronology of events was established, primarily on the basis of John SKYLITZES, by P. Karyškovskij (*infra*), who considers the data in LEO THE DEACON vague and imprecise. In late 967 (or early spring 968) Nikephoros sent his envoy Kalokyros of Cherson to Kiev; in accordance with their negotiations, Svjatoslav invaded Bulgaria in the summer of 968. A Pecheneg attack caused Svjatoslav to return home, but in July or August of 969 he was again in Bulgaria, where he deposed BORIS II and planned to transfer his capital to Little PRESLAV on the Danube. Now the Byz. became frightened at the success of the Rus'. JOHN I TZIMISKES sent Bardas SKLEROS against Svjatoslav but had to recall him to subdue the rebellion of the PHOKAS in Asia Minor. In April 971 John I marched to Preslav, captured the city, and reestablished Boris as ruler of Bulgaria. Besieged in Dorostolon, Svjatoslav surrendered in July. He signed a treaty promising that he would not invade Bulgaria or attack Cherson and that he would help Byz. against its enemies. During his retreat to Kiev Svjatoslav was attacked by the Pechenegs and fell in battle; his skull was reportedly used as a drinking bowl. Leo the Deacon preserves a vivid portrait of Svjatoslav as a typical barbarian king (Leo Diac. 156.20–157.9).

LIT. A.N. Sacharov, *Diplomatija Svjatoslava* (Moscow 1982). P.O. Karyškovskij, "K istorii balkanskich pochodov Rusi pri Svjatoslave," *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta slavjanovedenija* 14 (1955) 26–30. F. Dölger, "Die Chronologie des grossen Feldzuges des Kaisers Johannes Tzimiskes gegen die Russen," *BZ* 32 (1932) 275–92. A.D. Stokes, "The Background and Chronology of the Balkan Campaigns of Svyatoslav Igorevich," *SlEERev* 40 (1961–62) 44–57. I. Ševčenko, "Sviatoslav in Byzantine and Slavic Miniatures," *Slavonic Review* 24 (1965) 709–13. –A.K.

SWINE (χοῖροι) are usually listed in *praktika* along with SHEEP and GOATS, but they were owned in fewer numbers (usually two to five animals) and by fewer households. Great landowners, however, might possess large herds of pigs—thus John VI Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:185.7–8) calculates that 50,000 of his swine were confiscated after he was proclaimed emperor in 1341. Children drove swine to pastures for the entire day, as did St. Ioannikios at age seven (*AASS* Nov. 2.1:333C). Peasants fed their pigs in oak groves—a decision of Judge Nicholas in 995 relates that the swine grazed on

chestnuts and acorns in the mountains (*Ivir.* 1, no.9.49–50). A tithe on swine (*choirodekatia*) sometimes appears in acts together with the *ennomion* on beehives (*Esphig.*, no.7.7), sometimes with the *ennomion* on sheep and *balanistron* (*Chil.*, no.45.16–17)—evidently, a tax on oak groves. The Byz. considered pork and lard coarse foods typical of boorish villagers.

LIT. N. Kondov, "Svinovŭdstvoto prez srednovekovieto v bŭlgarskite zemi," *Selskostopanska nauka* (1972) no.1, 94–103. –A.K., J.W.N.

SYKAI. See GALATA.

SYKEON (Συκεών), village in GALATIA on the great highway across Anatolia, about 100 km west of ANKYRA. The road here crossed the Siberis River, over which Justinian I built a strong stone bridge. At that time, Sykeon contained an inn kept by prostitutes; one of these was the mother of St. THEODORE OF SYKEON. His Life provides considerable information about the district, which was evidently well populated and flourishing in the late 6th C. Sykeon had several churches, the most important the triple-apsed monastery of Theodore with its adjacent chapels. Persians ravaged the district ca.622; Sykeon does not reappear in history. The site has vanished beneath the floodwaters of a dam.

LIT. *TIB* 4:228f. –C.F.

SYLLAION (Συλ⟨λ⟩αῖον), city of PAMPHYLIA. An unimportant place in late antiquity, Syllaion first appears in history in 673, when an Arab fleet was destroyed nearby. It gained in importance in the 9th C. as a fortified city and residence of the *ek prosopou* of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme. John, who held the office ca.821–29, is best known as St. ANTONY THE YOUNGER. Between 787 and 815, Syllaion became the ecclesiastical metropolis, replacing Perge, then in decline. It played a role during Iconoclasm: Patr. Constantine II (754–66), an active supporter of Constantine V, was bishop of Syllaion, and ANTONY I KASSYMATAS came from Syllaion. Otherwise, its history is obscure; it probably fell to the Turks in the 12th C. The site contains a fortified acropolis, probably Byz., and a palace (9th C.?).

LIT. K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, vol. 1 (Vienna 1890) 65–84. V. Ruggieri, F. Nethercott, "The Metropolitan City of Syllion and its Churches," *JÖB* 36 (1986) 133–56. –C.F.

SYLLOGE TACTICORUM (Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν, Collection of Tactics), a 10th-C. compilation of tactics and stratagems divided into two parts. The first section (1–56) covers a wide range of subjects including generalship, definitions of terminology, measurements, encampments, equipment, formations, and siege warfare; among the compiler's sources were Onasander (1st C.), the Roman tactician Aelianus, and the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI. The second part (57–102) lists devices and mechanisms reputedly employed by famous commanders of antiquity; descriptions of these tactics were based on collections deriving from Sextus Julius AFRICANUS and Polyaenus. This reliance on earlier authorities is balanced, however, by the compiler's treatment of current warfare in chapters 38 and 39 (on infantry and cavalry equipment) and 46 and 47 (on tactics for cavalry alone or with infantry), in which he presents a detailed outline of contemporary formations and tactical doctrine, esp. on the offensive role of KATAPHRAKTOI and the defensive role of the infantry. These chapters later formed the main source for the PRAECEPTA MILITARIA. Moreover, his comparison of classical and Byz. warfare (30–39) and comments on the differences (33.1, 47.1) reveals the compiler to be a serious student of war.

The date of the *Sylloge* is uncertain, and the text itself shows signs of being unfinished. The title and index in the only MS (Florence, Laur. Plut. 75–76) attribute it to Leo VI, but these appear to be later additions. References to soldiers and weapons first attested in the mid-10th C., and not found in the *Taktika of Leo VI*, suggest that the *Sylloge* was compiled during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos.

ED. A. Dain, *Sylloge Tacticorum* (Paris 1938).
LIT. R. Vári, "Die sog. 'Inedita Tactica Leonis,'" *BZ* 27 (1927) 241–70. –E.M.

SYMBOLISM, a system of representing intelligible or supraintelligible (unknowable) objects through sensible things. Christian theology dealt with two separate levels of beings: those of the earthly world and those of heaven. The union of the two levels could be achieved ontologically through miracles, primarily the miracle of Christ who possessed two natures, divine and human. It could also be achieved gnosiologically: not by dint of logical concepts, however, but through a system of signs or symbols. Accordingly, the Byz. tackled the notion of signs, which they divide into ALLEGORY, symbol, and PREFIGURATION (*typos*). The distinction between them could be confused and the terms used interchangeably, but in principle a prefiguration was an object or event that "typified" or foreshadowed a greater event in the future, as Jonah swallowed and disgorged by the sea monster typified Christ's death and resurrection; allegory is a metaphorical description of a complex phenomenon; and the symbol is a manifestation (theophany) of the divine in a sensible form that allows our ascent to the intelligible and even to the unknowable.

The principles of symbolic theology were developed by the mystical writer pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE. Dionysios taught that there were two ways to transmit information about truth: by logical concepts and by symbols: a symbol is information beyond logic, based on the RIDDLE that reveals and at the same time conceals the truth. Ascent to the truth via symbols presupposes a triad of purification, illumination, and perfection.

Symbolism pervaded many aspects of Byz. life, esp. LITURGY, CEREMONY, and ICONOGRAPHY; liturgical space symbolized the cosmos, liturgical actions reproduced the history of salvation, imperial ceremonial was the image of the heavenly order, and the icon a sensible form of the divine. Various problems arose in this connection: thus, one and the same sensible object could serve as a symbol of manifold events and ideas, while, on the other hand, one and the same phenomenon could be symbolized through manifold sensible things. Moreover, the borderline between symbol and being could be vague. For instance, did the EUCHARIST symbolize the sacrifice of Christ or was each eucharistic act an actual repetition of the sacrifice? Was the icon a symbol of divinity, the Virgin, or a saint, or was it a divinity in itself, wielding its own miraculous power? Was the emperor an image of God or was he and all his environment divine, so that a crime against the emperor was a crime against God? Both interpretations of these contradictory views found their supporters in Byz. thought. The solution, however, lay in the concept of the sign-symbol as an "intermediary" between illusionistic imitation of reality and conventional abstraction deprived of sensible content (V. Byčkov, *Estetika pozdnej antičnosti* [Moscow 1981] 267).

In the visual arts, as in literature, symbolism similarly operated at a variety of levels and in a great diversity of contexts. Simplest perhaps were the representations of animals and plants that carried hidden significance: the DEER that thirsts because it has swallowed a serpent was a widespread image alluding to the Baptism of Christ. Manmade objects such as a lighthouse were represented, probably to signify the salvific light of Christ. PERSONIFICATIONS, too, functioned at different levels of meaning, the relationship between them being explained (or not) by the context. Thus parallels between the divine maker and a human founder were sometimes evoked by the image of Ktisis (Creation); Ananeosis (Renewal), a common embodiment of the notion of restoration as applied to a monument, also evoked the idea of the renewal provided by the eucharistic sacrifice (Maguire, *infra* 48–53). Biblical persons and events were represented for their significance in terms of TYPOLOGY: the pit into which Joseph was lowered, as on the cathedra of Maximian and other works, was understood as the tomb of Christ, while the BURNING BUSH, Aaron's rod, and the ARK OF THE COVENANT were viewed as prefigurations of the Virgin Mary.

LIT. *Symbolik des orthodoxen Christentums*, ed. K.C. Felmy et al. (Stuttgart 1968). D. de Chapeaurouge, *Einführung in die Geschichte der christlichen Symbole* (Darmstadt 1984). M. van Parys, "Le symbolisme dans la liturgie byzantine," in *Le symbolisme dans le culte des grandes religions*, ed. J. Ries (Louvain-la-Neuve 1985) 265–73. V. Byčkov, *Vizantijskaja estetika* (Moscow 1977) 122–29. Averincev, *Poetika* 109–28. Maguire, *Earth & Ocean* 5–15. –A.K., A.C.

SYMEON, archbishop of Thessalonike (1416/17–1429) and ecclesiastical writer; born Constantinople, died Thessalonike mid-Sept. 1429. Before his elevation to the see of THESSALONIKE he was a hieromonk, perhaps at the monastery ton Xanthopoulon in Constantinople. An ardent hesychast, he staunchly defended Orthodoxy and opposed the surrender of Thessalonike to either Venetians or Turks.

Symeon's works shed much light on both the

historical events and liturgical practices of his day. Especially important is the description of the critical situation of Thessalonike in the 1420s, then under pressure from both Turks and Venetians, and its surrender to the Venetians in 1423, found in his lengthy *Logos* of 1427/8 on the miracles of St. Demetrios. A number of hortatory treatises deplore the moral depravity of his flock and urge them to repent, asserting that the Turkish expansion was God's punishment for the sins of the Byz. In his principal liturgical treatises, which reflect the conservative traditions of Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike, he deals with topics such as ordination, baptism, the Eucharist, penance, marriage, unction, and burial. An incomplete and unpublished liturgical *typikon* provides further information on the rite at Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike, listing feastdays and describing the positions of icons and church furniture as well as the order of the clergy in procession (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 34 [1976] 45–78). He also wrote *Dialogue Against Heresies*, a group of treatises set in the framework of a dialogue between an archbishop and a cleric.

ED. PG 155:33–976. Partial Eng. tr. H.L.N. Simmons, *Treatise on Prayer: An Explanation of the Services Conducted in the Orthodox Church* (Brookline, Mass., 1984). *Politico-historical Works of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica*, ed. D. Balfour (Vienna 1979). *Erga theologika*, ed. idem (Thessalonike 1981). *Ta leitourgika syngrammata: 1. Euchai kai hymnoi*, ed. I. Phountoules (Thessalonike 1968).

LIT. I. Phountoules, *To leitourgikon ergon Symeon tou Thessalonikes* (Thessalonike 1966). D. Balfour, "Saint Symeon of Thessalonike as a Historical Personality," *GOrThR* 28 (1983) 55–72. –A.M.T.

SYMEON, MONASTERY OF SAINT (Dayr Anbā Hadrā), ruined complex on the west bank of the Nile near Aswān, built on the presumed dwelling site of a 4th-C. bishop of Aswān. Except for the caves of some Early Christian anchorites, the visible remains are all Fāṭimid (11th–12th C.). The 11th-C. church belongs to the domed-octagon type, found in the contemporary architecture of Greece and occasionally in Egypt, where, however, there are two domes, not one. The sanctuary is a triconch comprising the altar chamber and the *khūruṣ* (*choros*, choir).

LIT. U. Monneret de Villard, *Il monastero di S. Simeone presso Aswân* I (Milan 1927). Timm, *Ägypten* 2:664–67. H. Munier, "Les stèles coptes du monastère de Saint Siméon à Assouan," *Aegyptus* 11 (1930–31) 257–300, 433–84. –P.G.

SYMEON, PSEUDO-. See MAKARIOS/SYMEON.

SYMEON II, patriarch of Jerusalem (from before 1092); died Cyprus 15 July 1098. Few details of his life are known. Circa 1092 he attended a local council in Constantinople. Shortly before the arrival of the First Crusade he fled to Cyprus to escape the Turkish threat. At the end of 1097 and again on 15 Jan. 1098, he cooperated with the Latins by sending an appeal to the West for help (ed. Hagenmeyer, *infra*). A short treatise, irenic in tone, condemning the use of AZYMES is attributed to him. Leib denied his authorship in spite of the MS tradition, but Michel has shown that the tract was Symeon's reply to a certain Laycus of Amalfi.

ED. B. Leib, "Deux inédits byzantins sur les azymes," *OrChr* 2.3 (1924) 177–239. H. Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* (Innsbruck 1901; rp. Hildesheim–New York 1973) 141f, 146–49. Fr. tr. by B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XI^e siècle* (Paris 1924) 260–63.

LIT. A. Michel, *Amalfi und Jerusalem im griechischen Kirchenstreit (1054–1090)* (Rome 1939) 35–47. V. Grumel, "Jérusalem entre Rome et Byzance," *EO* 38 (1939) 104–17. Idem, "La chronologie des patriarches de Jérusalem sous les Comnènes," in *Sbornik P. Nikov* (Sofia 1940) 109–14. –A.P.

SYMEON LOGOTHETE, *magistros*; writer; fl. mid-10th C. Symeon wrote a chronicle published under various names: Theodosios of Melitene (in fact Melissenos—misunderstood in the 16th C.—O. Kresten, *JÖB* 25 [1976] 208–12), Leo Grammatikos (a scribe of 1013), etc. It is suggested that an epitome from Adam up to Justinian II was the basis of this chronicle; it was continued to 842, coinciding often with GEORGE HAMARTOLOS. The chronicle of Symeon proper encompasses 842–948 and consists of three sections different in style and approach: the story of Michael III and Basil I; the story of Leo VI and Alexander, based in part on the "annals" of Constantinople (R. Jenkins, *DOP* 19 [1965] 89–112); and a description of the period 913–48 based on the author's personal observations. The chronicle is known in three versions: the original written from a pro-Lecapene position; the so-called Continuation of George Hamartolos, which probably was extended to 963 and originated in the circle connected with the Phokas family (A. Markopoulos, *BZ* 76 [1983] 279–81); and the chronicle of pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS. Various continuations of Symeon's chronicle exist. It is preserved also in Church Slavonic translation.

Also preserved under Symeon's name is a poem on the death of Stephen (in 963), son of Romanos I; because this death is not mentioned in the chronicle, V. Vasil'evskij concluded that the chronicle was produced before 963 (*VizVrem* 3 [1896] 576). Another poem of Symeon, called *magistros* and *logothetes tou stratiotikou*, is a dirge for Constantine VII (died 959). There is also a series of letters by Symeon, *magistros* and *logothetes tou dromou* (a former *protasekretis*), unfortunately without any chronological indications: Darrouzès' insufficient argumentation for a late 10th-C. date is based only on a reference to the name of Bp. Theodegios. In the MS, these letters are mixed with those of NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, thus suggesting a date in the first half of the century rather than at its end. Because throughout the 10th C. many patricians and *magistroi* were named Symeon (I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 23/4 [1969–70] 216f), their identification is tricky, and it cannot be proved that the author of the chronicle was SYMEON METAPHRASTES.

ED. Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1842). V.M. Istrin, *Knigy vremen'nyja i obraznyja: Chronika Georgija Amartola*, vol. 2 (Petrograd 1922). *Slavjanskij perevod chroniki Simeona Logotheta*, ed. V.I. Sreznevskij, rp. with intro. by I. Dujčev (London 1971). Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 99–163.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:354–57. A. Kazhdan, "Chronika Simeona Logofeta," *VizVrem* 15 (1959) 125–43. W. Treadgold, "The Chronological Accuracy of the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete for the Years 813–845," *DOP* 33 (1979) 157–97. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.431. A. Sotiroudis, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung des "Georgius Continuatus"* (Thessalonike 1989). –A.K.

SYMEON MAGISTROS, PSEUDO-, conventional name of the author of the anonymous chronicle preserved in a single copy, Paris, B.N. gr. 1712 of the 12th or 13th C. The chronicle begins with Creation and ends at 963; it was apparently completed at the end of the 10th C. It is a compilation based primarily on THEOPHANES and SYMEON LOGOTHETE; for the initial section, the author also used MALALAS and especially JOHN OF ANTIOCH. Particularly important are the traces of an anti-Photian pamphlet which NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON probably also used in his vita of Patr. IGNATIOS. The text of Symeon was translated into Slavonic in the 14th C. Only some sections of the chronicle have been published.

ED. F. Halkin, "Le règne de Constantin d'après la chronique inédite du Pseudo-Syméon," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 11–27. *TheophCont* 603–760.

LIT. A. Markopoulos, *He chronographia tou Pseudosymeon kai hoi peges tes* (Ioannina 1978). R. Browning, "Notes on the 'Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio,'" *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 406–11. –A.K.

SYMEON METAPHRASTES, writer, high official at the end of the 10th C., and saint; died ca.1000; feastday 28 Nov. Mark EUGENIKOS, who wrongly called him *megas logothetes*, made the improbable statement that Symeon was born in the reign of Leo VI (cf. H. Delehaye, *AB* 17 [1898] 450f); an attempt by S. Eustratiades (*EEBS* 10 [1933] 26–38) to relocate Symeon to the 11th C. contradicts the direct evidence of EP'REM MCIRE, who places Symeon's acme in the sixth year of Basil II (P. Peeters, *AB* 29 [1910] 357–59). YAḤYĀ OF ANTIOCH also regards Symeon as a contemporary of Basil II and Patr. Nicholas II CHRYSOBERGES (V. Vasil'evskij, *ŽMNP* 212 [Dec. 1880] 436). Although usually identified with SYMEON LOGOTHETE, the hagiographer apparently belonged to the next generation and worked in a different genre. Symeon composed a hymn to the Trinity (J. Koder, *JÖB* 14 [1965] 133–38), various KANONES and STICHERA, and edifying excerpts from Basil the Great and other church fathers.

His major achievement was a voluminous collection of saints' Lives (see VITA), systematized in the style of 10th-C. ENCYCLOPEDISM (Lemerle, *Humanism* 337–39), which Ehrhard characterizes as "a revolution in the field of hagiography" (*infra* 2:307). Symeon reworked most of the texts he used, to standardize and purify the language (H. Zilliacus, *BZ* 38 [1938] 333–50; W. Lackner in *Byzantios* 227–31) and give it rhetorical embellishment. The material was organized according to the feasts of the ecclesiastical calendar. Symeon's work was highly appreciated by his contemporary Nikephoros OURANOS (Mercati, *CollByz* 1:565–73), and PSELLOS dedicated an *enkomion* to him (Psellos, *Scripta min.* 1:94–107).

The texts of the Metaphrastian MENOLOGION, usually arranged in editions of ten volumes each, became standard reading in monastic circles from the 11th C. onward. During the 11th C., these editions were occasionally illustrated, some with frontispieces, others with standing portraits, figured initials, scenes of martyrdom, or even very short narrative cycles accompanying every text.

Few illustrated editions were produced after the early 12th C.

ED. PG 114–16, add. Beck, *Kirche* 572–75.

LIT. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* 2:306–709. F. Halkin, "Un métaphraste de décembre enrichi de douze ou treize suppléments," *AB* 90 (1972) 370. Idem, "Fragments du ménologe métaphrastique à Leningrad," *BS* 24 (1963) 63f. M. Aubineau, "Fragments de ménologes métaphrastiques dans les codices 94 et 95 d'Ann Arbor (Michigan)," *Scriptorium* 28 (1974) 64f. N.P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion,* (Chicago 1990). –A.K., N.P.Š.

SYMEON OF BLACHERNAI. See MENOLOGION OF BASIL II.

SYMEON OF BULGARIA, tsar (893–927); born between 863 and 865, died 27 May 927. BORIS sent Symeon, his third son, to Constantinople to be educated for an ecclesiastical career; in 893, however, Symeon was recalled to replace his elder brother Vladimir as prince of Bulgaria. Imbued with Byz. culture, Symeon became a dangerous rival of the Byz. emperor; he tried first to establish an equality of power between the two states, then to conquer Constantinople and become emperor of the Greeks and Bulgarians. As a pretext for war, Symeon used the transfer of trade with the Bulgarians from Constantinople to Thessalonike in 893. After some successes, Symeon was temporarily checked by the Hungarians (see HUNGARY); then he won a decisive battle at BOULGAROPHYGON and signed a peace treaty. The second war began again with Symeon's offensive, probably during the reign of ALEXANDER (A. Kazhdan in *Slavjanskij archiv,* vol. 2 [Moscow 1959] 23–29). In 913 Symeon marched toward Constantinople and forced the administration of NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS to yield: the patriarch placed on Symeon's head a sort of crown that symbolized his installation within the Byz. imperial hierarchy. This peace did not last. Either ZOE KARBONOPSINA broke the promises made by Nicholas, or Symeon decided to take advantage of the shaky situation in Constantinople, and in 914 war broke out again. Symeon crushed the Byz. army at ACHELOUS and KATASYRTAI and in 918 reached the Gulf of Corinth. ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, after his coup d'état, endeavored to muster a defense, although the government was ready to agree to pay tribute and yield some territories. In 922 Byz. attempted to create a broad coalition against Symeon (including Armenia and Abasgia) but failed; Symeon's meeting with Romanos in 924 did not lead to a reconciliation. Then Romanos arranged resistance against Symeon in the Balkans. After a hard struggle Symeon managed to subdue the Serbians, but in 926 TOMISLAV defeated a Bulgarian army that invaded Croatia. Soon thereafter Symeon died while planning a new expedition against Byz. His successor PETER OF BULGARIA immediately negotiated a peace treaty.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:278–515. I. Božilov, *Car Simeon Veliki (893–927): Zlatnijat vek na srednovekovna Bŭlgarija* (Sofia 1983). G. Cankova-Petkova, "Pŭrvata vojna meždu Bŭlgarija i Vizantija pri car Simeon i vŭzstanovjavaneto na bŭlgarskata tŭrgovija s Carigrad," *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 20 (1968) 167–200. I. Božilov, "A propos des rapports bulgaro-byzantines sous le tzar Symeon (893–912)," *BBulg* 6 (1980) 73–81. A. Stauridou-Zafraka, *He synantese Symeon kai Nikolaou Mystikou* (Thessalonike 1972). A. Kazhdan, "Bolgaro-vizantijskie otnošenija v 912–925 gg. po perepiske Nikolaja Mistika," *EtBalk* 12 (1976) no.3, 92–107. –A.K.

SYMEON OF EMESA, saint, the first of the holy FOOLS whose activity was described; of Syrian origin (from Edessa?); feastday 21 July. His dates are disputed: EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS makes him a contemporary of Justinian I, while LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS places his *floruit* in the reign of Maurice. After 29 years in the desert near the Dead Sea, Symeon came to Emesa, where he spent the rest of his life. Leontios's Life of Symeon is an important source for the study of urban life in late antiquity. Leontios created the image of a saint who in his extreme humility played the role of a fool and rejected the traditional values and order of the ancient *polis*: Symeon supposedly dragged along the streets a dead dog found on a dunghill and even disrupted church services by throwing nuts and snuffing out candles. On the other hand, Symeon's behavior imitated that of Christ himself: he overturned the counters of pastry cooks near a church, struggled against the Devil, worked miracles, foresaw the future, and averted an earthquake. Thus Leontios made manifest the double nature of the holy man. Symeon's vita is known also in Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, and Slavonic translations.

SOURCES. *Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis,* ed. L. Rydén (Uppsala 1963). *Leontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre,* ed. A.-J. Festugière (Paris 1974) 1–222, with Fr. tr.

LIT. *BHG* 1677–1677d. L. Rydén, *Bemerkungen zum Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis* (Uppsala 1970). V. Rochau, "Saint Siméon Salos, ermite palestinien et prototype des 'Fous-pour-le-Christ,' " *PrOC* 28 (1978) 209–19. W.J. Aerts, "Emesa in der Vita Symeonis Sali von Leontios von Neapolis," in *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium* (Prague 1985) 113–16. –A.K.

SYMEON OF MYTILENE. See DAVID, SYMEON, AND GEORGE OF MYTILENE.

SYMEON THE FOOL. See SYMEON OF EMESA.

SYMEON THE STYLITE THE ELDER, saint; born village of Sis or Sisa, Cilicia, ca.389, died QAL'AT SEM'ĀN near Antioch 24 July 459; feastday 1 Sept. A shepherd as a boy, Symeon later joined the monastery of Teleda but was temporarily expelled because of his extreme asceticism; for example, he wore next to his skin a rope of palm fibers so rough that it cut his flesh. He lived briefly in a dry cistern in the mountains, then in seclusion for three years in a small cell at Telanissos, and then in a circular enclosure on the mountain of Qal'at Sem'ān, where he chained his right leg to a stone; he yielded, however, to the *chorepiskopos* Meletios and permitted a blacksmith to remove the chain. The first STYLITE, Symeon acquired considerable fame and was visited by people of many nations: Ishmaelites, Persians, Armenians, Iberians, Spaniards, British, etc. To avoid their attempts to touch him, Symeon had the column built higher and higher, until it reached 16 meters. He preached from the pillar, but evidence

SYMEON THE STYLITE THE ELDER. Portrait of Symeon. Miniature in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p.2). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The saint on his column is visited by Arabs. To the right, a monk.

of political interference is rare: the Syriac vita (ed. Lietzmann, *infra*, p.174f) relates that Symeon forced Theodosios II to cancel his edict restoring synagogues in Syria. When Symeon died, baptized Arabs tried to carry away his coffin, but ARDABOURIOS, son of Aspar, stopped them. His body was soon removed to Antioch, but the pillar continued to be an object of veneration. The story of Symeon is related by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Byzantion* 34 [1964] 375–84); in a Greek Life, whose author claims to be Antony, a disciple of Symeon; and in a Syriac Life.

At Qal'at Sem'ān are the impressive remains of the shrine enclosing Symeon's column.

Representation in Art. It is difficult to distinguish between images of the two saints called Symeon the Stylite except when they are identified by inscription or clearly connected with a specific date in the church calendar. Inscribed EULOGIAI have been found showing the hooded bust of the saint on his column, two angels, and the ladder; on bas-reliefs, a dove with a crown replaces the angels (I. Pena, P. Castellana, and R. Fernandez, *Les stylites syriens* [Milan 1975] 179–95). A 6th-C. silver plaque in the Louvre shows a Symeon, probably the Elder, in conversation with a huge serpent coiled around the column (*Age of Spirit.*, no.529). Symeon the Elder's commemoration on 1 Sept., the beginning of the church year, assured him a certain importance in liturgical book illustration: his portrait appears as a frontispiece to the volume as a whole (*menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes) or to the calendar section of illuminated Gospel lectionaries (Athos, Dion., 587, fol.116r [*Treasures* 1, fig.237]). A miniature in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.2) shows the saint being visited by several individuals, mostly Arabs. In other miniatures his mother and a monk, probably his biographer Antony, are often shown in attendance. Narrative cycles of unusual length are found in a Cappadocian church (Zilve) and in one 11th-C. MS of Metaphrastes, which includes scenes of Symeon's early years and of his death (Athos, Esphig. 14, fols. 2r–2v [*Treasures* 2, figs. 327–28]). In the 9th-C. Khludov Psalter (fol.3v; see PSALTERS), a basket is being lowered from the saint's platform by means of a rope.

SOURCES. *Théodoret de Cyr, Histoire des moines de Syrie*, ed. P. Canivet, A. Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 2 (Paris 1979) 158–215 (ch.26), with Fr. tr. *Das Leben des heiligen Symeon Stylites*, ed. H. Lietzmann (Leipzig 1908).

LIT. *BHG* 1678–88. Peeters, *Tréfonds* 93–136. Delehaye, *Saints stylites*, i–xxxiv. S. Vryonis, "Aspects of Byzantine Society in Syro-Palestine: Transformations in the Late Fourth and Fifth Centuries," in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. S. Vryonis, Jr. (Malibu 1985) 43–63. D. Krencker, *Die Wallfahrtskirche des Symeon Stylites in Kal'at Sim'ān* (Berlin 1939). K.G. Kaster, C. Squarr, *LCI* 8:361–64. V.H. Elbern, "Eine frühbyzantinische Reliefdarstellung des älteren Symeon Stylites," *JDAI* 80 (1965) 280–304.
–A.K., N.P.Š.

SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER, saint; born Antioch 521, died in monastery of the WONDROUS MOUNTAIN 592; feastdays 23 and 24 May. Symeon was born to a family of perfumers originally from Edessa. When his father perished in an earthquake (26 May 526), Symeon left for a mountainous site called Pila; at age seven he ascended a pillar and became a STYLITE. Circa 541 he moved to another pillar, atop the Wondrous Mountain; later a monastery was built nearby. Symeon wrote ascetic works and *troparia;* two of his letters are preserved. JOHN OF DAMASCUS attributed Symeon's Life to Arkadios, archbishop of Constantia on Cyprus, but van den Ven (*infra* [1962] 1:101f) rejects this attribution, suggesting that it was written by an anonymous contemporary of Symeon. Although Symeon's exploits took place in a deserted mountainous site north of the Orontes, the author frequently refers to ANTIOCH, describing the Persian siege of 540, the plague of 542, and the earthquake of 557; he worries that the Antiochenes, particularly the elite, are infected with paganism, Manichaeanism, astrological beliefs, and other heresies (par. 161.20–21). Also interested in events in Constantinople, he has Symeon predict that Justin II would succeed Justinian I. He is aware of the Arab world, reporting the death of the Lakhmid al-Mundhir (ALAMUNDARUS) in 553. Nikephoros OURANOS reworked the Life, which is also preserved in several abridged versions (J. Bompaire, *Hellenika* 13 [1954] 71–110) and in Georgian and Arabic translations (J. Nasrallah, *AB* 90 [1972] 387–89). The monastery produced Symeon tokens (see PILGRIM TOKENS), clay and lead images of Symeon, which were popular with pilgrims until the 12th C. (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzantion* 51 [1981] 631). Images of the younger Symeon the Stylite closely echo that of the Elder, so that it is often difficult to distinguish between the two when there is no identifying caption.

ED. P. van den Ven, "Les écrits de s. Syméon Stylite le Jeune avec trois sermons inédits," *Muséon* 70 (1957) 1–57.
SOURCES. *La Vie ancienne de s. Syméon Stylite le Jeune*, ed. P. van den Ven, 2 vols. (Brussels 1962–70).
LIT. *BHG* 1689–1691c. A.-J. Festugière, "Types épidauriennes de miracles dans la vie de Syméon Stylite le Jeune," *JHS* 93 (1973) 70–73. S. Šestakov, "Žitie Simeona Divnogorca v ego pervičnoj redakcii," *VizVrem* 15 (1908) 332–56. C. Squarr, K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 8:364–67. W. Volbach, "Zur Ikonographie des Styliten Symeon des Jüngeren," *RQ* 30 (1966) 293–99. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Itinéraires archéologiques dans la région d'Antioche* (Brussels 1967). Eadem, "L'influence du culte de Saint Syméon stylite le Jeune sur les monuments et les représentations figurées de Géorgie," *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 183–96. –A.K., N.P.Š.

SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, mystic and saint; born in Paphlagonia in 949?, died near Constantinople 12 Mar. 1022; the chronology of his life seems debatable (Kazhdan, "Simeon" 4–10). H.-G. Beck has questioned his customary epithet, the "New Theologian" (*BZ* 46 [1953] 59f; see, however, the retort of B. Krivochéine, *OrChrP* 20 [1954] 327). According to his biography written by Niketas STETHATOS, Symeon was born to a rich family, educated in Constantinople and at 14 [sic] became a senator. Soon, however, he abandoned his career and entered the STOUDIOS monastery under the supervision of Symeon Eulabes. He then moved to the monastery of St. MAMAS, where he was appointed *hegoumenos* sometime between 979 and 991. The monks opposed him, rebelling in 996–98, and he had serious difficulties with the ecclesiastical authorities: Symeon's veneration of his spiritual father Symeon Eulabes was proclaimed excessive; forced to resign, he was banished to a small town near Chrysopolis. Under pressure from some magnates in Constantinople, Symeon was recalled from exile and granted land near the capital to build a monastery of St. Marina; here he had some problems with neighboring peasants.

In his *Centuria* (CHAPTERS), catecheses, treatises, and hymns, Symeon developed the concept of an individualistic path to salvation: "Do not ruin your own house," says Symeon, "while trying to help your neighbor build his house" (*Centuria* 1.83). Not charity, nor even the sacraments determine one's salvation, but submission to one's spiritual father, a constant awareness of one's humble position, and awe in the face of God that finds consummation in the vision of divine light. Symeon neglects the concept of hierarchy that is so important for Niketas Stethatos and presents man as capable of direct ascent to God. Accordingly he divinizes even the human body, whose every part, even the pudenda, is Christ himself (Hymn 15.141–74). Socially, Symeon's individualism led to a consistent rejection of FRIENDSHIP and family ties; man stands alone in the world, devoid of hierarchical, institutional, or personal relationships except for obedience to the spiritual father, the emperor, and God. The rich imagery of Symeon's works is dominated by two typically Byz. themes: palace life centered on the figure of the emperor and the circle of merchants and craftsmen (A. Kazhdan in *Unser ganzes Leben Christus unserem Gott überantworten* [Göttingen 1982] 221–39).

ED. *Chapitres théologiques, gnostiques et pratiques*, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris 1957), Eng. tr. P. McGuckin, *Practical and Theological Chapters* (Kalamazoo 1982). *Catéchèses*, ed. B. Krivochéine, 3 vols. (Paris 1963–65). *Traités théologiques et éthiques*, ed. J. Darrouzès, 2 vols. (Paris 1966–67), Eng. tr. C.J. deCatanzaro, *The Discourses* (New York–Toronto 1980). *Hymnes*, ed. J. Koder, 3 vols. (Paris 1969–73). *Hymnen*, ed. A. Kambylis (Berlin–New York 1976), Eng. tr. G.A. Maloney, *Hymns of Divine Love* (Denville, N.J., 1976).
LIT. B. Krivochéine, *Dans la lumière du Christ* (Chevetogne 1980). W. Völker, *Praxis und Theoria bei Symeon dem Neuen Theologen* (Wiesbaden 1974). G.A. Maloney, *The Mystic of Fire and Life* (Denville, N.J., 1975). D. Stathopoulos, *Die Gottesliebe (theios eros) bei Symeon, dem Neuen Theologen* (Bonn 1964). A.J. van der Aalst, "Symeon de Nieuwe Theoloog 949–1022," *Het Christelijk Oosten* 37 (1985) 229–47; 38 (1986) 3–22. B. Fraigneau-Julien, *Les sens spirituels et la vision de Dieu selon Syméon le Nouveau Théologien* (Paris 1985). –A.K.

SYMEON TOKENS. See PILGRIM TOKENS.

SYMEON UROŠ, more fully Symeon Uroš Nemanjić Palaiologos, *despotes* of Epiros and Akarnania (1348–55), independent ruler of Epiros (from 1359); died after 1369. Son of Stefan Uroš III Dečanski and grandson of *panhypersebastos* John Palaiologos, Symeon was made *despotes* by his half-brother STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN. He married Thomais, sister of NIKEPHOROS II of Epiros. When, after Dušan's death (1355), Nikephoros invaded Epiros and Thessaly, Symeon was forced to move his capital from Trikkala to Kastoria; in 1356, with the support of his army, he revolted against STEFAN UROŠ V, Dušan's son and legitimate heir, and proclaimed himself tsar of the Rhomaioi, Serbs, and Albanians. The Serbian nobles, however, supported Stefan Uroš and defeated Sy-

meon in his attacks on Serbian lands. Following the death of Nikephoros in 1358 or 1359, Symeon took over control of Epiros and Thessaly, where he reigned independently.

Symeon was a major benefactor of the METEORA monasteries; his son John Uroš Doukas Palaiologos, who became the monk Ioasaph, continued this patronage, supporting the construction of the monastery of the Transfiguration. Symeon's full-length portrait is represented on the genealogical tree of the Nemanjid dynasty as depicted in a fresco painting in the Church of the Virgin at Peć.

LIT. *IstSrpskNar* 1:568–79. Soulis, *Dušan* 115–17, 120–22. Nicol, *Epiros II* 131–35. Fine, *Late Balkans* 347–53.
–J.S.A.

SYMMACHUS, more fully Quintus Aurelius Memmius Eusebius Symmachus, writer and statesman; born ca.345, died ca.402. Scion of a wealthy and politically important family at Rome, Symmachus rose through various offices to become urban prefect of Rome (384–85) and consul in 391. He twice backed losing usurpers (383, 392–94), but twice ingratiated himself with Theodosios I, a tribute to the eloquence that even Christian opponents admired. In religion as in politics he backed the wrong horse, losing to AMBROSE of Milan the famous struggle about the ALTAR OF VICTORY removed by Gratian (381). His pagan beliefs were sincere (he was also an assiduous priest) but cannot be divorced from his attempted perpetuation of the cultural life and leisure of a classical Roman. His oratorical fame cannot be tested since only fragments of eight speeches survive; his career suggests that it was deserved. His poetry, polymathy, and promotion of education, praised by MACROBIUS, SIDONIUS, and SOKRATES, must also be more surmised than sampled. About 900 of his letters survive, however, published posthumously by his son, who also memorialized his career in an extant (*CIL* 6:1699) inscription at Rome. Arranged in ten books, most of the letters are largely empty verbiage, though they mirror the social and intellectual pursuits of Symmachus's milieu. The tenth book preserves the formerly separate *relationes*, his official reports as urban prefect to Valentinian II, giving a valuable picture of late Roman bureaucracy in action.

ED. O. Seeck in MGH *AuctAnt* 6.1 (Berlin 1883). *Prefect and Emperor; The Relationes of Symmachus, A.D. 384*, ed. R.H. Barrow (Oxford 1973), with Eng. tr. *Lettres*, ed. and Fr. tr. J.P. Callu, 2 vols. (Paris 1972–82).

LIT. J.A. McGeachy, *Quintus Aurelius Symmachus and the Senatorial Aristocracy of the West* (Chicago 1942). J.F. Matthews, "The Letters of Symmachus," in *Latin Literature of the Fourth Century*, ed. J.W. Binns (London 1974) 58–99. R. Klein, *Symmachus* (Darmstadt 1971). L. Cracco Ruggini, "Apoteosi e politica senatoria nel IV s. d.C.: Il dittico dei Symmachi al British Museum," *Rivista storica italiana* 89 (1977) 425–89.
–B.B.

SYMMACHUS, pope (from 22 Nov. 498); born Sardinia, died Rome 19 July 514. A pagan in his youth, Symmachus was elected pope during the AKAKIAN SCHISM with the backing of THEODORIC THE GREAT; the Ostrogothic ruler favored him as an adversary of the supporters of Patr. AKAKIOS. During his pontificate he confronted the resistance of partisans, headed by Laurentius, who favored reconciliation with Constantinople. The senior priests and deacons formed the Laurentian camp, whereas junior priests favored Symmachus. By 501 Theodoric—probably in an attempt at appeasement with Constantinople—shifted sides and supported Laurentius. He convened a synod in Rome to judge Symmachus but the synod refused to try the pope. In 502, at the request of Laurentius, Theodoric sent his envoy Peter of Altinum to Rome to celebrate Easter on the Greek date. Laurentius gained the assistance of Emp. Anastasios I, who wrote to Symmachus accusing him of being a Manichaean and of having conspired to excommunicate the emperor. In his response Symmachus curtly refused any reconciliation with the partisans of Akakios. As a result of his struggle on two fronts Symmachus developed the principle that the bishops of Rome were accountable only to God; this idea was elaborated in pamphlets and in a series of forged documents ascribed to Popes SILVESTER and LIBERIUS and to the acts of a council in Sinuessa (which were later accepted in the LIBER PONTIFICALIS). In 506 Theodoric ordered Laurentius to retire to an estate, and the conflict subsided.

LIT. Richards, *Popes* 69–99. Caspar, *Papsttum* 2:88–129.
–A.K.

SYMMETRY (*συμμετρία*) was one of the cardinal notions of Byz. AESTHETICS, closely connected with the idea that the God-created cosmos possessed "inborn" beauty and TAXIS. In the words of

Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 25:76A), "the universe is characterized not by disorder but by *taxis*, not by disproportions but by *symmetria*, not by lack of ornament but by orderly decoration and harmonious array." The symmetry of the universe is reflected in the bilateral structure of the human body, and this was praised as a simple and ideal relationship revealing *indissociabilis unitas* (Lactantius, *De opificio dei*, ed. M. Perrin [Paris 1974] 10:10–11). Symmetry and harmony were known in classical aesthetics, yet did not occupy a leading position; on the other hand, Psellos consistently emphasizes symmetry and bodily harmony as typical of his heroes. Other related categories were connected with symmetry: proportionality (*metron*), balance (*eurhythmia*), and inner *rhythmos*. All these categories had not only physical meaning but a moral connotation as well: "proportional" and "well-balanced" meant at the same time "even tempered" and were contrasted with "ugly" and "disorderly." Accordingly, Byz. ceremonial, imperial and ecclesiastical alike, was based on symmetrical structures, as for instance the disposition of the *demoi* during festal acclamations.

Symmetry in Art. Defined as the correspondence in position, size, or shape of the elements of an image, symmetry was an abiding principle of Byz. composition. For aulic representations, such as the imperial PORTRAITS in Hagia Sophia (Constantinople), and sacred images, in single works and composite schemes such as triptychs, artists echoed the philosophical ideas of balance and *taxis*. For Paul Silentiarios and Agathias the symmetry of Hagia Sophia was an essential part of the architects' achievement. In practice, it is easily recognized in images of the Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER) where, from the 6th C. onward, the apostles approach Christ in two equilateral files; the "rhyming" figures of Mary and John witness the Crucifixion, while symmetrical groups of patriarchs and kings regard the Anastasis. In and after the late 13th C. asymmetry appears but always as an exception. Thus in the Gospel book, Malibu, J.P. Getty Mus., cod. Ludwig II 5, while the Ascension (fol.188r) is composed as usual with the figures arranged symmetrically, the Gethsemane miniature (fol.68r) shows the mass of sleeping apostles outweighing the two figures of Christ to the right.

LIT. V. Šestakov, *Garmonija kak estetičeskaja kategorija* (Moscow 1973). H. Hommel, *Symmetrie im Spiegel der Antike* (Heidelberg 1987). Ljubarskij, *Psell* 235f. H. Torp, *The Integrating System of Proportion in Byzantine Art* (Rome 1984).
–A.K., A.C.

SYMPATHEIA (*συμπάθεια*, lit. "sympathy"), a fiscal term used in the treatises on TAXATION to designate a kind of TAX ALLEVIATION. According to the treatise of St. Nikanor, *sympatheia* was established when an allotment of land was abandoned and the ALLELENGYON of the *demosion* (see KANON) was to be instituted, but instead of imposing the tax on neighbors the EPOPTES rented out the land. Within 30 years the "heirs" (owners) could return and claim the land; after 30 years, through the procedure of ORTHOSIS, *sympatheia* became a KLASMA. The Venice treatise on taxation (ed. Dölger, 118.21–37) also allows "heirs" to claim the land within 30 years; it contrasts, however, the comprehensive *sympatheia* or *holosympatheton*, which encompassed the entire sum of a taxpayer's *kanon*, and partial *sympatheia*, which encompassed only some of his STICHOI. The author of the treatise distinguishes the KOUPHISMOS from *sympatheia* in that in the case of *kouphismos* the whereabouts of the owner was unknown (p.119.19–21). The paragraph on the *kouphismos* in the treatise of St. Nikanor makes no sense (J. Karayannopulos in *Polychronion* 331), and probably the difference between the two institutions disappeared.

LIT. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 206–14.
–A.K.

SYMPONOS (*σύμπονος*), coadjutor of the EPARCH OF THE CITY. Bury (*Adm. System* 70f) considered him a successor of the *adsessores* of the URBAN PREFECT. The earliest seal of a *symponos* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.1049) is dated to the 6th or 7th C. The *symponos* represented the eparch in his relations with guilds; the hypothesis (supported by Sjuzjumov in *Bk. of Eparch* 238) that there were individual *symponoi* in each guild is rejected by Oikonomides (*Listes* 320, n.189). On seals of the 10th–11th C. the *symponos* receives relatively high titles (mostly *protospatharios*, but even *magistros* and *protovestarches*). The last known *symponos* seems to have been the *spatharokandidatos* Basil who participated in a session of the patriarchal tribunal in 1023 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.933, with incorrect date). The office is not mentioned by pseudo-Kodinos in the 14th C.

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:579–99.
–A.K.

SYNADA (Σύν⟨ν⟩αδα, now Şuhut), city of PHRYGIA at an important highway junction. Although metropolis of Phrygia Salutaris, Synada rarely appears in late antique history. It was occupied by the Arabs in 740. Synada contained a Jewish community from which in the 9th C. came St. CONSTANTINE THE JEW. The city is best known from the letters of its 10th-C. metropolitan LEO OF SYNADA that claim that the barren region of Synada produced no olives, wine, or wheat; its inhabitants were forced to eat barley, to import necessities from THRAKESION and ATTALEIA, and to burn dried dung for fuel. These rhetorical complaints reveal a geographical reality but fail to mention the region's wealth, based on cattle and a strategic location. Another letter shows that Synada continued to function as a center of the MARBLE TRADE: marble from the nearby quarries of Dokimeion, widely used in late antiquity (notably in Hagia Sophia of Constantinople), was still being quarried, cut, and transported. Synada fell to the Turks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The city was an ecclesiastical metropolis.

LIT. L. Robert, "Sur des lettres d'un métropolite de Phrygie," *JSav* (1961) 115–66; (1962) 5–43. M.P. Vinson, *The Correspondence of Leo Metropolitan of Synada and Syncellus* (Washington 1985) 126. –C.F.

SYNADENOS (Συναδηνός, fem. Συναδηνή), a noble family name, deriving from the town of Synada in Phrygia. Setting aside a 9th/10th-C. seal on which the name of Synadenos can barely be read, the first known Synadenos was Philetos, judge of Tarsos, a man close to Nikephoros OURANOS; a contemporary of Philetos is mentioned in *Peira* 17.19, but the editor, Zachariä von Lingenthal, misinterpreted the name of Synadenos. The 11th- and 12th-C. Synadenoi were primarily military commanders; one held a *pronoia* in the *emporion tou Brachioniou* near Constantinople (P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 117.1473–74). They were related to the BOTANEIATAI and later to the KOMNENOI; Nikephoros III married his niece Synadene to a Hungarian king or magnate. In the mid-12th C. Andronikos Synadenos was governor (sequentially) of Dyrrachion, Cyprus, Niš, and Trebizond. After 1204 the Synadenoi opposed the Laskarid dynasty: a young general, Synadenos, was captured by THEODORE I LASKARIS in 1204; another Synadenos was blinded ca.1225 for participation in a plot.

The Synadenoi acquired importance under Michael VIII: John was *megas stratopedarches*, his son John *megas konostaulos*, and another son, Theodore, *protostrator*; Theodore (died before 1346) supported Andronikos III during the Civil War of 1321–28 and Kantakouzenos against John V, but after 1342 he sided with the latter. The *megas stratopedarches* John Synadenos (monastic name Ioakeim) and his wife Theodora Palaiologina (as a nun, Theodoule) founded the BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY and are depicted in its *typikon*. This MS further includes images of their sons, John and Theodore, together with their spouses, and two ASAN men married to Synadenai. Other noble families to whom the Synadenoi were related include the RAOUL. Their connection to the family of Synadenos Astras is unclear.

LIT. C. Hannick, G. Schmalzbauer, "Die Synadenoi," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 125–61, with add. A. Kazhdan, *ByzF* 12 (1987) 72f. V. Laurent, "Andronic Synadénos ou la carrière d'un haut fonctionnaire byzantin au XII^e^ siècle," *REB* 20 (1962) 210–14. Lj. Maksimović, "Poslednje godine protostratora Teodora Sinadina," *ZRVI* 10 (1967) 177–85. A. Cutler, P. Magdalino, "Some Precisions on the Lincoln College Typikon," *CahArch* 27 (1978) 179–98. –A.K.

SYNAGOGE OF FIFTY TITLES (Συναγωγὴ κανόνων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν εἰς ν΄ τίτλους διῃρημένη, "a compilation of ecclesiastical canons divided into 50 titles"), a "systematic" collection of canons organized according to content. The collection reproduces the APOSTOLIC CANONS and the canons of the COUNCILS of Nicaea, Ankyra, Neokaisareia, Serdica, Gangra, Antioch, Laodikeia of Phrygia, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon as well as the "canonical" letters of Basil the Great. According to the *prooimion* of the work, the latter had been overlooked in a comparable collection (not preserved) that was divided into 60 titles. According to a plausible attribution found in several MSS, the author was Patr. JOHN III SCHOLASTIKOS. The collection probably originated in the mid-6th C., when John was a priest in Antioch. The work was later expanded into a NOMOKANON of 50 Titles and translated into Slavonic in the 9th C.

ED. V. Beneševič, *Ioannis Scholastici Synagoga L titulorum* (Munich 1937).

LIT. V. Beneševič, *Sinagogà v 50 titulov i drugie juridičeskie sborniki Ioanna Scholastika* (St. Petersburg 1914; rp. Leipzig 1972). E. Schwartz, *Die Kanonessammlung des Johannes Scholastikos* [*SBAW* 1933, no.6]. –A.S.

SYNAGOGUE (συναγωγή), a place of assembly for a Jewish community, the primary focus of Jewish religious life after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. A synagogue provided a prayer hall for the recitation and study of the Torah, rooms for sacred meals, a law court, treasury, and guest quarters. While synagogues may stem from the Exilic period (6th C. B.C.), they are attested from the 1st C. A.D. (Mt 13:54, Mk 1:21, Acts 9:20); physical remains from the 2nd through 7th C. are extant in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, and Italy. The central synagogue at Alexandria, destroyed under Trajan, was probably the most impressive; that at SARDIS (major phase 320–40) is the most distinguished surviving example. The small synagogue at DURA EUROPOS was, apparently uniquely, decorated with Old Testament frescoes. Synagogues normally served small communities (in the 3rd and 4th C. Tiberias had 13 of these buildings). Ground plans and orientation vary, but common to many is a central, rectangular prayer room, set off from aisles on three sides by columns and entered on the short side from an open columnar court. Benches were provided against the rear walls of the aisles; from the 5th C. a permanent Torah shrine is found on the north long wall, on the east entrance wall flanking the central portal (Sardis), or in the apse facing Jerusalem.

The term applied primarily to the congregation of Jews and to their place of worship (sometimes also to the synagogue of the SAMARITANS), as contrasted with the Gospel and the church. In patristic literature it also denoted the Christian community, its public worship (*synaxis*), and its place of worship.

LIT. *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, ed. L. Levine (Jerusalem 1982). *Ancient Synagogues: The State of Research*, ed. J. Gutmann (Chico, Calif., 1981). G.M.A. Hanfmann, *Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983) 168–90. C.H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue (Excavations at Dura-Europos)* (New Haven 1956). –W.L.

SYNAGOGUE, PERSONIFICATION OF. See EKKLESIA.

SYNAPTE. See LITANY.

SYNAXARION (συναξάριον), a church CALENDAR of fixed FEASTS with the appropriate LECTIONS indicated for each one, but no further text. The *synaxarion* is often appended to a PRAXAPOSTOLOS or EVANGELION. It is rarely illustrated, but one MS, Vat. gr. 1156 of the 11th C., has an image of a saint for each day from Sept. through Jan. as well as scattered ones thereafter (Lazarev, *Storia*, fig.205). There also exist "calendar" icons, with portraits of saints and feasts for each day of the year (Soteriou, *Eikones*, figs. 126–35), that must be based on this type of *synaxarion*.

The term *synaxarion* is also used in Byz. Greek for a specific collection of brief notices, mostly hagiographical: the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* was probably formed in the 10th C. (the earliest MSS already include notices on JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER and on Patr. ANTONY II KAULEAS [893–901]), and there are Arabic, Georgian, Syriac, and Ethiopic versions. These daily commemorations, which average only about a paragraph in length, stress the martyrdom of the saints and inform us where in the city the commemoration took place. The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II is, despite its name, an illustrated version of this type of text, as are those icons and frescoes that have images of the martyrdoms of the saints, rather than just their portraits (see HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION). Some of the frescoes use verses from the metrical calendar of CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE as captions; these verses had been incorporated into certain recensions of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* from the 12th C.

These texts were incorporated into the MENAION and the TRIODION and usually read after the sixth ode of the *kanon* at ORTHROS. They are not to be confused with the much longer notices, similarly ordered, found in a MENOLOGION.

ED. *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad AASS Novembris*, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels 1902).

LIT. J. Noret, "Ménologes, synaxaires, menées," *AB* 86 (1968) 21–24. Idem, "Le synaxaire Leningrad gr. 240," *ADSV* 10 (1973) 124–30. H. Delehaye, *Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typica* (London 1977). W. Vander Meiren, "Précisions nouvelles sur la généalogie des synaxaires byzantins," *AB* 102 (1984) 297–301. P. Mijović, *Menolog* (Belgrade 1973). –R.F.T., N.P.Š.

SYNAXARION OF THE HONORABLE DONKEY (Συναξάριον τοῦ τιμημένου γαδάρου), a delightful story telling how the hard-working and ill-treated Donkey outwits the wily Wolf and the cunning Fox, who had planned to make a meal

of him. The work survives in two closely connected versions, both in POLITICAL VERSE (one in 393 unrhymed lines; the other in 543 rhymed lines and printed in Venice in 1539), both deriving from a version written probably in the early 15th C. The humor and satire of the piece, given its edge by the animal actors, is directed against unscrupulous clergy who bemuse their simple parishioners with mumbo-jumbo, but in this case receive their just deserts. Though the Wolf and the Fox share the characteristics of their counterparts in similar western European folktales (esp. as developed in the many versions of the *Roman de Renart*), the details are Greek and no direct Western model is known. By the 12th C. the subject had entered the repertoire of animal forms carved on lintels, capitals, and other relief sculpture in churches. This situation led D. Pallas (*EEBS* 30 [1960–61] 413–52) to suggest that such figures had apotropaic and specifically Christian significance.

ED. Wagner, *Carmina* 112–40. L. Alexiou, "He Phyllada tou Gadarou," *KretChron* 9 (1955) 81–118.

LIT. K. Tzantzanoglou, "'Peri onou . . . ,'" *Hellenika* 24 (1971) 54–64. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 176f. –E.M.J., A.C.

SYNAXIS (*σύναξις*), an assembly, esp. a monastic or liturgical gathering. Monks on Mt. Athos distinguished between *katholikai* and *koinai synaxeis*, the former being the assembly of selected Fathers to discuss serious affairs, the latter, the gathering of ordinary monks on feast days (D. Papachryssanthou in *Prot.*, p.119). In the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM the word *synaxis* refers to an office of prayer even when not performed in common (PG 65:201CD, 220CD). A *synaxis* required suitable dress. The same source describes a hermit who was reprimanded by his superior for appearing in church for the *synaxis* wearing a patched old *maphorion* (249AB).

In the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH the term *synaxis* refers both to the assembly for the Eucharist and to the shrine or church where the service takes place. *Synaxis* also refers to the special commemorative services celebrated the day following six of the GREAT FEASTS (9 Sept., 26 Dec., 7 Jan., 3 Feb., 26 Mar., 30 June); the *synaxis* of the Holy Spirit is celebrated on the Monday after Pentecost.

LIT. J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship* (Rome 1987) 205–08. –A.K., R.F.T.

SYNAXIS TON ASOMATON. See ASOMATOS.

SYNDOTAI (*συνδόται*, lit. "contributors"). Theophanes (Theoph. 486.23–26) cites as one of the "great evils" introduced by Emp. Nikephoros I the imposition of a collective payment on the neighbors of impecunious soldiers. If the latter were too poor to equip themselves, these contributors of financial support were termed *syndotai*. Similarly, in the 10th C. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De cer.* 695.14–696.1) ruled that any soldier unable to support his military obligations (*strateia*) should be bailed out by *syndotai*, that is, contributors from the same community, to provide him with the means necessary to fulfill his military service. As partial supporters of a *strateia*, *syndotai* were thus entitled to rights of PROTIMESIS if the soldier's property came up for sale (Zepos, *Jus* 1:225.18–19).

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 134f. Haldon, *Recruitment* 49f. –E.M.

SYNEKDEMOS. See HIEROKLES.

SYNERGISM (*συνέργ⟨ε⟩ια*, "cooperation"). In the doctrine of GRACE, the Eastern concept of the cooperation of God or an angel with man was frequently contrasted with an Augustinian monergism (the absolute priority of divine grace in salvation) and equated to a guarantee of human FREE WILL. Byz. theology in fact never accepted the doctrine of ORIGINAL SIN to the extent that the ethical striving of man—albeit with the assistance of God (the Holy Spirit)—would no longer be possible. Moreover, the concept always meant the cooperation of God with man, never the converse. In the case of man, therefore, there is a distinction between *proairesis* (the ability of the soul to distinguish between appropriate and inappropriate objects) and desire (*epithymia* or *eros*), which by nature is directed toward certain objects. The question is how far the first faculty of the soul requires the help of the Holy Spirit to attain clarity of insight. The objection historically raised on the Protestant side, that the Greek church has not properly grasped the essence of grace, cannot be said, for example, with respect to GREGORY OF NYSSA.

LIT. Meyendorff, *Palamas* 232–34. E. Mühlenberg, "Synergism in Gregory of Nyssa," *ZNTW* 68 (1977) 93–122. W. Hauschild in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 13:476–80. –G.P.

SYNESIOS (Συνέσιος), writer and bishop of Ptolemais; born Cyrene ca.370, died Ptolemais? ca.413. Of a rich pagan family, Synesios studied under HYPATIA at Alexandria. After a disappointing visit to Athens, he represented his native city and others at Constantinople from 399 to 402 (T.D. Barnes, *GRBS* 27 [1986] 93–120), winning tax remissions for them and personal exemption from public duties. In 403 he married a Christian lady who gave him three sons and some faith. In 410 the people of Ptolemais, impressed by his active role against barbarian marauders, invited him to become their bishop, albeit unbaptized. He accepted, provided he could retain both wife and philosophic doubts; THEOPHILOS OF ALEXANDRIA consecrated him in 411.

Most important of his various writings are nine poems or hymns (a tenth is spurious), a Christian and Neoplatonist mixture in one of the last attempts at the classical lyric meters. A discourse titled *On Royalty* (at Constantinople, in 400), amid clichés about the ideal emperor, breathtakingly rebukes ARKADIOS for his "mollusklike" existence. *On Providence* is a political allegory about events and personalities at Constantinople. *Dion*, a blend of history and personal apology, defends classical culture against monkish attacks. His 156 letters, dating between 399 and 413, provide much ecclesiastical and secular information about conditions in the Pentapolis.

ED. *Hymni et Opuscula*, 2 vols. ed. N. Terzaghi (Rome 1944). *Hymnes*, ed. C. Lacombrade (Paris 1978). *The Essays and Hymns*, tr. A. FitzGerald, 2 vols. (London 1930). *Epistolae*, ed. A. Garzya (Rome 1979). *The Letters*, tr. A. FitzGerald (London 1926).

LIT. J. Bregman, *Synesius of Cyrene* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1982), rev. D. Roques, *REGr* 95 (1982) 537–39. J. Vogt, *Begegnung mit Synesios, dem Philosophen, Priester und Feldherrn* (Darmstadt 1985). D. Roques, *Synésios de Cyrène et la Cyrénaïque du Bas-Empire* (Paris 1987). –B.B.

SYNETHEIA (*συνήθεια*, lit. CUSTOM). The term also had the technical meaning of *sportulae*, "fees" paid to state officials for their "services." The system of *sportulae* was well-established already under Justinian I. Dölger (*infra*) categorizes several types of officials' fees of the 6th C.: *synetheiai* for assistants in central offices; *dikastika* for judges; *synetheiai* for collecting taxes; *paramythia* for quartering and provisioning the troops. This system probably fell into disuse, and in the *Ecloga* (16:4) the term *synetheia* designates salary paid by the treasury to officials. It reemerged evidently in the late 9th–10th C. when dignitaries, during the festivities celebrating their appointment, had to pay *synetheiai* to their colleagues (Oikonomides, *Listes* 88, n.28); judges received fees (*ektagiatika*) from the parties at the trial; and *strategoi* of western themes were paid *synetheiai*, not salary. In an imperial ordinance of 1109, *synetheia* and the related ELATIKON (a fee for traveling) are mentioned—they were paid to fiscal officials according to a firmly established percentage (1/12 and 1/24, respectively) of the state tax.

Sportulae for functionaries are mentioned in later lists of tax exemptions; a chrysobull of 1298 contrasts EPEREIAI of the fisc and *synetheiai* of the *praktores* (*Lavra* 2, no.89.213–14). Dölger surmised that various charges were levied for measuring products given in kind (*metretikon*, OIKOMODION, OINOMETRION, etc.); unfortunately, his interpretation is based on the etymology of these terms and direct evidence is lacking. It is also unclear whether taxes like *prosodion* (lit. "revenue"—P. Lemerle and others in *Lavra* 1:209f), *proskynetikion* (lit. "for respect")—levied in 1235 together with the *pakton* for *vivarium* (MM 4:18.6)—or KANISKION and *antikaniskion* can be considered as *sportulae*.

LIT. Dölger, *Byzanz* 232–60. –N.O., M.B.

SYNKELLOS (*σύγκελλος*, lit. "living in the same cell"). By the 5th C. the term denoted the adviser and fellow-boarder of a patriarch (or bishop); he lived as a rule with the patriarch, sharing his residence or "cell." From the 6th C., owing to his influence and importance as the patriarch's confidant, he frequently succeeded to the vacant patriarchal throne; he came to be viewed as the successor designate of the reigning patriarch in the 10th C., possibly earlier. By then the *synkellos* was nominated by the emperor (*De cer.* 530–32) and was considered a member of the SENATE (*Vita Euthymii* 23.9,18–19). Although until the 10th C. the title had been limited to priests and deacons, it was thereafter occasionally given to ambitious METROPOLITANS as well. The office was gradually

inflated further to include, among others, the titles of *protosynkellos* and *proedros ton protosynkellon*. This new largely honorary titulature caused the original office to decline in value. During the Palaiologan period the *megas protosynkellos* was none other than the *synkellos* of the patriarch.

LIT. Athenagoras of Paramythia, "Ho thesmos ton synkellon en to oikoumeniko patriarcheio," *EEBS* 4 (1927) 3–38. V. Grumel, "Titulature de métropolites byzantins, I. Les métropolites syncelles," *REB* 3 (1945) 92–114. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 18f. –A.P.

SYNKLETOS. See SENATE.

SYNOD. See COUNCILS; ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS.

SYNODICON VETUS (Ancient Synodikon), conventional title of an anonymous concise history of church COUNCILS written between 887 and 920, most probably at the end of the 9th C. It begins with the synod of the apostles in Jerusalem, includes ecumenical and local councils up to the Constantinople Council of 869/70, and describes the activity of Patr. Photios up to his deposition in 886. The earlier parts of the treatise are based on church historians such as Eusebios, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Theodore Lector, and on some vitae, for example, of Patr. Eutychios and of St. Sabas. For the period of Iconoclasm the author used, besides Theophanes and George Hamartolos, other, mostly unknown, texts. The conflict between Ignatios and Photios is represented in a fashion similar to that of the vita of Ignatios by Niketas David Paphlagon and reveals strong anti-Photian sentiments.

ED. *The Synodicon Vetus,* ed. J. Duffy and J. Parker (Washington, D.C., 1979), with Eng. tr.
LIT. J.L. van Dieten, "Synodicon vetus," *AnnHistCon* 12 (1980–82) 62–108. –A.K.

SYNODIKON (*συνοδικόν*), sometimes used as an adjective (*synodikon gramma, synodike epistole*), a term referring to a synodal epistle addressed to high ecclesiastical authorities and presenting the important decisions of a council; thus Basil the Great, in epistle 92.3 (*Lettres,* ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1 [Paris 1957] 203.46–47), speaks of "dogmatic decisions defined canonically and lawfully in the *synodikon gramma.*" The term designated particularly the patriarchal epistles sent to the pope of Rome (e.g., Malal. 491.21), esp. after the patriarch's installation; thus after his CHEIROTONIA Patr. Tarasios is said (Theoph. 460.23–27) to have dispatched *synodika* and the credo (*libellos tes pisteos*) to Pope Hadrian I. The term has also been applied to liturgical documents containing benedictions of dogmas and of church heroes as well as anathemas against heretics. The word *synodikarios* denoted a bishop's secretary, probably in his capacity of drafting *synodika,* episcopal documents.

LIT. P. Joannou, *LThK* 9:1238f. Beck, *Kirche* 155f. –A.K.

SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY, a liturgical document produced after the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY (843) and before 920, probably on the basis of earlier *synodika*. The first part, *eucharistia* (thanksgivings), expresses gratitude to the Lord and praise of those who fought against his adversaries, esp. the pious emperors, empresses, and patriarchs as well as martyrs and confessors. The second, "negative," part contains ANATHEMAS against various heretics. From the end of the 11th C. the church enlarged the *Synodikon* by including anathemas of contemporary heresiarchs, such as EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA, BARLAAM of Calabria, AKINDYNOS, etc. The last known recension is of 1439. The *Synodikon* existed in various versions, both Constantinopolitan and provincial. Additions to the 10th-C. text are an important source for the study of religious and ideological controversies in Byz. According to V. Mošin (*infra*), an Old Slavonic translation of the *Synodikon* was known in Kievan Rus' by the first third of the 12th C., and a new translation was produced in Bulgaria under Tsar BORIL in 1211.

ED. J. Gouillard, "Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie," *TM* 2 (1967) 1–316.
LIT. J. Gouillard, "Nouveaux témoins du Synodicon de l'Orthodoxie," *AB* 100 (1982) 459–62. V.A. Mošin, "Serbskaja redakcija Sinodika v nedelju pravoslavija," *VizVrem* 16 (1959) 317–94; 17 (1960) 278–353. –A.K.

SYNONE (*συνωνή*, Lat. *coemptio,* "purchase"), forced sale of commodities to government officials at a prescribed price. It developed as the counterpart to the monetary commutation (*adaeratio*) of ANNONA and allowed supplies previously replaced by cash payments to be converted back into tax in kind when necessary. During the 5th C., *synone* lost its original character as an exceptional levy and every landowner became liable for *synone* in proportion to his normal tax obligation; such purchases were subsequently credited against future assessments (*Cod.Just.* X 27.2). The term *synone* can refer to such compulsory sales as late as the late 12th C. (*Patmou Engrapha,* 1, no.11.25), but from the 10th C. it primarily designates a monetary tax. Contemporary documents mention collection officials called *synonarioi* (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.2.24, 6.60), and both *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.* 695.7) and the *Peira* (18.2) imply that *synone* on cultivated lands, together with KAPNIKON on rural households, formed the basic agricultural TELOS; it is not clear, however, whether in every case *synone* comprised the entire land tax or only a portion of it (Svoronos, *Cadastre* 139f). It is important to distinguish this tax system—despite the similarities in nomenclature—from its earlier counterpart, based upon the Diocletianic CAPITATIO-JUGATIO. In the 13th C., *synone* is replaced in the sources by SITARKIA.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 5–7. Dölger, *Beiträge* 57–59. –A.J.C.

SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM, an abridged version of the BASILIKA. According to its title the *Synopsis Basilicorum* was an "alphabetically arranged selection and abbreviated version of the 60 imperial books [*basilika*], with references"; probably produced in the 10th C., it contains approximately one-tenth of the text of the *Basilika*. The alphabetical arrangement is based on the key words of the headings; under these the author assembled the relevant excerpts from the *Basilika* with precise textual citations and made reference to additional passages. Because of this arrangement, the *Synopsis Basilicorum* could be used both to facilitate the use of the *Basilika* and to replace it in practice as a one-volume abbreviated version. The large number of preserved MSS of the *Synopsis Basilicorum*, many of which contain scholia and text supplements, attests to its popularity. The *Synopsis Basilicorum* is usually transmitted with an appendix (which occurs in two forms), consisting primarily of imperial novels of the 10th through 12th C.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 5.
LIT. N.G. Svoronos, *La Synopsis major des Basiliques et ses appendices* (Paris 1964). –L.B.

SYNOPSIS MAJOR. See SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM.

SYNOPSIS MINOR (*τὸ μικρὸν κατὰ στοιχεῖον,* lit. "the little alphabetical [lawbook]") was a compilation of legal principles arranged in alphabetical order, dating from the end of the 13th C. (S. Perentidis, *FM* 7 [1986] 253–57). It was so called in contrast to the "large" SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM. The compiler drew mainly on the law book of Michael ATTALEIATES and the *Synopsis Basilicorum,* which he sometimes excerpted word for word and sometimes paraphrased. A section of the text—with frequent explanations of more recent vernacular legal terms—appears to have been produced by the compiler himself or his contemporaries. The reasons for the selection of particular legal principles and for the choice of the key words used for the alphabetization often cannot be reconstructed. HARMENOPOULOS integrated a part of the *Synopsis minor* into his *Hexabiblos.*

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 6:319–547.
LIT. S. Perentidis, "Recherches sur le texte de la *Synopsis minor,*" *FM* 6 (1984) 219–73. –M.Th.F.

SYNTAGMA (*σύνταγμα*), a term used in patristic literature to designate any treatise or book, esp. those that were scriptural, exegetic, or polemical in content. The term was extended to characterize some collections of canon law: thus, Matthew BLASTARES wrote an *Alphabetical Syntagma (Syntagma kata stoicheion)* in 1335. Athanasios Scholastikos of Emesa, in the text of his paraphrase of the Justinianic novels, refers to his work as a *syntagma* divided into *titloi* and *diataxeis* (D. Simon, *FM* 6 [1984] 4–7); the title of the work (which may or may not be the original rubric) is, however, "Epitome of the *diataxeis* of the Novels [issued] after the Codex." Zachariä von Lingenthal conjectured that a *Syntagma of Fourteen Titles* preceded the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES.

LIT. D. Simon, S. Troianos, *Das Novellen-Syntagma des Athanasios von Emesa* (Frankfurt am Main 1989). –A.K.

SYNTAX, the rules governing the combination of words in sentences, and the study and classification of those rules. Ancient Greek syntax was studied in particular by the Stoics and expounded most authoritatively by Apollonios Dyskolos (2nd C.). Byz. grammarians largely adopted his defi-

nitions and concepts; they contributed scarcely anything of their own, partly because they dealt exclusively with the learned literary language to the neglect of the living spoken tongue. The most noteworthy among them were MICHAEL SYNKELLOS, NIKETAS OF HERAKLEIA, Gregory PARDOS, Maximos PLANOUDES, and Patr. JOHN XIII GLYKYS. They all based their study on parts of speech rather than on types of sentence. The syntax of spoken Greek developed in new directions during the Middle Ages, foreshadowing the patterns of Modern Greek. All prepositions came to be used with the accusative, and a number of new compound prepositions developed (*πάνω ἀπό, ἀνάμεσα σέ, μαζὺ μέ*, etc.); the dative case was eliminated and the range of uses of the genitive restricted; participial phrases were replaced by subordinate clauses; prolative infinitival clauses were replaced by subjunctive clauses introduced by *νά*; considerable use was made of quasi-subordinate paratactic clauses introduced by *καί* (cf. English "try and come" = "try to come"). All these features occur sporadically in traditional literature and more systematically in late Byz. VERNACULAR literature.

LIT. S. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken*[2] (Göttingen 1974). H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache* (Uppsala-Leipzig 1932). D. Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque* (Uppsala 1943). E. Mihevc-Gabrovec, *Études sur la syntaxe de Ioannes Moschos* (Ljubljana 1960). Browning, *Greek* 82f. –R.B.

SYNTHRONON (*σύνθρονον*), term used from no later than the 5th C. to denote one or more benches reserved for the clergy and arranged in a semicircular tier in the APSE of a church. Well-preserved *synthrona* exist in the 6th-C. Church of St. IRENE and in the ruins of St. EUPHEMIA in Constantinople. These *synthrona* rise high enough to allow a space for a passage underneath and along the apse wall, the function of which is unknown. Even where a large number of benches exist, it is clear from literary sources that only the top bench was used for seating clergy. According to pseudo-Germanos I (Germanos, *Liturgy*, chs. 26–27), the bishop's ascent to the *synthronon* was symbolic both of Christ's sacrifice and subsequent glorification. The bishop seated on the CATHEDRA at the top of his *synthronon* and flanked by the clergy symbolized Christ among his disciples; in the scheme of pseudo-Dionysios (K.E. McVey, *DOP* 37 [1983] 95), he represented the Lord amid the nine angelic orders. The *synthronon* is reduced to a simple bench on a step in the 12th-C. south church of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople (A. Megaw, *DOP* 17 [1963] 340). A rare example of a *synthronon* in a nonecclesiastical context was discovered in the ruins of the so-called Gymnasium at Athens, built after 400 (H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 19 [1950] 134–37).

LIT. Mathews, *Early Churches* 143f, 146–48, 150–52, 179. Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:495–502. –M.J., A.C.

SYNTIPAS, called more fully *Book of the Philosopher Syntipas,* was a Greek translation from Syriac made by Michael Andreopoulos for Gabriel, the ruler (*doux*) of Melitene (ca.1100). *Syntipas* belongs to the very popular cycle of the story of Sindbad that exists in various languages and is most probably of Persian origin. The framework of the book is the story of the Persian king Kyros who had seven wives and only one son whom he entrusted to the philosopher Syntipas for a proper upbringing. One of the wives of Kyros tried unsuccessfully to seduce the young man and after her failure accused him of libertine behavior. After a protracted trial he was acquitted. Various short stories told by the king's advisers, the son, and the stepmother are interwoven with the main narrative. They deal primarily with cases of sexual assault or infidelity, and their milieu varies from the royal court to merchants, peasants, and soldiers; once a "Hagarene" (Muslim) appears among the characters. *Syntipas* is indicative of the cultural links between Byz. and the Muslim world in the late 11th C. The book was probably reworked in the 13th C. (the so-called *Retractatio*) and remained popular in the post-Byz. period.

ED. *Michaeli Andreopuli Liber Syntipae,* ed. V. Jernstedt (St. Petersburg 1912).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 45–48. G. Kehagioglou, "Ho byzantinos kai metabyzantinos Syntipas: gia mia nea ekdose," *Graeco-arabica* 1 (1982) 105–30. B.E. Perry, "The Origin of the Book of Sindbad," *Fabula* 3 (1959) 1–94. –A.K.

SYRACUSE (*Συρακοῦσαι*), city on east coast of SICILY. In 491 all of Sicily, including Syracuse, was occupied by the Ostrogoths, who repaired the town walls. The city was recaptured by Belisarios at the end of 535. Totila's army besieged Syracuse in 550, but the Byz. fleet under the command of

Liberios forced its way into the harbor and prevented the city's surrender. In 663 Constans II moved the imperial court to the West; according to a 9th-C. chronicle (Theoph. 348.15) he wanted to establish his official residence in Rome, but settled in Syracuse instead. He was murdered there in 668 in a bathhouse, possibly in the governor's palace.

The bishops of Syracuse were under papal jurisdiction; at the end of the 7th C. Bishop Maurice used a seal with a Latin legend (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.884). Emp. Leo III separated Syracuse from Rome ca.733 and placed it under the authority of the patriarchate of Constantinople; the head of its diocese became archbishop of Syracuse, then archbishop of Sicily, then (probably from the second half of the 9th C.) metropolitan of Sicily. Among the archbishops of Sicily in the 9th C. was Gregory ASBESTAS. Byz. objects found in Syracuse—ceramics, a *solidus* of Michael II and Theophilos (A. LaRosa, *Sileno* 1 [1985] 87–101)—attest to close cultural links with Byz.; ambitious youths from Syracuse sometimes went to Constantinople for their schooling.

The Arabs frequently raided Syracuse and destroyed fields outside the city; in Aug. 877 they began a siege and on 20 or 21 May 878 entered the city. The Arab capture of Syracuse is described in detail by THEODOSIOS THE MONK. George MANIAKES occupied Syracuse in 1040, but after his recall the Arabs recovered the city. Syracuse was one of the last Arab strongholds to fall to the Normans. In March 1085 they sailed to Syracuse, defeated the Muslim fleet, and laid a siege that lasted until Oct., at which time the Arab nobles fled and Syracuse surrendered. The Normans restored papal jurisdiction and the Latin rite in Syracuse.

Monuments of Syracuse. Syracuse's early Christian remains are extensive but poorly preserved. There are more catacombs than in any other city save Rome; S. Lucia is the oldest (mid-3rd C.); Vigna Cassia has the most paintings (4th C.). The churches, which require more study, present several unusual forms including the trefoil ("La Cuba," 5th C.) and a vaulted basilica (S. Pietro ad Baias, 6th C.). The basilican S. Giovanni Evangelista (6th C.?) is the largest church in pre-Muslim Sicily.

The gold ring of Eudoxia now in Palermo, believed by some to have belonged to Constans II, was discovered in 1872 near a private bath excavated in 1934. G. Cultrera (*NS*[8] 8 [1954] 114–30) identified the building as the Daphne Bath where the emperor was murdered, but the identification remains hypothetical.

LIT. S. Lagona, "La Sicilia tardo-antica e bizantina," *FelRav*[4] 1–2 (1980) 111–30. O. Garana, *Le catacombe siciliane e i loro martiri* (Palermo 1961) 37–67. S.L. Agnello, "Chiese siracusano del VI secolo," *CorsiRav* 27 (1980) 13–26. –A.K., D.K.

SYRGIANNES (*Συργιάννης*), also known as Syrgiannes Palaiologos Philanthropenos, an ambitious and treacherous military governor under ANDRONIKOS II and ANDRONIKOS III; born ca.1290, died Galykos 23 Aug. 1334 (*Kleinchroniken* 2:245). Son of the *megas domestikos* Syrgiannes, who was of Cuman or Mongol extraction, he was related to the ruling Palaiologan dynasty through his mother. A contemporary and friend of JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS, Syrgiannes was among the young noblemen who encouraged Andronikos III to rebel against his grandfather in 1321. During the seven-year civil war, he twice shifted his allegiance to further his own ambitions. After throwing his support to Andronikos II late in 1321 he was granted the title of *megas doux.* Again reversing himself, he unsuccessfully plotted the murder of Andronikos II and was sentenced to life imprisonment. After the victory of Andronikos III in 1328, Syrgiannes was released from prison and appointed governor of Thessalonike (winter of 1329/30). In 1333 he was arrested again, this time on charges of conspiracy against Kantakouzenos. He escaped from Constantinople and sought refuge in Serbia with STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN. His final treacherous act was to lead the Serbian army that conquered several Byz. towns in northern Greece, including Kastoria. He was murdered near Thessalonike by a Byz. officer, Sphrantzes Palaiologos.

LIT. S. Binon, "A propos d'un prostagma inédit d'Andronic III Paléologue," *BZ* 38 (1938) 133–55, 377–407 (corr. by R.-J. Loenertz, *REB* 22 [1964] 230f, 235 nn. 26–27). U.V. Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos* (Amsterdam 1965) 26–29, 89–95. –A.M.T.

SYRIA (*Συρία*), area in eastern part of the empire bounded on the west by the Mediterranean Sea, on the north and east by the Taurus Mountains, the Euphrates River, and desert regions, and to

the south by the headwaters of the Orontes River. Broadly speaking, Syria is divided vertically into three geographical zones: (1) the littoral, (2) the interior band of fertile plains and plateaus, and (3) the desert to the east. Ethnically, three peoples corresponded to these three zones: Greek-speaking descendants of Hellenistic settlers mostly on the seacoast; Syriac-speaking Aramaeans in the central farming area; Arabic-speaking Arab settlers and seminomads in the eastern desert area. While it is often said that Syria was split between a hellenized urban population and a Semitic rural one, epigraphic evidence suggests a linguistic mixture of Greek and Syriac in all regions, in city and countryside alike. Other groups included Jews, particularly in the cities, and Latin-speaking personnel attached to the 4th-C. imperial court resident at Antioch. In Byz. Syria of the 10th–11th C., the Greek-speaking element may have been a minority, with the Semitic element predominating; added to this were Georgian and Armenian communities settled around Antioch and in the Black Mountains.

From ca.350 Syria was a province (called Coele-

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Syria) of the diocese of ORIENS; its major city was ANTIOCH. After ca.415 this province was subdivided into those of Syria I to the north, under Antioch (with the cities of SELEUKEIA PIERIA, BERROIA, CHALKIS, ANASARTHA, and Gabbula), and Syria II to the south, under APAMEIA on the Orontes (with the cities of EPIPHANEIA, Larissa [SHAYZAR], Arethusa, Mariam(n)e, Raphaneae, and Seleukeia ad Belum); in 528 the small province of THEODORIAS, under LAODIKEIA, was created from coastal territory. The term *Syria* is often taken to include adjacent provinces, e.g., EUPHRATENSIS, Phoenicia, ARABIA, and, occasionally, the Levant in general. Syria was occupied by the Persians from 609 to 628, briefly reconquered by the Byz., and then came under Arab rule from ca.640 to 969, the date of the Byz. recovery of part of Syria, which lasted until 1084.

Syrian culture in the 4th–7th C. reflects the two larger elements in its linguistic mixture—the Greek and the Syriac. (The adjective "Syriac" properly refers only to the language and literature and not, e.g., to the churches or art of those who used that language, which should be termed "Syrian"). At its highest, creative level—as represented by the rhetoricians, historians, and theologians of Antioch and the philosophers of Apameia—the pre-Islamic culture of Syria can be described as adhering to Greco-Roman traditions, but it also showed Semitic influences (e.g., the Syriac-inspired KONTAKION). Greek likewise influenced SYRIAC LITERATURE, whose main center, however, was not in Syria proper but in the provinces of OSRHOENE and MESOPOTAMIA. Brock (*infra*) has described the process whereby writers of Syriac became, between the 4th and 7th C., increasingly hellenized in thought-patterns and style, so that by the 9th C. perfected translation techniques enabled Syriac scholars at the ʿAbbāsid court in Baghdad to transmit via their own language Greek works to the Arabs. The Syriac language was written as well as spoken in Syria, as extant MSS copied there prove, but a high proportion of inscriptions of all types were in Greek.

Syria was divided into two metropolitan sees under the patriarch of Antioch (see ANTIOCH, PATRIARCHATE OF), which corresponded to the civil provinces of Syria I and II. Syria was notable for the theologians it produced (e.g., of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL) as well as for religious fervor that variously manifested itself in the guises of asceticism, heresy, and fanaticism. Prominent among pilgrimage centers in the region were the shrines of the two SYMEON THE STYLITES and Apameia on the Orontes, which reportedly possessed an important relic of the True Cross. Monasticism spread to Syria from Mesopotamia, the earliest account being that of THEODORET OF CYRRHUS. From ca.518 the MONOPHYSITE ecclesiastical hierarchy, which duplicated that of the official church, lived for the most part in exile from the urban sees, usually in monastic communities that were centers of theological and polemical activity, mostly in the Syriac language. One area of concentration of such activity was the limestone massif of Belus, where, interspersed with affluent villages, were well-constructed Monophysite monasteries whose names are known from documents of ca.570 (A. Caquot in Tchalenko, *Villages* 3:63–106). Ecclesiastical architecture ranged from the centralized domed (?) cathedrals of Antioch, Seleukeia Pieria, Apameia, and Berroia to the often very large village basilicas with solid masonry and elaborate sculpture.

As a result of damage sustained from military action and natural disasters (earthquakes, fires), Syrian cities required large-scale renewal and reconstruction in the 4th–6th C., the latest dated example being that of 588 at Antioch. Commerce and trade were based in the cities, yet Syrian merchants traveled widely in the empire. Aside from precious-metal objects produced at Antioch and linen woven at Laodikeia, the export industries of such luxuries as silk, purple-dyeing, and glass were based in Phoenicia (TYRE, SIDON, BERYTOS) rather than in Syria. State arms factories were in both areas, at DAMASCUS and Antioch.

The hinterlands of Syria were densely settled. There is epigraphic evidence of imperial domains at Bab el-Hawa, Taroutia Emporon, Rouhaiy, and Meshrefe (*IGLSyr* 2, no.528; 4, nos. 1631, 1875, 1905, 1908). The large private estates referred to in written sources were probably in the Orontes and Afrin valleys and in the plains near Berroia and Chalkis. The agricultural prosperity of the villages of Syria (e.g., KAPER BARADA, KAPER PERA, DEHES) is reflected in their dimensions, which could rival those of cities, and in their well-constructed ashlar buildings, including private houses and tombs that still stand. Tchalenko argued that this prosperity was based on the exclusive cultivation and processing of OLIVES for export. More recent excavations at Dehes have revealed a mixed agriculture of crops and live-

stock. The livestock may have provisioned the army stationed in Syria. It is unclear whether the farmers of Syria were independent owners or tenants.

Recent archaeological work in the city of Apameia on the Orontes (large and well-maintained dwellings in use until the 8th C.) and the village of Dehes (continuous habitation until the 9th C.) has produced good reason to challenge the previously accepted view that Syria underwent a steep decline starting as early as 540, resulting in a collapse, ca.600, that facilitated the Persian takeover and subsequent Arab conquest. The plague of the 540s–50s, local dissatisfaction with Byz. rule, state persecution of religious minorities, and a weakened military position—or combinations thereof—have all been offered as causes for a decline from the mid-6th C. and the end of what from the 4th to 6th C. had been an expanding and prosperous society. Although this thesis still has its adherents, e.g., H. Kennedy (in *Past and Present* 106 [1985] 3–27), who asserts that urban economic decline took place between 540 and 640 but that a revival occurred under the Arabs, other scholars date the end of late antiquity in Syria and Palestine to the ʿAbbāsid revolution of 750. Ethnically and religiously, this society did not radically change under the Umayyads: while some Greek-speaking Syrians fled the cities, others, such as the bureaucrats who continued to work for the Umayyad government (e.g., the family of JOHN OF DAMASCUS) did not. Donner (*Conquests* 245–50) has argued that peasants remained (e.g., at Dehes) and that tribes from the Arabian peninsula were not settled in Syria as they were in Iraq; the relatively few Arab newcomers settled in cities rather than the countryside. Many cities (e.g., Antioch, Edessa, and Jerusalem) maintained large Christian populations until the Byz. and Crusader conquests of the Levant in the 10th–12th C.

There was a strong military aspect to Syria from the 4th to the 7th C. All cities were walled and some were garrisoned, and its eastern flank was protected against the Persians and the Lakhmid Arabs by a line of forts (the LIMES) that was reinforced by the Ghassānid Arabs allied with Byz. While in the 4th C. Byz. military strategy in Syria could be described as offensive (campaigns, often imperial, into Persia), in the 6th C. it was defensive, with Persian invasions occurring in 540, 573, and 609/10. In the 630s Syria again became the base of imperial political and military operations relating at first to the Persians (C. Mango, *TM* 9 [1985] 105–18) but shifting abruptly to counter the new offensive from the Arabian peninsula from about 634. The Byz. defense failed and the Byz. frontier in Syria was then transferred from the eastern desert to the region near Antioch; this northern part of the Umayyad Levant assumed a role secondary to the region farther south, that of Damascus, the capital of the new caliphate (661–750). With the Byz. partial reconquest of Syria in 969, the frontier moved again to a north-south line between Antioch and Berroia, and the Ḥamdānid emir of the latter city became a Byz. vassal. John I Tzimiskes briefly took other cities in Syria (Balaneai, Gabala) in 975, and Basil II expelled a Fāṭimid army from Syria in 995. In 1084 Syria was taken by the SELJUKS, but part of it soon fell to the First Crusade. The princedom of Antioch established by the Crusaders in 1098 was forced by treaty in 1108 to recognize Byz. suzerainty. This authority was strengthened in 1137 by John II Komnenos and again in 1159 by Manuel I.

LIT. R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris 1927). *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909*, 7 vols. (Leiden 1907–49). *IGLSyr*, vols. 2–4, 5:1–106. G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, 3 vols. (Paris 1953–58). R. Mouterde, A. Poidebard, *Le "Limes" de Chalcis* (Paris 1945). S. Brock, "From Antagonism to Assimilation," in *East of Byzantium* 17–34. S. Vryonis, "Aspects of Byzantine Society in Syro-Palestine," in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. S. Vryonis (Malibu, Calif., 1985) 43–63. –M.M.M.

SYRIAC LITERATURE originated as part of the literature of the late Roman Empire. Its classic period occurred in the 3rd–7th C. in Syria and Mesopotamia, with a revival in the 12th–13th C. The northern Mesopotamian cities of Edessa and Nisibis, together with Mosul and its environs, were centers for the development of Syriac as a literary language in the Western (Jacobite) and Eastern (Nestorian) idioms that came to be the two states the language assumed in its classic form. Syriac had its own distinctive literary forms that preferred metrical to prosaic genres of discourse, except in chronicles and biblical commentaries. Syriac HYMNOGRAPHY, as exemplified in the works of EPHREM THE SYRIAN, had a strong influence on the development of the KONTAKION, at the hands of ROMANOS THE MELODE.

The Syriac language is important for Byzantinists both for works originally written in Syriac and for works composed in Greek but surviving only in Syriac versions. Notable among the original Syriac compositions are the works of Ephrem the Syrian, JACOB OF SARUG, NARSAI OF EDESSA, ISAAC OF NINEVEH, and historical works such as the CHRONICLE OF 1234, the *Chronicle* of MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN, and the *Chronicle* of GREGORY ABŪ'L-FARAJ. Notable among the works composed in Greek, but surviving only in Syriac versions, are the *Kephalaia Gnostica* of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, the *Cathedral Homilies* of SEVEROS of Antioch, and the Life of PETER THE IBERIAN by John Rufus.

LIT. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922). I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*[2] (Rome 1965). S.P. Brock, "Syriac Sources for Seventh-Century History," *BMGS* 2 (1976) 17–36. Idem, "From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac Attitudes to Greek Learning," in *East of Byzantium* 17–34. –S.H.G.

SYROPOULOS, JOHN, late 12th-C. *grammatikos,* author of an oration for Epiphany addressed to ISAAC II. The dating of the speech is disputed: Bachmann placed it in 1192, because he assumed that the speech was dedicated to the same events as the discourses by Sergios KOLYBAS and George TORNIKIOS; Dujčev defended an earlier dating (Epiphany of 1187), asserting that the speech seems to have been delivered soon after Isaac's coup. Indeed, its similarity with the orations of Kolybas and Tornikios is only apparent (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 167f). In his speech Syropoulos (Συρόπουλος) contrasted the beneficial rule of Isaac with the atrocities of ANDRONIKOS I and praised Isaac for his victory over Alexios BRANAS (with the unique information that Branas, after his first failure, disguised himself as a peasant [p.14.20]). He described "the western evil" that was destroying the area of Zygos (the revolt of PETER OF BULGARIA and ASEN I); he called the leaders of the revolt an ox and an ass and predicted their subjugation to Byz. (p.17.15–24).

ED. M. Bachmann, *Die Rede des Johannes Syropulos an den Kaiser Isaak II. Angelos* (Munich 1935).
LIT. Dujčev, *Proučvanija* 86–90. –A.K.

SYROPOULOS, SYLVESTER, patriarchal official; born Constantinople before 1400, died Constantinople after 1453. *Megas ekklesiarches* and *di-kaiophylax* of the patriarchate of Constantinople, Syropoulos was a member of the Byz. delegation at the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE in 1438–39 (P. Wirth, *OstkSt* 12 [1963] 64f) and signed its decree of UNION OF THE CHURCHES. He did so under duress, however, according to his own account. Indeed, he eventually became a staunch supporter of Mark EUGENIKOS, denouncing the council on his return to Constantinople and joining the anti-Unionist forces. In his *Memoirs*, composed shortly after 1443—according to Laurent's recent critical edition, a second redaction was issued ca.1461—he opposed the council openly. Although far from impartial, this eyewitness account is neither worthless nor an intentional falsification of facts. Even though it contains little on the public debates themselves, its information about the council's private intrigues and discussions (otherwise unavailable) is invaluable. Moreover, its bias or partisanship, for which it is frequently criticized, is also characteristic of the acts of the council.

ED. V. Laurent, *Les 'Mémoires' du grand ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le Concile de Florence (1438–1439)* (Rome 1971), rev. O. Kresten in *RHT* 4 (1974) 75–138.
LIT. J. Gill, "The Acta and Memoirs of Syropoulos as History," *OrChrP* 14 (1948) 305–55. J.L. van Dieten, "Silvester Syropoulos und die Vorgeschichte von Ferrara-Florenz," *AnnHistCon* 9 (1977) 154–79. J. Décarreaux, "L'arrivée des Grecs en Italie pour le Concile de l'Union d'après les Mémoires de Syropoulos," *Revue des études italiennes* 7 (1960) 27–58. –A.P.

SYRO-ROMAN LAWBOOK, a 5th-C. compilation of legal texts that has survived in several Syriac MSS, the oldest of which, now in the British Museum (MS Add. 14,528), is of the 6th C. (although Nallino [*infra*] dated it in the 8th C.); recently discovered MSS (A. Vööbus, *Sodalitas*, vol. 5 [Naples 1984] 2105–08) are 13th–17th-C. copies. A certain Ambrosius, a contemporary of Emp. Valentinian (III?), is named in a later MS as author; another later note refers to the constitutions of Theodosios (I or II?) and Leo I. Selb (*infra*, 252–54), however, rejects the reliability of this information. It is generally accepted that the original was written in Greek, but the character of the *Lawbook* is still under discussion. Nallino considered it a didactic work based on Roman law; many scholars (e.g., R. Taubenschlag, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 6 [1952] 103–19) view it as a

book with a practical purpose, revealing a "mixture" of Roman law and local practice. Recognizing that the *Lawbook* dealt primarily with problems of family law, slave ownership, and SUCCESSION, E. Seidl (*RE* 2.R. 4 [1932] 1783) suggested that it had served the needs of episcopal courts. At any rate, the *Lawbook* contains certain regulations that were obsolete in the 5th C. and has no clear system of organization of the content. The book was popular in the East and is known also in Arabic and Armenian versions.

ED. K.G. Bruns, E. Sachau, *Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert* (Leipzig 1880; rp. Aalen 1960). A. Vööbus, *The Syro-Roman Lawbook* (Stockholm 1982), with Eng. tr.

LIT. C. Nallino, "Sul libro siro-romano e sul presunto diritto siriaco," in *Studi in onore di Pietro Bonfante*, vol. 1 (Milan 1930) 203–61. W. Selb, *Zur Bedeutung des Syrisch-Römischen Rechtsbuches* (Munich 1964). –A.K.

T

ṬABARĪ, AL-, more fully Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Arab jurist and historian; born Āmul in Ṭabarīstān, Persia, autumn 839, died Baghdad 16 Feb. 923. A precocious student, al-Ṭabarī left Ṭabarīstān to study in Persia, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, then spent most of his career in Baghdad, where family income enabled him to devote himself to scholarship. Al-Ṭabarī is best known for his *History of the Prophets and Kings*. This vast annalistic work was intended to complement his Qur'ān commentary and to provide an authoritative summa of earlier research, encompassing Creation, the prophets, the Arabs before Islam, the life of Muḥammad, and the caliphate to 915. Al-Ṭabarī used many sources; importantly, he names his informants. Accounts were included largely for their authoritative transmission, making for conceptual clarity if not always historical accuracy.

For Byz. history al-Ṭabarī provides valuable information on the pre-Islamic Arabs (including the GHASSĀNIDS) and relations with the Sasanians. The conquests by the Arabs are related fully for Syria and Egypt, less so for North Africa. Byz. subsequently figures primarily in military affairs: warfare along the Thughūr (see ʿAWĀṢIM AND THUGHŪR), naval confrontation (e.g., the battle of the Masts, the struggle for Cyprus, Crete, and Rhodes, and the Byz. attack on Damietta in 853) and the expeditions against Constantinople. He also describes the treatment and exchanges of PRISONERS and discusses diplomatic contacts, sometimes citing correspondence. Occasionally he includes more external matters, for example, the successes of the Bulgarians against Leo VI in 896.

ED. *Annales*, ed. M.J. de Goeje et al., 15 vols. (Leiden 1879–1901). *The History of al-Tabarī: An Annotated Translation*, ed. E. Yar-Shater, 38+ vols. (Albany 1985–).

LIT. A.A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs* (Princeton 1983) 69–71. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:4–23. –L.I.C.

TABARI CONTINUATUS. See ʿARĪB IBN SAʿD AL-QURṬUBĪ.

TABENNISI, a site in upper Egypt, on the right bank of the Nile, near Dendera, halfway between PBOW and Chenoboskion, find-spot of the NAG HAMMADI Gnostic manuscripts. Circa 320–25 PACHOMIOS founded a cenobitic monastery near the deserted village of Tabennisi; gradually a large community of PACHOMIAN MONASTERIES developed in the area, owning and working farmland and paying taxes to the government (E. Wipszycka in *Le monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux* [Brussels 1975] 625–36). The original house at Tabennisi remained, along with the basilica at Pbow, one of the two centers where Pachomian monastic superiors gathered for their annual meetings. It apparently survived until the 7th C. –A.K.

TABGHA. See HEPTAPEGON.

TABLES (sing. *τράπεζα*). Tables were evidently used more widely in Byz. than in Rome, esp. after the transition from the Roman habit of reclining around a table to that of sitting at a table for meals, a change that occurred by the 10th C. Among the few Byz. tables to survive is a very long (15.7 m) specimen with semicircular ends and an inlaid marble top, in the refectory (TRAPEZA) of the NEA MONE on Chios (Bouras, *Nea Moni*, figs. 152, 156). It is furnished with niches for utensils, as are the WRITING DESKS depicted in representations of the Evangelists. These desks usually have a square top, unlike the sigma-shaped tables conventional in images of the Last Supper (see LORD'S SUPPER). Fragments of such sigma tables have been excavated at Corinth (Scranton, *Architecture* 139f).

Plain tables were of wood, but tables of more precious materials were found in wealthy households: according to the vita of PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, he had a round table ornamented with ivory and gold that could seat 36 people (ed. M.H. Fourmy, M. Leroy, 137.30–31); the main imperial table at palace BANQUETS was called "golden" and was probably gilded. Tables were usually rectan-

gular, with the place of honor at the head of the table; Constantine VII also describes a *paratrapezion* set up for Arab allies, which was round so that all the seats were of equal rank (*De cer.* 594.9–14). The term *systelta* or *symbalta trapezia* (*De cer.* 465.10, MM 6:243.7), used for portable furniture, probably designated folding tables. For the sake of monastic discipline LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS ordered that a *symbaten* (correct reading, *symbalten*) *trapezan*, or worktable, be removed from the cell of a monk-cobbler, since the rules prohibited having such a piece of furniture (*AASS* Nov. 3:552AB). The word *trapezion* also designated the counters of craftsmen and esp. money-changers; a chrysobull of 1342 mentions 20 "exchanging (*katallaktika*) *trapezia*" acquired by the Great Lavra (*Lavra* 3, no.123.105–06). (See also ALTAR; OFFERTORY TABLE.)

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:77f; 4:189–91.
– Ap.K., A.K., A.C.

TABLION (*ταβλίον*), one of a pair of rectangular or trapezoidal embroidered panels sewn at right angles to the edges of a CHLAMYS, or other civilian cloak. In representations of figures clad in the *chlamys*, only one *tablion* is generally visible, since if the cloak is fastened in its usual manner at the right shoulder, one half of it falls down behind the body and the second *tablion* is thus hidden from view. When the cloak is shown fastened under the neck in front, both *tablia* can be seen side by side on the wearer's chest. In the 4th C. the *tablia* were attached to the emperor's *chlamys* below the level of the knees, but from the 6th C. onward they appear at chest level. A *tablion* could be embroidered with images of the emperor or elaborate designs, and its color was purposely contrasted with that of the cloak. A traditional piece of masculine court costume (e.g., *De cer.* 142.18–19), the appropriate *tablion* had to be paid for by the prospective title-holder (a *patrikios* in the 9th C. paid 24 nomismata for his *tablion*—Oikonomides, *Listes* 95.7). Though military saints are depicted wearing over their armor a *chlamys* adorned with a *tablion*, the *tablion* was generally a mark of civilian status. Among women only the empress was permitted to wear a *tablion*.

In the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 133.7–8) the word also designated a box for precious garments: the emperor's *tablion* was carried by servants (*diaitarioi*) during ceremonial processions.

LIT. *DOC* 2.1:76f. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:47. J. Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (Paris 1917) 51, n.3. Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen* nos. 38, 51. –N.P.Š.

TABOR, MOUNT, also Itabyrion, mountain in Galilee south of Nazareth. In 348 CYRIL of Jerusalem decisively identified Tabor (*Θαβώρ*) as the site of the TRANSFIGURATION; there are, however, some doubts whether this identification is valid (*DictBibl* 5.2:2141). Remains of what was perhaps a basilica of the 4th/5th C. survive on the spot (Ovadiah, *Corpus* 71); 6th-C. pilgrims speak of three basilicas on Tabor. One was dedicated to Christ, two smaller churches to Moses and Elijah. In the 7th C. monastic buildings were surrounded by fortifications. The archbishopric of Tabor was created in the 11th C. In the 12th C. both DANIIL IGUMEN and John PHOKAS saw on the top of Tabor two monasteries—one Latin, the other Orthodox. The precise location of the Transfiguration was supposed to be beneath the altar of the Latin monastery: it was encircled by a bronze fence; a marble circle with the sign of the cross marked the exact spot where Christ had stood. Tabor's lower slopes incorporated the area associated with the meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 173. B. Meistermann, *Le mont Thabor* (Paris 1900). Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2:404f.
–G.V., A.K.

TABOULARIOS. See NOMIKOS; NOTARY.

TABULA ANSATA (Lat. "tablet with handles"), a rectangular frame or tablet with projections, used to contain an inscription and, by extension, as an ornament. The motif appeared on sarcophagi of the 3rd–4th C., in MSS such as the CALENDAR OF 354, ivory panels of the 4th–6th C., and numerous consular DIPTYCHS. It is all but unknown after the 6th C. –L.Br.

TABULA PEUTINGERIANA, a parchment map of the 12th or early 13th C., now in Vienna (ÖNB, Vindobon. 324), named after its former owner, Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547), a humanist of Augsburg. It is considered to be a copy of a 5th-C. tourist map. The *Tabula* is a roll of which 11 segments survive (one or two are lost); the preserved portion forms a narrow strip approximately 6.75 m long and 34 cm wide, depicting the known world from Gallia eastward to India and Ceylon; Britannia and Spain are lost save for small eastern regions. The map represents primarily land routes, indicating distances and cities (about 4,000 localities *in toto*); Latin inscriptions offer some clarifying information, for example, "the moat dug by slaves of the Scythians" or "elephants are born in this area." Pictorial vignettes provide characteristic emblems for 555 cities: towers, temples, baths, warehouses, harbors, lighthouses. Three cities—Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch—are indicated by distinct personifications of TYCHAI. Despite certain faults, it preserves unique geographical data. The COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA seems to have derived his information from either the *Tabula* or a common source.

ED. Facs. ed.—E. Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana: Codex Vindobonensis 324* (Graz 1976).
LIT. A. & M. Levi, *Itineraria picta* (Rome 1967). L. Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana* (Rimini 1983). A. Levi, B. Trell, "An Ancient Tourist Map," *Archaeology* 17 (1964) 227–36. E. Weber, "Die Tabula Peutingeriana," *Antike Welt* 15 (1984) 3–8. V. Manfredi, "L'Europa nella Tabula Peutingeriana," in *L'Europa nel mondo antico* (Milan 1986) 192–98. –A.K.

TACHYGRAPHY (*ταχυγραφία*, "quick writing"), conventional term used to designate a form of stenographic script (termed "notation of Tiro" in antiquity) whose purpose was to save time in writing. The Byz. used the term *semeiographike techne* for tachygraphy, and the terms *semeiographos*, *tachygraphos* (cf. the Old Church Slavonic calque *skoropis'c'*), and *oxygraphos* for the SCRIBE who wrote in shorthand. Attested in the PAPYRI, where it was used for accounts, tachygraphy was used in Byz. from the 4th C. onward for taking dictation, recording sermons and the minutes of church councils, and taking down testimony in law courts. It was so common that Basil the Great used the image of tachygraphy for a simile (PG 30:733A–D). In the mid-6th C. John Lydos stated that *tachygraphoi* were numerous and important members of the imperial bureaucracy (*On the Magistracies* 3.9). St. NEILOS OF ROSSANO and the *hegoumenos* Paul of Grottaferrata are said to have used tachygraphy, and indeed the system of tachygraphy is best known from southern Italian MSS. In tachygraphic MSS stenographic signs are used to represent syllables or short words, such as prepositions, articles, and conjunctions; sometimes these shorthand symbols are identical with the ABBREVIATIONS found in minuscule MSS. Chionides (*infra*) suggests a distinction between tachygraphy and brachygraphy, whose aim was not greater speed, but efficient use of the page.

LIT. Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 36–43. M. Gitlbauer, *Die Überreste griechischer Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus graecus 1809*, in 2 parts (Vienna 1878). O. Lehmann, *Die tachygraphischen Abkürzungen der griechischen Handschriften* (Leipzig 1880; rp. Hildesheim 1965). S. Lilla, *Il testo tachigrafico del "De divinis nominibus" (Vat. gr. 1809)* (Vatican 1970). H. Boge, *Griechische Tachygraphie und Tironische Noten* (Berlin 1973) 103–51. N.P. Chionides, S. Lilla, *La brachigrafia italobizantina* (Vatican 1981). –E.G.

TAFUR, PERO (Peter), Spanish traveler; born Cordoba ca.1410, died ca.1484. He undertook a long journey (end of 1435 or 1436 through March or Apr. 1439) and visited Italy, Palestine, and some islands in the Aegean (Rhodes, Chios, Tenedos); he was twice in Constantinople (Nov. 1437 and the beginning of 1438) and also saw Adrianople, Trebizond, and the Genoese colony of Kaffa in the Crimea. Pretending to be a relative of the Palaiologoi, Tafur was received by John VIII and shown around Constantinople by the future emperor Constantine XI.

Tafur's narration of his trip describes churches and their relics as well as the Hippodrome and the Palace, including a unique account of the library in a palace loggia. He relates that Trebizond had 4,000 inhabitants and records various legends about the empire's past, for example, the story of a war of Charlemagne against Constantinople. Tafur stresses the shabby clothing of the citizens of Constantinople and sympathizes with their sufferings inflicted by the Turks, the Venetians, and their own rulers; never, he says, had he seen so many people mutilated for felonies. At the same time he emphasizes the depravity of the Greeks and contrasts them with the noble Turks.

ED. *Andanças e viajes de un hidalgo español*, ed. F. López Estrada (Barcelona 1982). Eng. tr. M. Letts, *Travels and Adventures (1435–1439)* (New York–London 1926).
LIT. J. Vives, "Andanças e viajes de un hidalgo español," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, vol. 7 (Münster 1938) 127–206. A. Vasiliev, "Pero Tafur," *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 75–122. Van der Vin, *Travellers* 1:52–63.
–A.K.

TAGARIS (Τάγαρις), a rather unusual family name derived from *ταγάριον*, a dry measure. The first known member is George, whom Manuel PHILES mentioned in a poem (*EkAl* 3 [1882/3] 653), probably of the early 14th C. Next comes Manuel, governor of Philadelphia (ca.1309–27), whose first marriage was to Doukaina Monomachina. Although of lowly origins, he campaigned successfully against the Turks in Asia Minor and was esteemed by Andronikos II. Manuel received the rank of senator and *megas stratopedarches*; his second wife, Theodora Palaiologina Asanina, was a daughter of John III Asan (tsar of Bulgaria, 1279–80). In 1321 the emperor sent Manuel back from Constantinople to Philadelphia, where he stayed at his post during the siege of the city until 1324, when Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS liberated it. Manuel apparently died before 1342. His son George Tagaris likewise held the office of *megas stratopedarches*. In 1346 the empress Anna of Savoy sent him to the Lydian emir Saruhan to recruit soldiers for the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. Saruhan, an acquaintance of Manuel, was pleased to supply George with a Turkish army. In 1356 George received a personal letter from Pope Innocent VI (1352–62) commending his inclination toward UNION OF THE CHURCHES. Perhaps another son of Manuel, or in any case a relative, was Paul Palaiologos TAGARIS, the Latin patriarch, by far the best-known member of the family. The line apparently died out soon after 1400, when Anna Laskarina Tagarina brought a lawsuit before the patriarchal court.

LIT. D. Nicol, "Philadelphia and the Tagaris Family," *Neo-Hellenika* 1 (1970) 9–17. Kourouses, *Gabalas* 129–33, 280–89, 329–43. P. Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte Philadelpheias im 14. Jahrhundert (1293–1390)," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 390–95. –E.T.

TAGARIS, PAUL PALAIOLOGOS, Greek monk and Latin patriarch of Constantinople (1379/80–1384?); born ca.1340?, died after 1394. His life story is known primarily from his confession of sins before the synod of Constantinople in 1394 (MM 2:224–30). Tagaris claimed to be related to the PALAIOLOGOS family, perhaps through his stepmother. He married at the age of 14 but soon left his wife and became a monk in Palestine. His greed led him into scandal and corruption. After a brief spell in Constantinople (ca.1363), he left in disgrace for Jerusalem, where he was ordained deacon, and then moved to Antioch, where he became priest and exarch. In return for bribes he performed numerous uncanonical ordinations and even masqueraded as patriarch of Jerusalem. In the 1370s he traveled to Persia and Georgia and was finally made bishop of Taurezion (perhaps the Tauric Chersonese, or, less likely, a see in the Taurus Mountains). Upon learning that his charlatanry was discovered by PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, he fled via Tartary and Hungary to Rome. There he made his submission to Pope Urban VI (1378–89), who named him titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople (1380). In 1384 he was denounced as an impostor and escaped to Cyprus where, for 30,000 gold pieces, he crowned Jacques I de Lusignan (1382–98). Tagaris's travels continued: after a brief imprisonment in Rome (1388–89) he sought refuge with Amadeo VII of Savoy (1383–91) and journeyed to Avignon and Paris. He then repented and returned to Constantinople where he recanted in 1394. Nothing is known of his subsequent career.

LIT. D.M. Nicol, "The Confessions of a Bogus Patriarch: Paul Tagaris Palaiologos," *JEH* 21 (1970) 289–99. R.-J. Loenertz, "Cardinal Morosini et Paul Paléologue Tagaris, patriarches," *REB* 24 (1966) 224–56. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2449, 2598, 2639, 2642; fasc. 6, nos. 2775, 2894, 2974. –A.M.T.

TAGENO, participant in and diarist of the Third Crusade; died Tripolis in Syria between 21 June and 3 Nov. 1190. Tageno is attested (1184) as notary and chaplain of Dietpald, bishop of Passau, and as dean of Passau cathedral (1189). Tageno's account extended from his bishop's departure from Passau on 15 May 1189 to 21 June 1190. Although the original is lost (see HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI), Magnus of Reichersberg (died 1195) substantially excerpted it in his *Annals*. A lost early recension first published by J. Aventin (1522) preserves part of a version closer to Tageno, but most was incorporated after additional revision into Magnus's surviving second (according to Schmale, *infra* 203, n.105) redaction. Tageno gave a detailed account of the crossing by FREDERICK I of the Byz. Empire and Anatolia as well as of local geography and climate and negotiations of the Crusaders with Constantinople.

ED. W. Wattenbach, MGH *SS* 17 (1861; rp. 1925) 509–17.
LIT. Wattenbach-Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Heinr. V* 1:96–99, 203–08. –M.McC.

TAGMA (*τάγμα*), the classical word used to designate a regiment; in the 4th C. it was usually equated to the *arithmos* or Lat. *numerus* (F. Lammert, *RE* 2.R. 4 [1932] 2023). It acquired a technical meaning in the mid-8th C. when Constantine V created a professional army of *tagmata* under the direct command of the emperor, as a check on the contingents that were in the service of powerful STRATEGOI of the THEMES; the reform was completed by Nikephoros I. The first *tagmata* were *scholai* and *exkoubitoi* under the command of their respective DOMESTIKOI; the VIGLA (or *arithmos*) and *hikanatoi* (see DOMESTIKOS TON HIKANATON) appeared by the end of the 8th C. For a short period at the beginning of the 9th C. FOEDERATI also formed a *tagma*. Special Constantinopolitan units—the wall regiments and *noumera* (see DOMESTIKOS TON NOUMERON) who guarded parts of the city walls and some imperial prisons—were also added to the main *tagmata*. According to QUDĀMA IBN JA'FAR, four cavalry units and two infantry regiments based at Constantinople each had 4,000 men, making a total of 24,000 soldiers; Haldon thinks these figures are exaggerated, but W. Treadgold concludes that Qudāma was correct (*GRBS* 21 [1980] 270–77). N. Oikonomides (*TM* 6 [1976] 143f) suggests that from the end of the 10th C. the tagmatic army was in decline, since the *tagmata* were located in the provinces; the term acquired the vague meaning of a military contingent, and *tagmata* of STRATELATAI, of ATHANATOI, of *megathymoi* (Skyl. 413.18), and of ARCHONTOPOULOI are mentioned in the sources. After the 11th C. the term seems to have disappeared, as well as the distinction between thematic and "imperial" troops.

LIT. Haldon, *Praetorians* 228–337. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 24–32. F. Winkelmann, "Probleme der Informationen des al-Ğarmi über die byzantinischen Provinzen," *BS* 43 (1982) 18–29. –A.K.

TAILOR (*ῥάπτης*). The word *raptes* appears in late Roman papyri (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 2:440) and in inscriptions from Korykos (*MAMA* 3, nos. 554, 581), but seems to have been unknown in classical texts. It is usually understood as "clothesmender" (e.g., Fikhman, *Egipet* 26), but this translation is unlikely since PALLADIOS (*Hist.Laus.*, ed. Butler, 94.7–9) encountered 15 *raptai* and 15 fullers in the monastery of Panos—figures that suggest tailoring rather than mending. Diocletian's PRICE EDICT (7.42–51) contrasts *brakarios* (see TROUSERS) and *raptes*; M.N. Tod (*JHS* 24 [1904] 201) and E. Hanton (*Byzantion* 4 [1929] 70f) interpret this as a distinction between a craftsman producing articles made of coarse woolen cloth or felt (*brakarios*) and one engaged in making finer garments, esp. of linen and silk (*raptes*).

It is unclear whether Byz. tailors were distinct from WEAVERS; in any case they are not included as a separate guild in the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch*. In the Stoudios monastery there were *rapheis* and *vestiarioi* who washed and mended clothes (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 1:413, n.2), and *hyphantai* and *akestai* who sewed cloaks but started their work at the loom (i.e., also made the cloth—Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 225f). Both *raptai* and *hyphantai* are mentioned in the acts of Athos, as a profession and as a last name: among the various monks of the Philotheou monastery who signed a charter of 1154 were a *hyphantes*, a *raptes*, a barrelmaker, a carpenter (*xylourgos*), a shoemaker (*tzangarios*), and a cook (*Lavra* 1, no.63.3–8). The poet Stephen SACHLIKES refers to *raptes* (*sic*, a plural form) dwelling in the countryside (ed. S.D. Papadimitriu, *Letopis'* 3 [1896] 21.173).

LIT. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 146. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:210. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 100, n.183. –A.K.

TAINIA. See HEADGEAR.

TAKTIKA (*τακτικά*), or notitias, official lists of titles and offices. Except for the early NOTITIA DIGNITATUM and the 14th-C. tract by pseudo-KODINOS, all belong to the 9th–10th C.: the so-called *Taktikon of Uspenskij* was issued in 842/3, then follows the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS (899), the *Taktikon of Beneševič* (934–44), and the Escurial (or Oikonomides) *taktikon* (971–75). *Taktika* are concerned with ceremonial and court precedence; their primary aim was to guide the ATRIKLINES in the appropriate placement of dignitaries at imperial banquets. *Taktika* are the most important source for the study of administration because they provide an almost complete picture of the Byz. bureaucratic machine; their evidence, however, must be expanded and checked by reference to narrative texts and esp. SEALS.

ED. N. Oikonomides, *Les Listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris 1972).
LIT. F. Winkelmann, *Byzantinische Rang- und Ämterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1985) 19–28. –A.K.

TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (Τῶν ἐν πολέμοις τακτικῶν σύντομος παράδοσις), a large handbook of STRATEGY and tactics for land and naval warfare in 20 books compiled by Leo VI ca.905. In the preface Leo states his purpose to revive military science in face of the Arab threat. Based mainly on Onasander and the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE, the *Taktika* discusses generalship and planning, equipment and deployment, encampments, sieges, and duties before and after battle. Although much in the text is derived and hence remote from Leo's time, sections on foreign peoples such as the HUNGARIANS (18.45–76) and ARABS (18.109–41) or the exploits and innovations of his generals (11.25–26; 15.38; 17.83) are contemporary, while the lack of sources on naval warfare compelled him to ask his own sailors for information on this subject (19.1). The *Taktika* became the authoritative military reference work in the 10th C., inspiring and influencing later STRATEGIKA (Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 139–60).

The text has come down in two traditions—a preliminary model and a fully revised version (A. Dain, *TM* 2 [1967] 354–57). Of interest for the text's early history is the acrostic in book 20, rearranged during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos to delete the name of Leo's brother Alexander (J. Grosdidier de Matons, *TM* 5 [1973] 229–42). Another *strategikon*, conventionally titled SYLLOGE TACTICORUM, is wrongly attributed to Leo VI.

ED. PG 107:669–1120. Incomplete ed.—R. Vári, *Leonis imperatoris Tactica*, 2 vols. (Budapest 1917–22).

LIT. V.V. Kučma, " 'Taktika L'va' kak istoričeskij istočnik," *VizVrem* 33 (1972) 75–87. G. Dagron, "Byzance et le modèle islamique au Xe siècle. A propos des *Constitutions tactiques de l'empereur Léon VI*," *CRAI* (Paris 1983) 219–43. T.G. Kolias, "The *Taktika* of Leo the Wise and the Arabs," *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984) 129–35. –E.M.

TALE OF THE TAKING OF TSAR'GRAD, name of two different accounts of a capture of Constantinople.

CAPTURE OF 1204. The Eastern Slavic account of the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, preserved in the Novgorod First Chronicle and in several historical compilations, is apparently based on an eyewitness report. The background to the attack seems to derive from oral sources: a version of Alexios III Angelos's escape from Constantinople that differs from that in Niketas CHONIATES, and an account of diplomacy that is favorable to PHILIP OF SWABIA. The *Tale* blames Constantinople's rulers and would-be rulers rather than Philip or the pope. The capture itself is described in detail and is particularly useful as a source on the plundering of Hagia Sophia. It has been suggested that ANTONY, archbishop of Novgorod, was the author.

ED. S. Patri, "La relation russe de la quatrième Croisade," *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 461–501, with Fr. tr.

LIT. N.A. Meščerskij, "Drevnerusskaja povest' o vzjatii Car'grada frjagami kak istočnik po istorii Vizantii," *VizVrem* 9 (1956) 170–85. J. Gordon, "The Novgorod Account of the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantion* 43 (1973–74) 297–311. M.A. Zaborov, "Izvestija russkich sovremennikov o krestovych pochodach," *VizVrem* 31 (1971) 98–106. –S.C.F.

CAPTURE OF 1453. The account of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 is attributed in one MS to Nestor-Iskander, purportedly a Russian pressed into service in the Turkish army. The core of the work—an eyewitness description of the fall of the city—is set in an eschatological framework; a preface treats the founding of Constantinople, and digressions use prophecies from pseudo-METHODIOS, the visions of Daniel, and Leo VI the Wise.

ED. O.V. Tvorogov, "Povest' o vzjatii Car'grada Turkami v 1453 godu," in *Pamjatniki literatury drevnej Rusi: Vtoraja polovina XV veka* (Moscow 1982) 216–66.

LIT. M.O. Skripil', "Istorija o vzjatii Car'grada turkami Nestora Iskandera," *TODRL* 10 (1954) 166–84. I. Dujčev, "La conquête turque et la prise de Constantinople dans la littérature slave contemporaine," *BS* 17 (1956) 283–309. N.A. Smirnov, "Istoričeskoe značenie russkoj 'povesti' Nestora Iskandera o vzjatii turkami Konstantinopolja v 1453 g.," *VizVrem* 7 (1953) 50–71. – S.C.F.

T'AMARA OF GEORGIA, queen of Georgia (from 1184); born ca.1156, died 1207 or 1212/13. In 1178 T'amara (Θάμαρ) was associated with her father Giorgi III (r.1156–84). Her marriage (in 1185?—certainly not before 1184, cf. V.B. Vinogradov, S.A. Golovanova, *Voprosy istorii* [1982] no.7, 182–84) to Jurij, son of ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO, failed. In 1191 she had to suppress a revolt of Georgian nobles, aided by Byz., in support of Jurij (M.D. Lordkipanidze, *Georgia in the XI–XII Centuries*, tr. D. Skvirsky [Tbilisi 1987] 142f). Militarily, she expanded Georgian power into Armenia. When the Fourth Crusade attacked Constantinople (July 1203), T'amara exploited the Byz. Empire's disintegration. In Apr. 1204 her armies occupied TREBIZOND, where they installed her kinsman ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, and advanced into Paphlagonia with DAVID KOMNENOS.

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond (1204–1222)," *Speculum* 11 (1936) 3–37. C. Toumanoff, "On the Relationship between the Founder of the Empire of Trebizond and the Georgian Queen Thamar," *Speculum* 15 (1940) 299–312. –C.M.B.

TANA, ancient Tanais in the estuary of the Don, on the site of the village of Nedvigovka. The city was destroyed by a hostile invasion (of the Goths or Sarmato-Alans?) soon after 244; it was probably restored ca.375 and regained its previous extent, although it was poor, with many buildings in ruins. Some trade with Cimmerian BOSPOROS persisted, but objects (ceramics, bone combs, fibulae) typical of western areas (ČERNJACHOVO?) have been found side by side with Late Antique ware of the 4th–5th C. This partial change in material culture testifies to the penetration of new inhabitants into Tanais. In the mid-5th C. Tanais was deserted; the nearby necropolis likewise has no graves later than the 5th C.

From Prokopios to Doukas, when Byz. authors speak of Tanais they mean only the river Don; for instance, some of them are aware of Italians sailing to the Tanais River (e.g., Kantak. 3:192.18) or of wares brought from "the Scythians and Tanais" (Greg. 3:90.14–15).

The Italian colony of Tana is known from the end of the 12th C. onward. It was a trading center, probably founded by Cuman merchants, connecting the basin of the Black Sea (primarily KAFFA) with eastern Europe, the Golden Horde, and the empire of the Ilkhans. Its main exports were fish and caviar. From 1235 to 1475 Tana was ruled by the TATARS. The Orthodox church in Tana was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Alania (or the Caucasus); in 1356 several priests from Tana lodged complaints in Constantinople concerning actions of the metropolitan, including his attempts to let Armenians use their church (MM 1:357.33–34). Sacked by TIMUR in 1375, Tana deteriorated thereafter. It lost all significance when it was conquered by the Ottomans in 1475.

LIT. D.B. Šelov, *Tanais i Nižnij Don v pervye veka našej ery* (Moscow 1972) 307–35. T. Arsen'eva, *Nekropol' Tanaisa* (Moscow 1977) 151. M. Kovalevskij, "K rannej istorii Azova: Venecianskaja i genuezskaja kolonii v Tane v XIV veke," *Trudy XII archeologičeskogo s'ezda*, vol. 2 (Moscow 1905) 109–74. M.E. Martin, "Venetian Tana in the Later Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries," *ByzF* 11 (1987) 375–79. –O.P.

TANCRED (Ταγγρῆς), nephew of BOHEMUND; born ca.1075, died Antioch ca.12 Dec. 1112. Tancred joined Bohemund's Normans on the First Crusade. Only under strong pressure did he take the oath of vassalage to Alexios I (June 1097). In Sept. 1097, in cooperation with their Byz. and Armenian inhabitants, he took Tarsos and Mamistra. Tancred participated in the capture of Antioch and Jerusalem and then in 1101, after the Turks imprisoned Bohemund, became regent of Antioch. In 1103, after an 18-month siege, Tancred took LAODIKEIA from the Byz. When, following Bohemund's release, a Byz. force seized all of Laodikeia except the citadel, Bohemund determined to return to Italy; Tancred again became his deputy in Antioch. In 1107, while Bohemund attacked Byz. from the west, Tancred expelled the Byz. army that had occupied Cilicia; in 1108 he regained Laodikeia. About 1109, Alexios recovered part of Cilicia; in 1109/10, Tancred again drove him out. After Bohemund died, Alexios demanded the fulfillment of the Treaty of DEVOL that Bohemund had signed, but Tancred contemptuously rejected his envoys. Anna Komnene admired his leadership and bravery.

LIT. R.L. Nicholson, *Tancred: A Study of his Career and Work* (Chicago 1940; rp. New York 1978). –C.M.B.

TANCRED OF LECCE, claimant king of Sicily (1189–94); died Palermo 20 Feb. 1194. An illegitimate son of Roger, duke of Apulia, son of ROGER II, Tancred (Ταγκρέ) was chosen king by a faction of barons upon the death of WILLIAM II of Sicily. Tancred contended against internal revolts, repeated invasions by his German rival HENRY VI, and the Crusaders RICHARD I LIONHEART and Philip II of France (1190–91). To resist Henry, Tancred made an alliance on unknown terms with ISAAC II, who dreaded a German occupation of Sicily. To cement this alliance, Isaac sent his daughter Irene to marry Tancred's eldest son Roger (July–Aug. 1192), who then became coruler with Tancred. Roger, however, died 24 Dec. 1193, and Tancred soon after. Henry then easily took Sicily.

LIT. Chalandon, *Domination normande* 2:419–91. Brand, *Byzantium* 189–90. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius* 80–121. –C.M.B.

TANNER (*βυρσεύς*, also *βυρσοποιός*, *βυρσοδέψης*). In the late Roman period the verb *byrsao* probably did not refer specifically to tanning, but to LEATHER processing in general: "God," says Epiphanios of Salamis (PG 43:128C), in imitation of Origen, "is not a *byrsodeutes* (or *byrsodepses*) who works on hides, making tunics for Adam and Eve." John Chrysostom (PG 52:522.43–47) describes the work of leather dressers (*skytodepsai*): first they treat the hides with a mordant, then stretch and beat them, dash them against walls and rocks, preparing them for dyeing. A 6th-C. papyrus may mention *byrseis* (I. Fikhman, *PSb* 7 [1962] 53, n.9).

Some tanners plied their trade at monasteries: PALLADIOS (*Hist.Laus.*, ed. Butler 96.3) saw a *byrseion* or tannery among the workshops in a monastery in Panos, and there were also *byrseis* at the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* distinguishes between two kinds of craftsmen working on hides, *byrsopoioi* and *malakatarioi* (lit. "softeners"). The latter term is found nowhere else, although the related word *malakourgos* is used to describe artisans at Stoudios; Dobroklonskij (*Feodor* 1:413), however, understood it to mean carpenter.

Tanners ranked low on the social scale; Niketas Choniates disparagingly includes *byrsodepsai* among the "stupid and ignorant inhabitants of Constantinople," alongside the sausage sellers and shoemakers (Nik.Chon. 349.15–18). A letter of Maximos PLANOUDES mentions Jewish tanners in the Vlanga quarter of Constantinople (ep.31.53–61, ed. Treu, 52), the stench of whose profession he detested.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 101, n.191. –A.K.

TANŪKHIDS, the dominant group among the Arab FOEDERATI in the 4th C. They had wandered into Oriens from the Arabian peninsula via Persian territory and were settled in the region of Chalkis in northern Syria. As *foederati* they fought for the late Roman Empire against the Persians during the reign of Constantius II and Julian, and against the Goths under Valens, including the defense of Constantinople in 378, immediately after the battle of Adrianople. They also fought against the empire. As zealous adherents of Nicene Christianity they successfully opposed Valens in the 370s, and as discontented *foederati* they revolted against Theodosios I and were crushed by Ricimer in 383. They remained in the service of Constantinople (although not as the dominant Arab group) in the 5th–6th C. and took part in the defense of Oriens against the Muslim Arabs in the 7th. To the 4th-C. Tanūkhids most probably belong the earliest expressions of Arabic culture in Oriens: a rudimentary form of an Arabic liturgy and epinician odes celebrating their victory over Valens.

LIT. H. Kindermann, *EI* supp. 227–30. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (4th c.)*. –I.A.Sh.

TAORMINA (*Ταυρομένιον*), city on the northeastern coast of Sicily, between Messina and Catania. Founded in the 4th C. B.C., it fell into economic decline after antiquity, and has no late Roman archaeological monuments (G. Fasoli, *Atti del 3° Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo* [Spoleto 1959] 382f) except for some tombs and inscriptions, one of which is dated in 409 (B. Pace, *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*, vol. 4 [Rome-Naples 1949] 195). Medieval Taormina was a stronghold and a bishopric. A late legend (probably of the 8th or 9th C.) attributes the foundation of the bishopric to St. PANKRATIOS OF TAORMINA (*BHG* 1410), an alleged disciple of the apostle Peter who reportedly came to Taormina from Antioch.

In the 9th C. Taormina became the target of constant attacks by the Arabs, who devastated the area in 869, 877, 879, and 889. Taormina was the last significant fortress in Sicily to resist the Arab onslaught, but on 1 Aug. 902 the Muslims took the city after a siege. Many captives, including Bp. Prokopios, were beheaded and their corpses burned. Those Byz. commanders who avoided capture and came to Constantinople were condemned to be executed, but at the request of Patr. Nicholas I Mystikos they were permitted to escape the death penalty by taking monastic vows. Soon after the fall of Taormina the Byz. authorities proclaimed the city an archbishopric. The fortress was rebuilt by the Arabs and was known to Arab sources as "New Stronghold." The local population tried to preserve a certain independence, but by 962 Taormina came under the total control of the Arabs. In 1078 the Normans took the city.

LIT. E. Mauceri, *Taormina* (Bergamo, n.d.) 20–31. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:142–48, 226. –A.K.

TARANTO (*Τάρας*, *Τερεντός*), ancient Italian port on the Ionian Sea, connected by the Via Appia with Rome and central Italy, and an important naval stronghold during the Gothic wars. In 663 Constans II landed in Taranto, whence he started his brief campaign against BENEVENTO. Taranto was conquered ca.680 by the Lombards and ca.840 by the Arabs. In 880 the Byz. recovered the port; they held it until the Norman conquest of the 1060s. Administratively, Taranto belonged to the theme of LONGOBARDIA and later to the katepanate of Italy. In this period Taranto lost to OTRANTO its importance in the Mediterranean traffic; fishing, however, remained important in the local economy. The population consisted of Greeks and Lombards. The bishops—from 978, archbishops—and the clergy of the cathedral were usually Latin-speaking Roman Catholics, whereas the local landowners and officials were generally Greek. The latter's prevalence is testified to by a number of Greek monasteries, some of which survived through the Norman period. No Byz. monument has been preserved.

LIT. V. von Falkenhausen, "Taranto in epoca bizantina," *StMed*[3] 9 (1968) 133–66. A. Jacob, "La réconstruction de Tarente par les Byzantins aux IXe et Xe siècles," *QFItArch* 68 (1988) 1–19. –V.v.F.

TARASIOS (*Ταράσιος*), patriarch of Constantinople (25 Dec. 784–18 Feb. 806) and saint; born Constantinople? ca.730, died Constantinople 25 Feb. 806; feastday 25 Feb. Son of a high-ranking judge, Tarasios had a secular career under the Iconoclast rulers and became *asekretis*. Empress Irene, seeing in Tarasios an ally, selected him as the successor of Paul IV (780–84), a patriarch who was inclined to restore icon veneration but was afraid to take a decisive step. Tarasios acted immediately, addressing to Pope HADRIAN I an epistle with an anti-Iconoclast profession of faith and anathemas against heretics condemned by six ecumenical councils, including Pope Honorius. Hadrian's answer was cautious: he welcomed the restoration of the cult of icons but protested against the election of a layman to the patriarchal throne; he demanded energetic action against the Iconoclasts. Overcoming the opposition primarily of military circles, Irene and Tarasios convoked the Second Council of NICAEA in 787 and abolished ICONOCLASM. Tarasios, however, in his desire for pacification, assumed a mild position with regard to former Iconoclasts as well as repentant clergymen condemned for simony. The patriarch's moderate attitude inspired criticism by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS and his partisans. The conflict between the two factions of Iconophiles became esp. acute during the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY but simmered down after the blinding of Constantine VI.

The literary oeuvre of Tarasios is insignificant, comprised primarily of letters, a *Refutation* of the decisions of the Iconoclast Council of 754, a homily on the Presentation of the Virgin, and a speech on his election. His vita was written by IGNATIOS THE DEACON.

ED. PG 98:1423–1500. Mansi 13:205–356.
SOURCE. *Ignatii Diaconi Vita Tarasii archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani*, ed. I.A. Heikel (Helsingfors 1891). Lat. tr.—PG 98:1385–1424.
LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 350–73. Beck, *Kirche* 489. R. Janin, *DTC* 15 (1946) 54–57. G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 217–29. G. Ostrogorsky, "Rom und Byzanz im Kampfe um die Bilderverehrung," *SemKond* 6 (1933) 73–87. –A.K.

TARCHANEIOTES (*Ταρχανειώτης*, fem. *Ταρχανειώτισσα*), also Trachaneiotes, a lineage of military aristocracy. Both etymology and family origin are questionable. Seibt (*Bleisiegel* 280) connects the name with the Mongol *targan*, "smith," although Moravcsik (*Byzantinoturcica* 2:300) had questioned the Turkish-Bulgarian connections of the name. C. Cahen (*Byzantion* 9 [1934] 630), without any documentation, considers the family Georgian. They may have been of Bulgarian stock; in any case they belonged to the nobles of Adrianople. From the late 10th C. they occupied important military posts: Gregory Tarchaneiotes was *katepano* of Italy from 998; Basil was *stratelates* of the West ca.1057; Joseph, the general of Romanos IV Diogenes, died in 1074 as *doux* of Antioch; his son Katakalon Tarchaneiotes succeeded his father as governor of Antioch. In the struggle for power in the 11th C., the Tarchaneiotai opposed the rebellious Anatolian aristocracy; Basil remained loyal to Michael VI Stratiotikos and fought against

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Tanners ranked low on the social scale; Niketas Choniates disparagingly includes *byrsodepsai* among the "stupid and ignorant inhabitants of Constantinople," alongside the sausage sellers and shoemakers (Nik.Chon. 349.15–18). A letter of Maximos PLANOUDES mentions Jewish tanners in the Vlanga quarter of Constantinople (ep.31.53–61, ed. Treu, 52), the stench of whose profession he detested.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 101, n.191. –A.K.

TANŪKHIDS, the dominant group among the Arab FOEDERATI in the 4th C. They had wandered into Oriens from the Arabian peninsula via Persian territory and were settled in the region of Chalkis in northern Syria. As *foederati* they fought for the late Roman Empire against the Persians during the reign of Constantius II and Julian, and against the Goths under Valens, including the defense of Constantinople in 378, immediately after the battle of Adrianople. They also fought against the empire. As zealous adherents of Nicene Christianity they successfully opposed Valens in the 370s, and as discontented *foederati* they revolted against Theodosios I and were crushed by Ricimer in 383. They remained in the service of Constantinople (although not as the dominant Arab group) in the 5th–6th C. and took part in the defense of Oriens against the Muslim Arabs in the 7th. To the 4th-C. Tanūkhids most probably belong the earliest expressions of Arabic culture in Oriens: a rudimentary form of an Arabic liturgy and epinician odes celebrating their victory over Valens.

LIT. H. Kindermann, *EI* supp. 227–30. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (4th c.)*. –I.A.Sh.

TAORMINA (*Ταυρομένιον*), city on the northeastern coast of Sicily, between Messina and Catania. Founded in the 4th C. B.C., it fell into economic decline after antiquity, and has no late Roman archaeological monuments (G. Fasoli, *Atti del 3° Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo* [Spoleto 1959] 382f) except for some tombs and inscriptions, one of which is dated in 409 (B. Pace, *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*, vol. 4 [Rome-Naples 1949] 195). Medieval Taormina was a stronghold and a bishopric. A late legend (probably of the 8th or 9th C.) attributes the foundation of the bishopric to St. PANKRATIOS OF TAORMINA (*BHG* 1410), an alleged disciple of the apostle Peter who reportedly came to Taormina from Antioch.

In the 9th C. Taormina became the target of constant attacks by the Arabs, who devastated the area in 869, 877, 879, and 889. Taormina was the last significant fortress in Sicily to resist the Arab onslaught, but on 1 Aug. 902 the Muslims took the city after a siege. Many captives, including Bp. Prokopios, were beheaded and their corpses burned. Those Byz. commanders who avoided capture and came to Constantinople were condemned to be executed, but at the request of Patr. Nicholas I Mystikos they were permitted to escape the death penalty by taking monastic vows. Soon after the fall of Taormina the Byz. authorities proclaimed the city an archbishopric. The fortress was rebuilt by the Arabs and was known to Arab sources as "New Stronghold." The local population tried to preserve a certain independence, but by 962 Taormina came under the total control of the Arabs. In 1078 the Normans took the city.

LIT. E. Mauceri, *Taormina* (Bergamo, n.d.) 20–31. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:142–48, 226. –A.K.

TARANTO (*Τάρας*, *Τερεντός*), ancient Italian port on the Ionian Sea, connected by the Via Appia with Rome and central Italy, and an important naval stronghold during the Gothic wars. In 663 Constans II landed in Taranto, whence he started his brief campaign against BENEVENTO. Taranto was conquered ca.680 by the Lombards and ca.840 by the Arabs. In 880 the Byz. recovered the port; they held it until the Norman conquest of the 1060s. Administratively, Taranto belonged to the theme of LONGOBARDIA and later to the katepanate of Italy. In this period Taranto lost to OTRANTO its importance in the Mediterranean traffic; fishing, however, remained important in the local economy. The population consisted of Greeks and Lombards. The bishops—from 978, archbishops—and the clergy of the cathedral were usually Latin-speaking Roman Catholics, whereas the local landowners and officials were generally Greek. The latter's prevalence is testified to by a number of Greek monasteries, some of which survived through the Norman period. No Byz. monument has been preserved.

LIT. V. von Falkenhausen, "Taranto in epoca bizantina," *StMed*[3] 9 (1968) 133–66. A. Jacob, "La réconstruction de Tarente par les Byzantins aux IXe et Xe siècles," *QFItArch* 68 (1988) 1–19. –V.v.F.

TARASIOS (*Ταράσιος*), patriarch of Constantinople (25 Dec. 784–18 Feb. 806) and saint; born Constantinople? ca.730, died Constantinople 25 Feb. 806; feastday 25 Feb. Son of a high-ranking judge, Tarasios had a secular career under the Iconoclast rulers and became *asekretis*. Empress Irene, seeing in Tarasios an ally, selected him as the successor of Paul IV (780–84), a patriarch who was inclined to restore icon veneration but was afraid to take a decisive step. Tarasios acted immediately, addressing to Pope HADRIAN I an epistle with an anti-Iconoclast profession of faith and anathemas against heretics condemned by six ecumenical councils, including Pope Honorius. Hadrian's answer was cautious: he welcomed the restoration of the cult of icons but protested against the election of a layman to the patriarchal throne; he demanded energetic action against the Iconoclasts. Overcoming the opposition primarily of military circles, Irene and Tarasios convoked the Second Council of NICAEA in 787 and abolished ICONOCLASM. Tarasios, however, in his desire for pacification, assumed a mild position with regard to former Iconoclasts as well as repentant clergymen condemned for simony. The patriarch's moderate attitude inspired criticism by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS and his partisans. The conflict between the two factions of Iconophiles became esp. acute during the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY but simmered down after the blinding of Constantine VI.

The literary oeuvre of Tarasios is insignificant, comprised primarily of letters, a *Refutation* of the decisions of the Iconoclast Council of 754, a homily on the Presentation of the Virgin, and a speech on his election. His vita was written by IGNATIOS THE DEACON.

ED. PG 98:1423–1500. Mansi 13:205–356.
SOURCE. *Ignatii Diaconi Vita Tarasii archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani*, ed. I.A. Heikel (Helsingfors 1891). Lat. tr.—PG 98:1385–1424.
LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 350–73. Beck, *Kirche* 489. R. Janin, *DTC* 15 (1946) 54–57. G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 217–29. G. Ostrogorsky, "Rom und Byzanz im Kampfe um die Bilderverehrung," *SemKond* 6 (1933) 73–87. –A.K.

TARCHANEIOTES (*Ταρχανειώτης*, fem. *Ταρχανειώτισσα*), also Trachaneiotes, a lineage of military aristocracy. Both etymology and family origin are questionable. Seibt (*Bleisiegel* 280) connects the name with the Mongol *targan*, "smith," although Moravcsik (*Byzantinoturcica* 2:300) had questioned the Turkish-Bulgarian connections of the name. C. Cahen (*Byzantion* 9 [1934] 630), without any documentation, considers the family Georgian. They may have been of Bulgarian stock; in any case they belonged to the nobles of Adrianople. From the late 10th C. they occupied important military posts: Gregory Tarchaneiotes was *katepano* of Italy from 998; Basil was *stratelates* of the West ca.1057; Joseph, the general of Romanos IV Diogenes, died in 1074 as *doux* of Antioch; his son Katakalon Tarchaneiotes succeeded his father as governor of Antioch. In the struggle for power in the 11th C., the Tarchaneiotai opposed the rebellious Anatolian aristocracy; Basil remained loyal to Michael VI Stratiotikos and fought against

Isaac I Komnenos; Joseph resisted Romanos IV's plans for broad expansion, played a two-faced role at the battle of MANTZIKERT (1071), and was rewarded by the Doukai. A certain Tarchaneiotes (Tarchaneiotes Katakalon, acc. to Anna Komnene) supported Michael VII against Nikephoros BRYENNIOS in 1077 and later fought against Alexios I Komnenos. (Gautier ["Blachernes" 254f] identified him with the governor of Antioch, but the man was still young in 1077.)

Accordingly the Komnenoi did not trust them; after "the son of Tarchaneiotes," *protoproedros* in 1094, and John Tarchaneiotes, *protos* of Athos in the early 12th C., the Tarchaneiotai suffered a temporary eclipse but regained importance after 1204. PACHYMERES listed them among the most influential families of the empire of Nicaea; they possessed land in the Smyrna region. Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes was *megas domestikos* under John III; married to Maria-Martha, Michael VIII's sister, he became a Palaiologan supporter and his sons were awarded high titles: Andronikos, *megas konostaulos*, and Michael (died 1284), *protovestiarios*. Another Michael (Tarchaneiotes GLABAS) was *protostrator* ca.1300. Kantakouzenos describes the military prowess of Constantine Tarchaneiotes, *strategos* of the "triremes" in 1352. The family was closely connected with the PAMMAKARISTOS church in Constantinople: an enigmatic description of the church mentions the *sebastos* Alexios Tarchaneiotes, *gambros* of the founders, and several later family members. The Tarchaneiotai's intellectual role is unattested, except for the questions addressed to Patr. Nicholas (III?) (Benešević, *Opisanie* 1:288f) by John Tarchaneiotes, an Athonite monk, probably the above-mentioned *protos*.

LIT. P. Schreiner, "Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche," *DOP* 25 (1971) 229, n.27, 230–33. G.I. Theocharides, "Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes," *EEPhSPTh* 7 (1956) 183–206. –A.K.

TARCHANEIOTES, MICHAEL DOUKAS GLABAS. See GLABAS, MICHAEL TARCHANEIOTES.

TARION (*ταρίον*, It. *tari* or *tareno*), the name given in southern Italy and Sicily to the Muslim gold quarter dinar (*rubāʿi*) and imitations or derivatives of it struck in Amalfi, Salerno, and the Norman kingdom of Sicily in the 10th–13th C. The term came from the Arabic *ṭarī*, "new, fresh," implying "newly struck" and used as a description of condition (*rubāʿi ṭarī*), but it was thought by Christian users to be the actual name of the coins. These weighed a theoretical 1.06 g and the originals were of pure gold, but the imitations and derivatives were in varying degrees debased, the taria of Sicily being 16.33 carats fine. The tari subsequently became a money of account paid in gold coins by weight, the individual coins being struck to no specific standard at all. It was adopted into the southern Italian system as a weight, the trappeso (i.e., *tari* + *peso*) of .89 g.

LIT. S.M. Stern, "Tari," *StMed* 11 (1970) 177–207. P. Grierson, W.A. Oddy, "Le titre du tari sicilien du milieu du XI^{e} siècle à 1278," *RN*^{6} 16 (1974) 123–34. –Ph.G.

TARŌN (*Ταρών*), district of southwest ARMENIA; in the 4th C., the domain of the MAMIKONEAN. In the 8th C. Tarōn passed to a branch of the BAGRATID house and formed a separate principality recognizing the overlordship of the caliphate while simultaneously maintaining friendly relations with Byz., which granted to its princes the titles of *magistros, patrikios,* and *strategos* of Tarōn (*De adm. imp.* 43.65, 152). At the death of Prince Ašot I in 966, Tarōn was annexed by Byz. and formed with KELTZENE a theme usually ruled by a *protospatharios*, and a metropolitan see with 21 suffragans (*Notitiae CP* no.10.702–29), while the Taronite princes received extensive domains and went on to distinguished careers at the imperial court. In the mid-11th C. Tarōn was reunited with VASPURAKAN, for GREGORY MAGISTROS styles himself *doux* of Vaspurakan and Tarōn in his letters and inscriptions (*Letters*, p.148). After the Byz. defeat at MANTZIKERT in 1071, a Taronite prince named Tornik established himself at Muš west of Lake Van, which his descendants held until dispossessed by the Muslims in 1189/90.

LIT. K.N. Yuzbashian, "L'administration byzantine en Arménie aux X^{e}–XI^{e} siècles," *REArm* n.s. 10 (1973–74) 140–48. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 198–201. –N.G.G.

TARONITES (*Ταρωνίτης*), a noble family of Armenian origin. According to Adontz (*infra*), it was founded by Gregory and Bagrat (Pankratios), sons of Ašot, prince of Tarōn; after Ašot's death in 968 the brothers yielded Tarōn to Byz. in exchange for the title of *patrikioi* and lands "of large revenues" (Skyl. 279.82–84). According to Laurent (*infra*), already established in Byz. by that time was another branch of the family to which belonged Romanos Taronites, who married Irene, Gregory's daughter. In the 10th–11th C. Taronitai were predominantly military commanders: Gregory was *magistros* and governor of Thessalonike; his son Ašot defended Thessalonike against SAMUEL OF BULGARIA and was captured in 996; Michael fought against the Turks, his son John against the Cumans. The Taronitai were eager to side with rebels: Gregory and Bagrat supported Bardas SKLEROS but later joined the emperor; another Gregory joined the aristocratic conspiracy of 1040; a third Gregory, *doux* of Trebizond, rebelled there in 1104, but the revolt was put down by his cousin John, Michael's son. The Taronites family belonged to the aristocratic elite: Michael married Maria, Alexios I's sister, and had the title of *panhypersebastos*. In the 12th C. the Taronitai were primarily civilian functionaries: John, *epi ton deeseon* in 1094/5; John, eparch in ca.1107; John, *praitor* and *anagrapheus* of Thrace in 1102; John, eparch in 1147; Gregory, *protovestiarios* of John II; Theodore PRODROMOS mentions that John, Manuel I's nephew, married a lady of the Taronites family who dwelled on the Euphrates; perhaps the family left Constantinople and moved east, but the poet could have had a local branch of the family in mind. They did not play any political role after 1204.

LIT. Adontz, *Études* 197–251, 339–45. V. Laurent, "Alliances et filiation des premiers Taronites," *EO* 37 (1938) 127–35. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 17–25. –A.K.

TARSOS (*Ταρσός*, mod. Tarsus), civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of CILICIA I, flourished as a trade and military center because of its strategic location below the CILICIAN GATES on the main highway between Anatolia and Syria. An early center of Christianity, Tarsos was famous as the birthplace of St. Paul, whose shrine was built there by Maurice. The city was still largely pagan, however, in the time of Julian the Apostate, who planned to make it his residence; instead, he was buried by the city walls opposite the tomb of Maximinus Daia. Justinian I regulated the course of the Kydnos through Tarsos and rebuilt its bridge, but the city suffered from riots of the Blues late in his reign. The Arabs took Tarsos in 637 and made it the center of their defensive system against Byz. In the 7th–8th C. Tarsos was frequently attacked and ruined, but recovered after 834 to become a major Arab commercial city. Nikephoros II Phokas took it in 965 and installed a garrison of 5,000 under a *strategos*. It remained Byz. until 1085, then frequently changed hands among Byz., Armenians, Crusaders, and Seljuks. John II took it in 1137, and Manuel I received there the homage of the Latins in 1159. The Armenians conquered it in 1172. Tarsos preserves no significant Byz. remains.

LIT. W. Ruge, *RE* 2.R. 4 (1932) 2430f. F. Buhl, *EI* 4:679. –C.F.

TATARS (*Τάταροι*), seminomadic groups in East Asia who are first mentioned in the Old Turkic runic royal inscriptions from Mongolia (A.D. 732). They probably used a Mongolian idiom as their lingua franca and, during the 12th C., played a leading role in Mongolia. In 1202 the Tatars were defeated by the Mongol ruler Genghis Khan but, because of the prestige of the Tatars' name in the Eurasian steppe, the Mongols appropriated this charismatic appellation for themselves. "Tatar" became the designation for the realm of the Mongols in Rus' and the Cuman steppes (including the Crimea). The terms *Tataros* and *Mougoulios* are very rare in Byz. historical sources, apart from a *synaxarion* from Sougdaia in which Tatar occurs many times (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:282f). As usual the Byz. preferred the archaizing designation "Scythians" for the Mongols and Tatars.

LIT. A. Graf, "Die Tataren im Spiegel der byzantinischen Literatur," in *Jubilee Volume in Honour of Prof. Bernhard Heller on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. S. Scheiber (Budapest 1941) 77–85. –O.P.

TATAS (*τατᾶς*), or *tatas* of the court (*tatas tes aules*), a title mentioned first on a seal of John Komnenos Vatatzes, nephew of Manuel I. Several individuals are known to have held this title in the 13th and 14th C. The functions of the *tatas* are not defined in the available sources. Since the historian Doukas explained the word as "pedagogue," Stein ("Untersuchungen" 45, n. 1) suggested that the *tatas* replaced the *megas* BAIOULOS,

but V. Laurent (*EEBS* 23 [1953] 203) rejected this hypothesis. The only evidence that sheds some light on his duties is in an early 14th-C. historian (Pachym., ed. Failler, 2:413.18–21) who presents the *tatas* as one of the three major aulic functionaries (along with the PINKERNES and EPI TES TRAPEZES) appointed by Michel VIII for his co-emperor Andronikos II. In pseudo-KODINOS the *tatas* occupies a modest position.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XXIV, 149–51. –A.K.

TATIKIOS (Τατίκιος), general; fl. 1057–99. Son of a "Saracen" (An.Komn. 1:151.25–7; perhaps a Turk—Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:225, 305) captured by John Komnenos, Tatikios was the same age as ALEXIOS I, with whom he was nurtured. In 1078 Tatikios fought beside Alexios against Nikephoros BASILAKES. As *megas primikerios* of the internal VESTIARITAI (Gautier, "Blachernes" 252–54), he commanded the VARDARIOTAI against the Normans in 1081 and led expeditions against Turks and PECHENEGS in 1086–90. In 1094 his firmness ended the conspiracy of Nikephoros DIOGENES against Alexios near Serres. During the First Crusade's attack on Nicaea (1097), Tatikios's troops supported the Westerners. With a small Byz. force he then accompanied them across Anatolia, representing the emperor. During the siege of ANTIOCH (Dec. 1097–June 1098), Tatikios alienated BOHEMUND and RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE; thus isolated, he was compelled to withdraw (ca. early Feb.) by sea to Cyprus on the pretext of securing food and/or assistance for the Crusaders. Because he failed to return, Western sources condemn him as a liar and traitor. He last appears as a naval commander against Pisan raiders (1099). He was devoted to Alexios. Some Crusader narratives allege his nose had been slit, possibly indicating he had begun his career in Byz. as a slave.

LIT. Skoulatos, *Personnages* 287–92. J. France, "The Departure of Tatikios from the Crusader Army," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 44 (1971) 137–47. –C.M.B.

TATZATES (Τατζάτιος, Τατζάτης, Arm. Tačat), 8th-C. general who served both the Byz. and Arabs. An Armenian noble (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 150), Tatzates came to Byz. ca.760 and reportedly campaigned under Constantine V against the Bulgarians. He was named *strategos* of the Boukellarion before 776, when he led an army against the Arabs into Samosata. In 778 Tatzates accompanied Michael LACHANODRAKON into Syria and again campaigned with him against the Arabs in 781. In 782, when HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD invaded Asia Minor, Tatzates defected with the bulk of his troops, allowing the caliph to advance to Chrysopolis and force IRENE to negotiate for peace. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 456.12–13) says that Tatzates was motivated by hatred for the eunuch STAURAKIOS; his flight may also reflect Irene's animosity toward iconoclastic *strategoi*. Theophanes (456.22–23) also says that as a result of his flight Tatzates was deprived of his wife and all his property. Hārūn named him commander of Arab-occupied Armenia. Tatzates died while campaigning against the Khazars.

LIT. L.A. Tritle, "Tatzates' Flight and the Byzantine-Arab Treaty of 782," *Byzantion* 47 (1977) 279–300. –P.A.H.

TAURUS (Ταῦρος), a mountain range in southeastern Anatolia that ancient geographers considered the natural frontier between Europe and Asia. Its distinction from the Caucasus was confused by some writers on geography: according to Orosius, northern Mesopotamia lay between the Taurus and the Caucasus; Eustathios of Thessalonike, on the other hand, defined the Caucasus as the northern part of the Taurus. A 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 138.20–21) speaks of two Tauruses separated by the valley of Klaudioupolis. Byz. authors (e.g., Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos in *De thematibus*) usually considered the Taurus as a mountainous area dividing northern Syria from eastern Asia Minor and extending as far as Isauria, Cilicia, Lykaonia, and Cappadocia; Armenia was located beyond the Taurus. In Nonnos of Panopolis, Taurus is described as an enormous mountain rising to the clouds; Prokopios (*Buildings* 5:5.15) emphasizes that in winter the whole Taurus range is snow covered. In addition to descriptions of the natural barriers that strengthen the defense of the region, Theophanes (138.16–18) also mentions fortifications and *phrouria*. Barely passable (the main road led through the CILICIAN GATES), the rugged terrain of the Taurus contributed to the relative independence of the local (Isaurian) population and, on the other hand, presented a serious obstacle for the armies of Arabs, Byz., Crusaders, etc., moving to and from Syria.

In later texts (e.g., Skyl. 107.45–46) the name Taurus (or Northern Taurus) was linked to the Crimea (Taurike or Taurike Cherronesos of ancient authors), and the area was said to be populated by the Rus' or Tauroscythians.

LIT. W. Ruge, *RE* 2.R. 5 (1934) 39–50. –A.K.

TAVERN (καπηλεῖον, also φουσκαρεῖον or δειπνοποτήριον [vita of HYPATIOS of Gangra, ed. S. Ferri, *StB* 3 (1931) 76.30–31]) was the shop (also called *ergasterion*) of a retail WINE MERCHANT, *kapelos*, as distinct from the roadside INN. The *kapelos* provided patrons with not only wine but also food (Zonaras in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:327.4). Taverns had a bad reputation: the *kapeloi* were usually accused of diluting wine with water; taverns became the site of DRUNKENNESS and brawls. For example, some young men took Andrew the Fool to a *phouskareion* in the Artopoleia in Constantinople and began to punch him. The saint then drank a mug of first-quality wine, broke the cup over the head of one of the youths, and fled; the young men caught him, struck him, and dragged him back into the tavern (PG 111:648CD). The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (19.4) prohibited *kapeloi* from opening their taverns on the days of Great Feasts "before the second hour of the day" (8:00 A.M.), and they were obliged to close at the second hour of the night (8:00 P.M.) "lest the frequenters of these taverns have the right of access thereto at night time." In the early 14th C. Patr. ATHANASIOS I (eps. 42–44) urged the prohibition of drinking in taverns on the Sabbath and during Lent.

LIT. H.J. Magoulias, "Bathhouse, Inn, Tavern, Prostitution, and the Stage as Seen in the Lives of the Saints of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," *EEBS* 38 (1971) 238–40. –A.K.

TAX ALLEVIATION, partial or total, was necessary in order to avoid the economic ruin of farmers whose fiscal burden had considerably increased because of their obligation to pay the taxes of absent co-contributors or whose income had dropped because of a disaster. Tax alleviation could be short term (KOUPHISMOS) or long term (SYMPATHEIA) and was granted by the EPOPTES, who was also expected to check on previous alleviation and, if conditions had changed, reestablish the initial tax, partially or wholly (ORTHOSIS). Land that remained abandoned for 30 years was declared a KLASMA; the state could sell it and claim for it only 1/12 of the normal KANON (*libellikon demosion*) with the hope that in the future a series of gradual *orthoseis* would bring the tax back to normal levels. Tax alleviation was a regular administrative procedure and had nothing to do with tax exemption (EXKOUSSEIA), which mainly concerned the SECONDARY TAXES and services and which was a privilege granted to persons who offered a specific service to the state (STRATIOTAI, *exkoussatoi tou dromou* [see EXKOUSSATOS]) or to magnates receiving special treatment.

LIT. G. Litavrin, "Les terres à l'abandon selon le 'Traité fiscal' du Xe s. et leur importance pour le fisc," *EtBalk* 7.3 (1971) 18–30. N. Oikonomides, "Das Verfalland im 10.–11. Jahrhundert: Verkauf und Besteuerung," *FM* 7 (1986) 161–68. –N.O.

TAXATION. The principal taxpayers were landowners, and Byz. law considered payment of taxes as the primary duty of the *georgoi* (peasants). Specific taxes such as the CHRYSARGYRON on craft production and related occupations disappeared by the 7th C., but export-import taxes continued in the form of KOMMERKION, and city dwellers paid taxes on their immovable property—land and buildings (see CITY TAXES). Taxes were levied in money, in kind, and in the form of services (ANGAREIAI, MITATON, etc.). The complaints of Patr. Nikephoros I (Nikeph. 76.5–11) that Constantine V, "a new Midas," compelled peasants to pay taxes in cash and thus forced them to sell their goods at a loss show that in the 8th–9th C. taxation in money was considered inconvenient, at least by some Byz. In the 11th C. replacement of taxes in kind by money payments led to a revolt in Bulgaria.

The principles of late Roman taxation were established by the legislation of Diocletian and Constantine: it was based on two units of account—JUGUM and CAPUT; *jugum* encompassed the land, *caput*, manpower and animals. The quality and type of land (arable field, vineyard, olive grove) was taken into consideration. The land unit and the "poll" unit of account, although separate, were interrelated since a regular household and estate would include both elements. Accessory or SECONDARY TAXES were also imposed. Different

geographical regions, esp. Egypt and Africa, had their own characteristic taxes. It is impossible to determine when this system of taxation changed; many attempts have been made to show that it did not change at all and that land tax and POLL TAX remained as typical of late Byz. as they were of the 4th to 6th C. No late Byz. system of CAPITATIO-JUGATIO has been attested, however. N. Oikonomides (*ZRVI* 26 [1987] 9–19) suggests that the late Roman system of taxation based on the assessment "from above" (the central government sending "financial plans" to local fiscal units) had disappeared by the 8th C. (the last mention is the extraordinary imposition of taxes in 710), and was replaced by a system based on the evaluation of individual properties ("impôt de quotité"). Late Byz. taxation, which is better understood because of the large number of surviving PRAKTIKA, is characterized by the following features: the amount paid by the individual peasant was determined differently in different locations, draft animals, arable land, vineyards, and livestock being major factors in the fiscal assessment (Chvostova, *infra* 126); property was not the only factor determining the amount of taxes, so that poorer peasants usually paid heavier taxes than their well-to-do neighbors (Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 317; Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 151–56); the norms of taxation could be altered even though there was no change in the property—owing to grants of fiscal alleviations (KOUPHISMOS) or privileges (EXKOUSSEIA). This permits the conclusion that late Byz. taxation was in part influenced by the social status of taxpayers and their ability to resist fiscal pressure.

The levying of taxes was divided into two phases: the assessment of taxes required a LAND SURVEY and preparation of the CADASTER, followed by the collection of taxes (usually twice a year); the assessment was carried out by EPOPTAI, ANAGRAPHEIS, and similar officials, the collection by DIOIKETAI and PRAKTORES. Tax collection could be farmed out to individuals or conferred upon exempt landlords (see TAX COLLECTORS). Taxes were directed to central bureaus, first of all the GENIKON, but also other treasuries (SAKELLION, VESTIARION, etc.); revenues from imperial domains were collected in special offices such as KOURATOREIAI, although the distinction between state and crown

TAXATION. Enrollment of Mary and Joseph for taxation; mosaic, early 14th C. Outer narthex of the church of the Chora monastery, Istanbul.

treasury was not always clear-cut. Part of the revenue went to fiscal officials in the form of SYNETHEIAI and ELATIKON, for their work in collecting taxes; certain *strategoi* were paid directly from local revenues, and part of the income was assigned as SOLEMNIA to privileged institutions or individuals.

In theory, the tax was assessed first and then the assets (esp. land) were given to the taxpayer accordingly; thus, HIKANOSIS or the adaptation of land to conform with the sum of taxes assessed was possible. The responsibility for the payment of taxes lay not only on the landowner but on his neighbors who could be asked to pay for impoverished or fugitive peasants (ALLELENGYON).

(On the development of taxation, see FISCAL SYSTEM.)

LIT. J. Karayannopulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates* (Munich 1958). W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (New York 1982). F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung* (Munich 1927; rp. Darmstadt 1960). K. Chvostova, *Osobennosti agrarnopravovych otnošenij v pozdnej Vizantii, XIV–XV vv.* (Moscow 1968). N. Oikonomides, "Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au Xe s.: prix, loyers, imposition (*Cod. Patmiacus* 171)," *DOP* 26 (1972) 345–56.

–A.K.

TAXATION, TREATISES ON, manuals for tax collectors. Many particular documents or categories of documents survive.

1. The most important treatise, preserved in a single parchment MS, Venice Marc. gr. 173, fols. 276v–281, was published by W. Ashburner (*JHS* 35 [1915] 76–84) and then by F. Dölger (*infra*). The text is anonymous; Dölger dates the MS before 1166 and the text between 913 and 1139, while Ostrogorsky places the text between 912 and the 970s. The treatise contains unique data on the structure of the village (definitions of CHORION, *agridion*, PROASTEION, etc.), on taxes and TAX ALLEVIATIONS (SYMPATHEIA, KLASMA, KOUPHISMOS), and exemptions, on the activity of tax collectors (EPOPTES, DIOIKETES) and their SYNETHEIAI.

2. The second treatise is preserved in a paper codex of the 13th C. from the monastery of St. Nikanor at Zaborda (no.121). It was published by J. Karayannopulos, who dated the text to the 11th C. and considered it older than the Venice treatise; this thesis cannot be proved. Unlike the Venice treatise, which gives a coherent exposé, the short treatise of Zaborda consists of individual paragraphs poorly connected with each other. The paragraphs begin with standard headings such as "What is *sympatheia*," "What is OPISTHOTELEIA," or "How the *sympatheia* is performed," "How the ORTHOSIS is performed," etc. Brief definitions serve the purpose of reference rather than a systematic instruction. The text has no data on the structure of the village but does contain important additional information on TAXATION, including a concise definition of the PRONOIA.

3. Metrological MSS contain a schedule of taxation on land as well as humans and livestock, which dates from the mid-11th C.

4. An excerpt of a similar text is contained in the *praktikon* of Adam of 1073 (*Patmou Engrapha,* vol. 2, no.50.312–17).

5. The documents known as Ancient Account and New Account (see LOGARIKE, PALAIA AND NEA) provide normative information concerning surtaxes and methods of collecting land tax before and after the reform of Alexios I.

6. Other texts concern later periods and regions under Latin domination (such as Cyprus).

ED. Dölger, *Beiträge* 3–9, 113–56. J. Karayannopulos, "Fragmente aus dem Vademecum eines byzantinischen Finanzbeamten," in *Polychronion* 318–34. Engl. tr. C. Brand, "Two Byzantine Treatises on Taxation," *Traditio* 25 (1969) 35–60.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 73–85. G. Ostrogorsky, *Die ländliche Steuergemeinde des Byzantinischen Reiches im X. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam 1969). Schilbach, *Metrologie* 256, n.1, 257.

–A.K., N.O.

TAX COLLECTORS fall into two groups. They could be public servants (such as the DIOIKETES) who collected for the account of the state and were remunerated by salary (?) and SYNETHEIAI (those working *eis to piston*); or they could be businessmen who farmed out the fiscal revenue of a province after bidding at an auction (working *epi pakto*), who were obliged to match their bid (otherwise their property was confiscated) and were likely to press the taxpayers excessively. Both systems are attested throughout Byz. history, but tax farming became very frequent after the middle of the 11th C., when the generic term PRAKTOR (or *energon*, "manager") came to designate the tax collector. The *dioiketes* or *praktor* normally visited the taxed properties (and thus collected their *synetheiai*, in money or in kind); they were kept off some privileged domains, however, and were obliged to accept, in lieu of cash, the receipts that

some taxpayers obtained by paying their taxes directly to the central financial office; this procedure, favorable for the taxpayer, could in practice be followed only by large landowners. As they had vested interest in what they collected, tax collectors were seen by the public as greedy and disreputable (G. Litavrin in Kek. 374f).

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 467–69. Dölger, *Beiträge* 70–78. G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich 1973) 54–58. –N.O.

TAXIARCHOS (*ταξίαρχος*), also *taxiarches*, a military rank. Although often used generically to mean "commander," *taxiarchos* in the *Strategikon of Maurice* (ca.600) specifically refers to the commander (*moirarches*) of the OPTIMATOI, who were then foreign mercenaries. The SOUDA defines *taxiarchos* as an old term, "now" replaced by *hekatontarchos*, that is, the commander of 100 men. With the reorganization and increased role of INFANTRY during the 10th C., however, the *taxiarchos* appears in the *strategika* and Kekaumenos as a high-ranking officer in command of a 1,000-man unit (*taxiarchia*) comprising 500 heavy infantrymen, 300 archers, and 200 light infantrymen (Oikonomides, *Listes* 335f); the terms *chiliarches* and *chiliarchia* also refer to this officer and his unit. The rank of *taxiarchos* gained prestige during the 11th C. and eventually surpassed that of TOURMARCHES (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 125–27). The *taxiarchos* must be distinguished from the *axiarches*, who is known from seals and inscriptions (J.-C. Cheynet, *REB* 44 [1986] 233–35).

In patristic literature, the term *taxiarchos* characterized God as the creator of order (TAXIS), or archangels leading the armies of heaven, esp. St. Michael, "the *taxiarchos* of the heavenly host." The term also applied to an office held by monks who maintained order in the choir and refectory.

LIT. V. Val'denberg, "Taxiarchos," *VizVrem* 24 (1926) 134–37. N. Oikonomides, "Le taxiarque de Crète," *Ariadne* 5 (1989) 132–38. –A.K., E.M.

TAXIS (*τάξις*, "order"), an essential concept that penetrated the Byz. understanding of themselves and their world, as evidenced by the term's polyvalency: *taxis* designates realities ranging from "rank, class, troops, way of life," to "etiquette, precedence, CEREMONY," or "government bureau." Within Byz. society, *taxis* encompassed the harmonious hierarchy of institutions that constituted the state; ecclesiastical *taxis* did the same for the church. The *taxis* of human society mirrored that of the cosmos, whose celestial powers were organized into a divine hierarchy, as expressed by pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE. Outside Byz. society, *taxis* organized foreign societies into a hierarchy of STATES. Indispensable to the exercise of imperial authority (*De cer.*, bk.2, praefatio, ed. Reiske, 516f), *taxis* occurs often in PROOIMIA as a motive for imperial acts (e.g., Hunger, *Prooimion* 181f). The rigid dictates of *taxis* were tempered by compromise or OIKONOMIA imposed by circumstances and opposed to the most abhorrent phenomenon to the Byz., *ataxia*, or disorder, which was reckoned characteristic of BARBARIANS or *demokratia*. *Taxis* helps to explain why Byz. depicted itself as unchanging; change meant divergence from the established order, thus reform could be represented only as return to the original ancient *taxis* (e.g., Justinian, nov.59, 316.25–27).

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Idéologie* 129–47. R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien* (Paris 1954) 36–40. –M.McC.

TAYK'/TAO, the Armenian and Georgian names for a region on the upper Čoruch, west of the source of the Kura River. The name derives from the Taochoi, first mentioned in Xenophon (*Anabasis* 4.4.18). By the division of Armenia in 387 the province fell under Iranian control, but in 591 came to Maurice. The MAMIKONEAN princely house occupied it until the 8th C. On their decline the southwest part, "Upper Tayk'," was acquired by the BAGRATIDS and the northeast part, "Lower Tayk'," fell to the Guaramids; by the mid-10th C. it was all in Bagratid hands.

The Armenian Tayk' was more comprehensive than Georgian Tao, including the area to the southeast toward Kars (Toumanoff, *Caucasian Hist.* 450–57). Georgian settlement in the region in the 9th C. is described in the Life of Gregory of Khandztha (P. Peeters, *AB* 36–37 [1917–19] 207–309.)

DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO received lands in Byz. Armenia for supporting Basil II during the revolt of Bardas SKLEROS, but these were lost on his death in 1000. In 1022 Upper Tao was incorporated into the theme of IBERIA, but the area fell under Turkish control after the battle of MANTZIKERT (1071). At the beginning of the 12th C. DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER brought Tao back into Georgian control.

LIT. H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenische Ortsnamen* (Strassburg 1904) 276–78, 357–61. R.W. Edwards, "The Vale of Kola," *DOP* 42 (1988) 119–41. –R.T.

TEACHER (*διδάσκαλος, παιδευτής*). In the Roman Empire teachers worked primarily for municipal SCHOOLS. This system was preserved after Christianization of the empire (Marrou, *Education* 460–62). The teacher enjoyed certain fiscal privileges, such as exemptions from municipal levies; this policy was ratified by Justinian I (*Cod.Just.* X 53). Teachers were divided into several categories: *grammatistes* for primary EDUCATION and GRAMMATIKOS for secondary education. Diocletian's Price Edict established substantially lower fees for teachers in elementary schools than for *grammatikoi*. With regard to higher education, A. Moffatt (14 *CEB* 3 [Bucharest 1976] 659–61) suggested a distinction between science teachers (of philosophy, mathematics, and medicine) and arts teachers (of grammar, rhetoric, and law), and calculated that, between 330 and 610, 20 percent of all known teachers taught "science."

The privatization of teaching in Byz. after the 6th C. accounts for the decline in the number of teachers. Elementary skills were taught by parents and local literate men (priests, notaries, etc.) or by private schoolmasters, while secondary education was rare (it was hard to find a *grammatikos* in the 9th C. outside of Constantinople) and was conducted on the basis of private agreements with STUDENTS. The correspondence of the anonymous teacher of the 10th C. (see TEACHER, ANONYMOUS) shows him in a constant search for fees, supplementing them with honoraria for copying MSS. At his school, as Lemerle (*Humanism* 291f) notes, more advanced students taught the younger ones. Teaching activity was by the 10th C. a channel of upward social mobility (ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS started as a professional teacher), but it remained closely linked with participation in the state or ecclesiastical administration; teachers at the Patriarchal School (DIDASKALOI) often became provincial bishops. In monastic communities the concept of teacher played an essential role, defining the close relationship between a young monk and his experienced mentor. –A.K., R.B.

TEACHER, ANONYMOUS (sometimes called "Anonymus Londinensis"), conventional name for the author of a group of 122 letters preserved in a single MS of the late 10th C. (London, B.L. Add. 36749). Born in Thrace (?) probably ca.870, he was a secondary school teacher and scribe in Constantinople in the 920s. According to Browning (*infra* [1954] 434), the last datable letter is of 931, but C. Mango (*ActaNorv* 4 [1969] 121–26) dates two letters to LEO SAKELLARIOS shortly after 940 and places the entire collection of letters between 925 and 944. The letters are addressed to the teacher's colleagues, important functionaries, and esp. high-ranking clergymen; among the addressees is Sophia, the widow of CHRISTOPHER LEKAPENOS. The identification of many of the teacher's correspondents remains problematic (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 18 [1960] 113f). The letters shed light on the status of TEACHERS (their fees, relations with STUDENTS and their parents and between colleagues), the program of EDUCATION, and the character of the SCHOOL. It is unclear to what extent the anonymous teacher's school was independent and, in particular, whether it was financially supported by church authorities. The correspondence contains information on the copying of books for influential and wealthy patrons; very important is epistle 88 to a patriarch (Nicholas I Mystikos?) describing the problems of a scribe who had to compare variant readings of numerous MSS, choose between variants, and make necessary corrections. The teacher also mentions his own literary activity of which no samples survive; the style of his letters is obscure and enigmatic, typical of a teacher of RHETORIC.

ED. R. Browning, B. Laourdas, "To keimenon ton epistolon tou kodikos BM 36749," *EEBS* 27 (1957) 151–212, with corr. J. Darrouzès, *EEBS* 28 (1958) 444–46 and I. Kakrides, *Hellenika* 16 (1958–59) 220–22.

LIT. A. Steiner, *Untersuchungen zu einem anonymen byzantinischen Briefcorpus des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt 1987). Browning, *Studies*, pt.IX (1954), 397–452. Lemerle, *Humanism* 286–98. A. Markopoulos, "L'épistolaire du 'professeur anonyme' de Londres: Contribution prosopographique," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 139–44. –A.K.

TEARS. See CONTRITION.

TEBESSA. See THEVESTE.

TECHNITES (τεχνίτης), a term that in antiquity designated an artist (F. Poland, *RE* 2.R. 5 [1934] 2473–2558), but that in the late Roman Empire was applied to skilled craftsmen (as distinct from *ergatai*, day laborers), including hairdressers, cooks, astrologers, scribes, surgeons, and architects. In the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* 22.1–3 the term is used primarily for construction workers (i.e., carpenters, masons, gypsum workers, painters, etc.) who were not members of any guild. An artisan who cast bronze statues could be called a *technites* (*TheophCont* 327.18–20). ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS hired *technitai* to build the Lavra (*Vita A*, ed. Noret, par.234.14–21); *technitai* are also mentioned in his *Hypotyposis* for the Lavra (Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 140.25). The term is uncommon, however, in later documents. John V Palaiologos, in a letter of 1361 (?), ordered the *hegoumenoi* of Athos to send two *technitai* to Lemnos to repair fortifications on the island (*Lavra* 3, App. XIV.8–10).

Early church fathers (Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and others) used the epithet *technites* for God as the architect of the universe and supreme artist. Eusebios of Caesarea (*De eccl. theol.* 1:10.1—*Werke* 4, ed. E. Klostermann [Leipzig 1906] 68.18–22) contrasted God's fatherhood of the Son with his role as demiurge, *technites*, and founder of the world, while Basil of Caesarea (PG 32:77C) accused the Arians of conceiving of the Father as *technites* and of the Son as his tool. –A.K.

TECHNOLOGY. The Byz. inheritance of technology from the Roman Empire allowed it to remain, at least until the 12th C., the richest and technically most advanced state in the Mediterranean, one that provided examples for imitation. The period of the 4th–6th C. can be characterized by a propensity for the gigantic, esp. as related to building activity: the churches, such as HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople, were enormous, the LIMES could compete with the Chinese wall, a major AQUEDUCT was restored by Valens in Constantinople, and a project was even conceived to construct a Bithynian canal, diverting the Sangarios River and connecting the Black Sea with the Lake of Nikomedeia (F. Moore, *AJA* 54 [1950] 108–10). On the other hand, even the most sophisticated technical achievements were used primarily to create objects of luxury and toys: thus ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES used steampower to produce an artificial earthquake in the house of a certain Zeno; magnificent HOROLOGIA were built both in Constantinople and provincial cities, whereas practical use of water power for mills remained limited, and the existence of the sawmill is questionable (O. Wikander, *Opuscula romana* 13 [1981] 98–100). The scientists of the period were more concerned with the preservation of ancient tradition than in developing it. The 5th-C. alchemist Zosimos and his successors left descriptions of chemical apparatus and recipes for various processes of smelting, dyeing, alloying, and the like. PAPPOS OF ALEXANDRIA depicted mechanical devices, including pulleys and gears, using ARCHIMEDES and Heron as his sources; EUTOKIOS and ISIDORE OF MILETUS also commented on ancient models. In the realm of military technology, the anonymous Latin treatise DE REBUS BELLICIS contains descriptions of new inventions, but it is not known whether they were ever actually produced.

Strangely, the crisis of urban life in the 7th C. released the forces of inventiveness, and the 7th–9th C. brought forth significant technical innovations, esp. in such fields as AGRICULTURE, transport, and military equipment and WEAPONRY. The water MILL became a standard power source by the time of the FARMER'S LAW. The nailed horseshoe and improvement of harness attested by ca.900 allowed progress in both ploughing and transportation. The lateen sail, in use probably from the 7th C., made ships more responsive to the wind. The STIRRUP, attested from the 7th C., permitted a radical change in the ARMY structure that culminated by the 10th C. in the creation of the cavalry of the KATAPHRAKTOI. GREEK FIRE was invented in the 7th C. For imperial ceremonial, various AUTOMATA and the pipe ORGAN were created. LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN invented the fire BEACON system to warn against Arab invasions. Two phenomena of intellectual life were probably connected with this growing interest in technological innovation: the replacement of uncial script by the MINUSCULE, and the TRANSLITERATION OF TEXTS from old MSS, which started not with patristics, but with books on MATHEMATICS and ASTRONOMY (Wilson, *Scholars* 85f); the increasing use of PAPER encouraged this development. Oikonomides has suggested that the Byz. began to make paper themselves by 800, although the question is still open.

Byz. interest in technology is recorded by ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, who ca.624 time and again listed technical achievements such as beer brewing, use of the goose quill PEN and INK, and use of ALUM for dyeing. SILK production developed from the 6th C. onward. However, the Byz. theorists of the time preferred to crib from ancient and late Roman "engineering" works, whereas Byz. recipes and devices are described not in Greek works, but in a Latin tract by the 11th-C. (?) priest Theophilus.

After the 10th C. Byz. technology started lagging behind that of Muslims and Westerners, and progress slowed down. The insignificant invention of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, the use of oxen power for mixing dough, was praised by his hagiographers. Some improvements in GLASS production and CERAMICS were introduced. The windmill began to appear. In the major fields of technology, however, the Byz. were outdistanced by their neighbors: they borrowed the crossbow (*tzangra*) from the Westerners, but yielded before the Turkish cannons (see FIREARMS); they lost in the competition with Italian SHIPBUILDING; they did not broadly apply new uses of energy sources, water and wind, to their manufacturing activities (e.g., for sawing or forging). Bessarion was impressed by the Western production of glass, textiles, weapons, and ships (A. Keller, *Cambridge Historical Journal* 11 [1953–55] 343–48). And even though Byz. silk weavers were still famous in 15th-C. France, Byz. had fallen hopelessly behind.

LIT. L. White, *Medieval Religion and Technology* (Berkeley 1978). *A History of Technology*, vol. 2 (Oxford 1956). F. Feldhaus, *Die Technik der Antike und des Mittelalters* (Potsdam 1931) 208–32. K. Vogel, *CMH* 4.2:299–305, 465–70. –A.K., D.P.

TEDALDI, JACOPO, Florentine merchant who helped defend Constantinople against the siege of Mehmed II; fl. ca.1453. Tedaldi escaped capture by swimming to a Venetian ship that took him to Negroponte. *Informations*, an account of Tedaldi's experience, survives in French and may derive from his encounter at Negroponte with one Jean Blanchin, whose role in the transmission (or creation) of the document is obscure. It is a source for the fall of Constantinople, providing valuable data on Turkish leaders, details of the siege, and estimates of the value of the Turkish booty and Italian losses. Tedaldi's account exists in long (probably interpolated) and short redactions, of which one illuminated MS (Paris, B.N. fr. 6487) is in scroll form and bears a subscription by a copyist, Johannes Columbi (31 Dec. 1453). In 1454 Tedaldi's *Informations* was revised, translated into Latin, titled the *Treatise* [*Tractatus*] *on the Conquest of the City of Constantinople,* given a prologue, and used as a propagandistic text calling for a new Crusade.

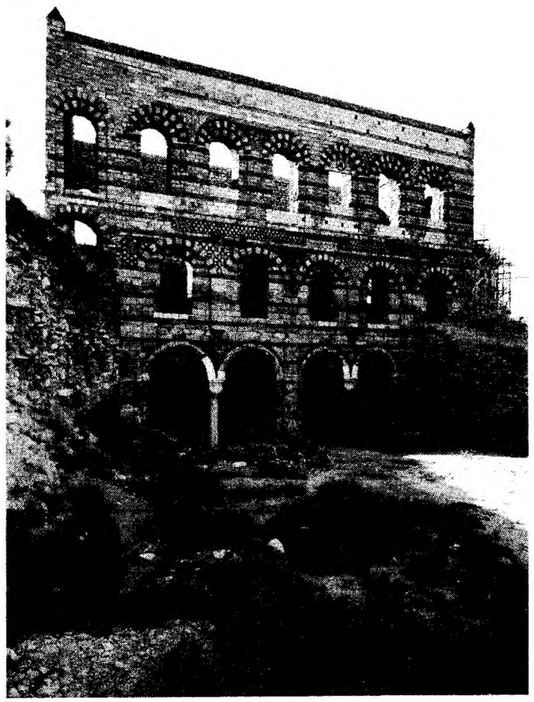
ED. J.J. de Smet, "Chroniques des Pays-Bas, de France, d'Angleterre et de Tournai," *Recueil des chroniques de Flandre* 3 (Brussels 1856) 511–56. E. Martène, U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* 1 (Paris 1717) 1819–26. Ital. tr. Pertusi, *Caduta* 1:175–89. Eng. tr. Jones, *Siege of CP* 1–10.

LIT. M.-L. Concasty, "Les 'Informations' de Jacques Tedaldi sur le siège et la prise de Constantinople," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 95–110. –M.McC.

TEIA (Τείας), last Ostrogothic king (from July 552); died Mons Lactarius, southern Italy, 30 Oct. (or Nov.—Stein, *infra*) 552. Commander (*comes*) in Totila's army, Teia defended Verona against the troops of NARSES. After the defeat at BUSTA GALLORUM the Goths elected Teia their king. He led the suicidal resistance of the Goths with unnecessary cruelty (execution of hostages), treason, and brave but useless expeditions. The Franks did not respond to Teia's plea for help. From Ticinum, Teia marched south toward Naples only to learn that he had been betrayed by the Gothic fleet, treachery that made provisioning impossible. In a courageously fought battle, Teia was killed and his head placed on a spear to demoralize his troops. Narses used his command at sea and his excellent archers as well as numerical superiority to crush Teia. His death ended organized Ostrogothic resistance in Italy, although some skirmishes continued until 555.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:600–04. Bury, *LRE* 2:262f, 267–74. H. Delbrück, *History of the Art of War*, vol. 2 (Westport, Conn., 1980) 363–67. Wolfram, *Goths* 361f. W.E.K., A.K.

TEKFUR SARAYI (Turk., lit. "Palace of the Sovereign"), Turkish name for a three-story Byz. palace of which the empty shell remains at the north termination of the Theodosian land walls, occupying the space between the inner and outer walls of the city (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF). It is the only well-preserved example of Byz. domestic architecture at Constantinople. The ground floor was supported on col-



TEKFUR SARAYI. Northwest façade of the palace.

umns, while the uppermost story probably constituted a vast throne room, as in the Palace of the Despots at MISTRA. The north and south façades are elaborately decorated with patterns of tiles, while a balcony supported on corbels ran along the east side. The drawings of C. Texier (1833–35) and W. Salzenberg (*Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel* [Berlin 1854] 124–28, pls. 37–38) show many features that have since disappeared.

The use of the machicolations and heraldic escutcheons indicates that the building is Palaiologan. It should probably be identified with "the house[s] of the Porphyrogennetos" (Kantak. 1:305.21, 3:290.15). If the Porphyrogennetos in question was Constantine, third son of Michael VIII, it should be dated between 1261 and 1291. Its exact relation to the Palace of BLACHERNAI remains unclear.

LIT. A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London 1899) 109–14. B. Meyer-Plath, A.M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel,* vol. 2 (Berlin 1943) 95–100. C. Mango, "Constantinopolitana," *JDAI* 80 (1965) 330–36. O. Feld, "Zu den Kapitellen Tekfur Saray in Istanbul," *IstMitt* 19–20 (1969–70) 359–67. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 244–47. –C.M.

TEKIRDAĞ. See RHAIDESTOS.

TELERIG (Τελέριγος), Bulgar khan (768/74–777). In 774 Constantine V launched a major campaign against BULGARIA, which Telerig forestalled by sending an embassy to Varna and signing an agreement not to invade Byz. territory. In the fall, however, even as Telerig's envoys were negotiating in Constantinople, Telerig dispatched a large force to capture Berzitia and resettle its populace in Bulgaria. "Secret friends," evidently at the khan's own court, warned Constantine, permitting his victory at LITHOSORIA. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 448.4–10) relates Telerig's countermeasure: he wrote to Constantine expressing interest in fleeing to Constantinople and requesting the identities of the emperor's supporters in Bulgaria, so that he might join them. Constantine sent the men's names, whereupon Telerig eliminated them. Whatever the story's veracity, in 777 Telerig did indeed flee to Constantinople, where he was baptized, made a *patrikios* by Leo IV, and married to a niece of Leo's wife (Empress Irene). The cause of Telerig's flight is unknown, and nothing is heard of him after his arrival in Constantinople.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:226–38. Beševliev, *Geschichte* 223–28. –P.A.H.

TELLA. See CONSTANTINA.

TELOS (τέλος), generic designation of taxes, used in both narrative texts and documents: thus, an act of 1008 (*Lavra* 1, no.14.24) speaks of the *telos* of a CHORION; in 927 the inhabitants of Hierissos stubbornly refused to pay state (*demosion*) *telos* (*Ivir.*, no.1.1–2). Later, in the *praktika* of the 14th C., *telos* most frequently is the tax on a STASIS. Svoronos (*Cadastre* 24, n.3) distinguishes *telos* (the gross tax) from the *teloumenon,* the net tax to be paid after the subtraction of sums representing various forms of tax-relief or alleviation (SYMPATHEIA, KLASMA, KOUPHISMOS). It seems, however, that *teloumenon* is a term of the 10th–11th C., used before *telos* acquired its technical meaning and replaced *teloumenon.* The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 114.23, 33; 118.24) does not mention *telos,* only *teloumenon*; a fragment of a *kodix* of 1098 uses *teloumenon* to denote the basic tax (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.65.12–13) to which SYNETHEIA, ELATIKON, etc. are added; and in 1089 Alexios I conferred upon the monks of Docheiariou land appropriate to their *teloumenon* (*Docheiar.*, no.2.6–7). *Praktika* do not use the term *teloumenon.*

Quantitative studies of 14th-C. PRAKTIKA (J. Lefort, *RH* 252 [1974] 315–52; K. Chvostova, *VizVrem* 39 [1978] 63–75) indicate that there were general guidelines for the rates at which property was taxed (e.g., arable land was generally taxed at 1 hyperpyron per 50 *modioi*) and that these guidelines varied by locality and period. The fact that *staseis* with identical property in the same village often were assessed a different *telos* suggests that social and other nonfiscal factors played a significant role in the calculation of the *telos.*

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 48–62. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 151–62. –M.B.

TELOUCH (Τελούχ), Byz. city and theme, later a STRATEGIS, on the borders of Anatolia and Syria, near GERMANIKEIA. It derived its name from late antique Doliche (now Dülük in Turkey), a small town (*polichne*) and bishopric known primarily for its cult of Baal (named Zeus Dolichenus by the Romans). THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (*HE* 5.4.7–8) describes it as affected by "the Arian malaise." Occupied by the Arabs, Telouch took the Arabic name Dulūk and became an important fortress in Arab-Byz. wars. Regained by the Byz. in 962, Telouch is not mentioned in the 10th-C. Escurial *Taktikon*, but it often appears in the texts of the 11th–12th C. as a center of military operations. George MANIAKES, its *strategos* ca.1030, cleverly overcame the trickery of Arabs who tried to sack the *polis*. A troop of mounted archers was stationed in Telouch in 1051; Romanos IV used the city as a base of operations against the emir of Aleppo (BERROIA) in 1068. The treaty of DEVOL of 1108 assigned Telouch to Alexios I. During the Crusades it became the seat of a bishop and the scene of constant military engagements. After NŪR AL-DĪN captured Telouch in 1155, the city fell into decline.

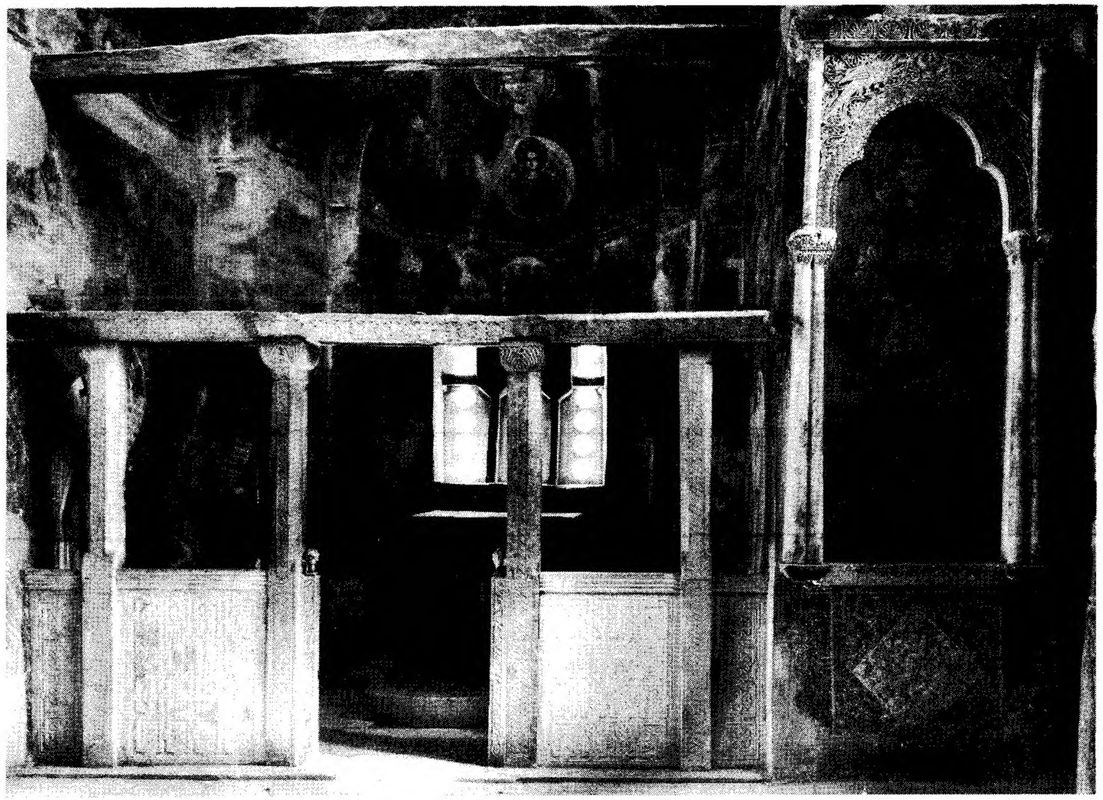
LIT. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 127, n.4. Ahrweiler, *Administration* 48, n.12. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 195. D. Sourdel, *EI*² 2:624. –M.M.M.

TELOUMENON. See TELOS.

TEMPLON (τέμπλον, also called κάγκελλα, κιγκλίδες), the screen separating the nave from the sanctuary. Originally a low parapet or chancel barrier, about the mid-5th C. it developed into a taller partition (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:526f). The templon stood at a right angle to the nave, or projected into it in the form of the letter π (*pi*); an entrance on each of the three sides was sometimes preceded by a four-column porch (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:531). Such barriers were supported by a molded stylobate (bema), 24–40 cm high, and consisted of closure slabs held in place by waist-high piers, colonnettes on piers, or plain colonnettes (Sodini-Kolokotsas, *Aliki II* 49) carrying an EPISTYLE.

Surviving templa are mostly fragmentary. Elaborate examples had colonnettes and stylobate of colored marble (Mathews, *Early Churches* 25), while the screen of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, as described by PAUL SILENTIARIOS, was dressed in silver. After Iconoclasm the templon was extended to the PASTOPHORIA. Like the screen of the BEMA, these screens consisted of slabs set between colonnettes and carrying an epistyle; all such forms, nonetheless, were generally slighter than those of the time of Justinian I. According to M. Chatzidakis (15 *CEB* [Athens 1976] 3:165), toward the end of the 11th C. the transformation of the medieval templon was completed with the appearance of PROSKYNETARIA and icons set in its intercolumnar openings. An elongated painted panel with the DEESIS, the GREAT FEASTS, or both, was added on top of the epistyle (K. Weitzmann, *DChAE*⁴ 12 [1984] 64–86). PHOTIOS (*Homiliai* 10.5, ed. B. Laourdas 102.1) describes the chancel-screen in a palace church, perhaps the Virgin of the Pharos, with its peristyle of colonnettes dressed in silver. Enameled screens were also produced. The PALA D'ORO is thought to enclose part of the enameled *dodekaorton* (panels of the Twelve Great Feasts) that once embellished the screen of the south church in the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople, and the inventory of the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY in Constantinople refers to bema doors of silver, decorated with the Annunciation (P. Gautier, *REB* 43 [1985] 154.73).

Most surviving medieval templa were, however, carved in marble, the most elaborate ones showing uprights and stylobates of colored stone. Inlaid



TEMPLON. Marble templon; 12th C. Church of St. Panteleemon, Nerezi. An image of the saint is painted on the pier to the right of the templon.

champlevé screens (Grabar, *Sculptures* II, pls. V–IX) were probably meant to suggest the effect of silver and niello. On the other hand, templa with relief decoration indicate a renewed interest in plasticity. After the reconquest in 1261, screens in Constantinople reveal further development toward sculpture in the round (Ø. Hjort, *DOP* 33 [1979] 225–36). From this last period also date the first woodcarved templa that were to prevail in the post-Byz. period; such a templon is usually called an iconostasis.

LIT. M. Chatzidakis, *RBK* 3:326–53. C. Mango, "On the History of the *Templon* and the Martyrion of St. Artemios in Constantinople," *Zograf* 10 (1979) 40–43. V. Lazarev, "Trois fragments d'epistyles peintes et le templon byzantin," *DChAE*[4] 4 (1964–65) 117–43. A.W. Epstein, "The Middle Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier: Templon or Iconostasis?" *JBAA* 134 (1981) 1–28. N. Thon, "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Ikonostase," *Zeitschrift für ostkirchliche Kunst* 2 (1986) 193–207. –L.Ph.B.

TEMPTATION OF CHRIST. After his baptism, Christ prepared for his ministry by fasting for 40 days in the wilderness. There he was thrice tempted by the Devil: to use his divine power to undermine his human will by turning stones into bread to eat, to test his divinity capriciously by hurling himself from the Temple, and to worship the Devil in return for wealth and power (Mt 4:1–11, Lk 4:1–13). Though the relevant passages were read at the beginning of Lent, the Temptation was not a liturgical feast and hence appears only rarely in Byz. art. It is unknown before the 9th C., when the marginal PSALTERS use one of the three episodes to illustrate Psalm 91:11–12, quoted by the Devil during the Temptation. The full, tripartite version of the event appears first in the PARIS GREGORY (fol.165r) and becomes standard thereafter: S. Marco in VENICE preserves a good example (Demus, *infra* 1.2:pl.103). The most exhaustive treatment is the four-stage narrative at the CHORA.

LIT. Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco* 1.1:95f. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:277–79. –A.W.C.

TENEDOS (Τένεδος, mod. Bozca Ada), island in the northeastern Aegean Sea off the shore of the Troas near the entrance to the HELLESPONT; in HIEROKLES, a part of the province of the Islands (Insulae). Justinian I had a granary built there for grain brought from Alexandria (Prokopios, *Buildings* 5.1.7–16). Despite its strategic location near Constantinople, Tenedos is barely mentioned until the 13th C., when the island was given to the Latin emperor of Constantinople and his rights to Tenedos were repeated in the Treaty of Viterbo of 1267 (Miller, *Essays* 290). Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:344.3–4) mentions Tenedos as a pirate stronghold; Mouriskos, naval commander for Andronikos II, attacked its *phrourion* with two battleships (2:556.10–14). The Byz. retained the island, and in the winter of 1352/3 John V withdrew to it (according to Kantakouzenos; Gregoras states that the emperor went to Lemnos), attacked Constantinople in March 1353, and came back to the island (*Kleinchroniken* 2:281f). In 1352 John V gave Tenedos to the Venetians as security for 20,000 ducats he borrowed from them (*Reg* 5, no.3005). In 1370 John V was ready to cede Tenedos to Venice in exchange for imperial jewelry pawned there by his mother, six transport vessels, and 25,000 ducats, but this offer was rejected by Andronikos IV, who intended to give the island to the Genoese; in 1376, after Andronikos entered Constantinople, Genoa received Tenedos. In 1377 war broke out between Venice and Genoa over Tenedos; the struggle was protracted and a settlement was made in Turin in a treaty of 8 Aug. 1381, whereby the fortifications of Tenedos were to be razed and the demilitarized island controlled by a representative of the count of Savoy. Venice, however, continued to use Tenedos as a naval base.

LIT. F. Thiriet, "Venise et l'occupation de Ténédos au XIVe siècle," *MEFR* 65 (1953) 219–45. –T.E.G.

TEODOSIJE, Serbian hagiographer; born ca.1246, died ca.1328. A monk in the HILANDAR monastery on Athos, Teodosije was the spiritual counselor of King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski. He devoted himself in particular to spreading and supporting the cult of Sts. Simeon (STEFAN NEMANJA) and SAVA, which provided the main focus of Serbian national and cultural identity. His works include a revised recension of the Life of St. Sava by DOMENTIJAN, allegedly based on oral suggestions by the author; several *kanones,* liturgies, and *akolouthiai* on Sts. Simeon and Sava; and a Life of and *akolouthia* on St. Peter of Koriša near Prizren.

ED. *Život svetoga Save,* ed. Dj. Daničić (Belgrade 1973).
LIT. Dj.S. Radojičić, "O srpskom književniku Teodosiju," *Istorijski Časopis* 4 (1952–53) 13–41. S.P. Rozanov, "Istočniki, vremja sostavlenija i ličnost' sostavitelja Feodosievskoj redakcii Žitija Savvy Serbskogo," *IzvORJaS* 16 (1912) no.1, 185–209. A. Naumov, "Teodosije Hilandarac i Sveto pismo," *HilZb* 5 (1983) 81–89. –R.B.

TEPHRIKE (Τεφρική, mod. Divriği), fortress in the mountains of northeastern CAPPADOCIA, west of the Euphrates. KARBEAS founded the powerful fortress ca.850 in a region beyond the Byz. frontier and remote from the authority of the emir of Melitene. Under CHRYSOCHEIR it became the seat of a PAULICIAN state. PETER OF SICILY, who visited Tephrike in 870 as Byz. ambassador, provides the main source on the region. After its capture by the Byz. in 878, Tephrike, under its new but ephemeral name Leontokome (for Leo VI), became the seat of a KLEISOURA, then of a THEME (ca.940). Tephrike was granted to the son of Senacherim ARCRUNI of Vaspurakan in 1019 in exchange for his lands. Romanos IV campaigned against the Turks around Tephrike in 1068, but it fell to them after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The surviving fortress contains stretches of Byz. walls.

LIT. *TIB* 2:294f. –C.F.

TEREBINTHOS. See MAMRE, OAK OF.

TERETISMATA (τερετίσματα, lit. "chirruping"), musical vocalizations set to the meaningless syllables *te te te, to to to, ri ri ri,* etc., which first appear appended to or inserted in 14th-C. CHANT settings. On a larger scale, they are found as independent melodic units known as *kratemata* and used to prolong a hymn. Some are given descriptive titles; epithets such as "bell," "viola," "trumpet," and "nightingale" are used in the *Kratematarion,* a collection of *kratemata* arranged according to the eight MODES. *Teretismata* constitute the chief

element of an ornate species of musical composition called kalophonic ("beautified") chant. Hymns written in this style are either freely constructed original works or elaborate embellishments of traditional music.

LIT. D.E. Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Thessalonike 1974) 274–86. –D.E.C.

TERMINOLOGY was in Byz. as everywhere a necessary vehicle of legal, administrative, and scientific activity. It reflected real practice and incorporated various neologisms to designate elements of ceremonial, the fiscal system, social and administrative relations, and so forth. Some new terms were obviously borrowed from the terminology of neighboring states, for example, LIZIOS or SULTAN. There are, however, two features of Byz. terminology that to a certain extent obscure the reality covered by corresponding terms and transform terminology into a distorting mirror that often prevents rather than helps in understanding Byz. The first was an attachment to ancient terms that were retained but applied to different objects. This predilection is clear so far as it concerns geographic nomenclature but is less recognized in the field of legal or administrative terminology. It is, however, obvious that the Byz. *hypatos* had nothing to do with the Roman *consul*, and the Byz. *magistros* was worlds away from the late Roman *magister*; similarly, the late Byz. *emphyteuma* differed radically from the late Roman *emphyteusis*. The second trait is vagueness: on the one hand, the Byz. employed nontechnical terms, such as the biblical PAROIKOS ("dweller, stranger") to designate a category of dependent peasants; on the other hand, a single term, PRONOIA, for example, could possess a broad range of meaning. Indifferent as they were to geographical or administrative terminology, the Byz. cared much for theological terminology and devoted special attention to developing the cardinal notions of the Christian creed, as was demonstrated during the discussions about *homoousia* in the 4th C. or about the phrase "My father is greater than I" in the 12th C.

LIT. F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Ägyptens* (Göttingen 1915). O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrisurkunden* (Giessen 1930). H.J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (Toronto 1974). –A.K.

TERVEL (Τέρβελις), Bulgar khan (691/703–718/24); son and heir of ASPARUCH. The sources first mention Tervel in 704, when Justinian II sought his help in regaining the throne. Tervel raised a combined force of Bulgars and Slavs and in 705 marched with Justinian against Tiberios II. In reward, Justinian gave Tervel many gifts, invested him with the CHLAMYS, and proclaimed him CAESAR (Nikeph. 42.20–25); Tervel may have married Justinian's daughter. Justinian may also have renewed the treaty of 681 between Asparuch and Constantine IV (V. Beševliev, *VizVrem* 16 [1959] 8f). According to many Byz. sources, Justinian broke the peace in 708. Nevertheless, in 711, faced with the revolt of Philippikos, he requested and received 3,000 soldiers from Tervel. After Justinian's death, Tervel plundered Thrace in 712. Four years later Theodosios III, fearing an imminent Arab attack on Constantinople, concluded a treaty that fixed the Byz.-Bulgar border in Thrace (thereby formally ceding to the Bulgars the Zagoria region), granted the Bulgars garments worth 30 *litrai* of gold, arranged for the return of fugitives, and established some commercial regulations (V. Kutikov, *GSU JuF* 65 [1974] 69–116). During the Arab siege of Constantinople in 717–18 Leo III sought and obtained Tervel's help (V. Gjuzelev, *IstPreg* 29 [1973] no.3.28–47), yet in 719 Tervel gave the deposed Anastasios II gold (50 kentenaria) and troops to march against Leo. Nothing further is heard of Tervel.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:162–92. Stratos, *Byzantium* 4:109f. Beševliev, *Geschichte* 191–203. N. Oikonomides, "Tribute or Trade? The Byzantine-Bulgarian Treaty of 716," *Studia slavico-byzantina et mediaevalia Europensia*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1989) 29–31. –P.A.H.

TESSERAE. See ALMSGIVING; MOSAIC.

TETARTERON (*νόμισμα τεταρτηρόν*), the name of two quite distinct coins, a lightweight gold NOMISMA struck ca.965–1092, and a small copper (initially lead) coin introduced in 1092 and still minted into the second half of the 13th C.

The name of the gold coin, introduced by Nikephoros II, derives from the fact that it was initially a quarter (*τέταρτον μέρος*, "fourth part") of a tremissis (i.e., 2 carats) lighter than the standard nomisma; in the mid-11th C., however, the weight was apparently standardized at 3.98 g, that is, 3 carats under the full nomisma. This latter coin was by now known as an HISTAMENON, and the denominations were distinguished by reducing the diameter of the small thick tetartera from the traditional 20 mm of the nomisma to 18 mm, and increasing that of the broad, thin histamena to approximately 25 mm.

The copper tetarteron or tarteron was very similar in size and fabric to the former gold coin, a fact that has usually been regarded as the explanation of its name, but the suggestion (by J.D. MacIsaac) that it was due to the coin's initial worth of one-quarter of the old FOLLIS is much more plausible. Its subsequent values are unknown.

LIT. *DOC* 3:28–39. Hendy, *Economy* 506–08, 515f. –Ph.G.

TETRACONCH. See CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

TETRAEVANGELION. See EVANGELION.

TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, conventional term for the political and ecclesiastical controversy (906–20) caused, at least externally, by the fourth marriage of LEO VI. After three marriages (to THEOPHANO; Zoe, daughter of Stylianos ZAOUTZES; and Eudokia) that produced no male heir to the throne, in 905 Leo fathered a son, the future CONSTANTINE VII, by his concubine ZOE KARBONOPSINA. His desire to legitimize his marriage met the resistance of Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS; although he reluctantly christened Constantine (906), Nicholas prohibited Leo's entrance into the church and kept delaying the removal of the *epitimion* (906–07). Since Nicholas's resistance chronologically coincides with the revolt of Andronikos DOUKAS, it is plausible to hypothesize that Nicholas's position was part of the aristocratic opposition to the administration of Leo and SAMONAS.

On 1 Feb. 907 Leo deposed Nicholas, and soon thereafter Doukas escaped to the Arabs; Nicholas was replaced as patriarch by EUTHYMIOS, who removed the *epitimion* but also severely punished the priest Thomas who had performed the fourth marriage. This compromise solution was confirmed by a council of patriarchal envoys convened in Constantinople (Feb. 907). Nicholas's return to power in 912 gave a new aspect to the struggle; he energetically deposed supporters of Euthymios from many sees and promoted his own candidates. The political instability of the regency after Leo's death (Constantine VII being a minor) and the active involvement of the papacy in the conflict aggravated the situation. Euthymios's death in 917 paved the way for reconciliation, finally achieved in July 920 by ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, who arranged the promulgation of the TOMOS OF UNION; three years later Rome approved the Tomos, and the papal delegates joined Nicholas in anathematizing the fourth marriage.

SOURCES. Jenkins, *Studies*, pts. VII (1956), 293–372; VIII (1962), 231–41.

LIT. J.L. Boojamra, "The Eastern Schism of 907 and the Affair of the Tetragamia," *JEH* 25 (1974) 113–33. P. Karlin-Hayter, "Le synode à Constantinople de 886 à 912 et le rôle de Nicolas le Mystique dans l'affaire de la tétragamie," *JÖB* 19 (1970) 59–101. N. Oikonomidès, "La dernière volonté de Léon VI au sujet de la tétragamie," *BZ* 56 (1963) 46–52. –A.K.

TETRAMORPH. See SERAPHIM.

TETRAPYLON. See ARCH, MONUMENTAL.

TETRARCHY (*τετραρχία*, lit. "rule of four"), system of government proclaimed by DIOCLETIAN on 1 Mar. 293 with the addition of the two caesars, CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS and GALERIUS to the college of two augusti, Diocletian and MAXIMIAN. The members of the tetrarchy were bound by ties of marriage (Constantius married Theodora, daughter of Maximian, while Galerius married Valeria, daughter of Diocletian). The augusti, as senior emperors, called each other "brothers" and the caesars "sons." Relationships within the tetrarchy were further characterized by the divine protectors of the augusti: Jupiter for Diocletian, Hercules for Maximian. This reflected the divine order in which Jupiter commands and Hercules puts his wishes into effect; the caesars were incorporated into this system and grouped into the Jovian and Herculian "dynasties." Although the theoretical unity of the empire was not broken, each member of the tetrarchy was in effect responsible for a specific area.

As men who rose in the army, the members of the tetrarchy were always depicted as harsh and strong, with thick necks, short-cropped hair, and stubbly beards. They are shown, on coins and in sculpture—such as the porphyry groups now in Venice and the Vatican (Kitzinger, *Making*, figs.

5, 8)—as virtually identical, another means of emphasizing the unity of the tetrarchy.

Upon his abdication in 305 Diocletian planned to continue the tetrarchy through the elevation of the two caesars to be augusti and the appointment of Severus and MAXIMINUS DAIA as caesars. This failed due to the ambition of the rulers' natural sons, Constantine I and MAXENTIUS. The Conference of Carnuntum in 308, which attempted to restore the tetrarchy, was also unsuccessful. Although the tetrarchy as an institution did not outlive its originator, the principle of the division of the empire into distinct geographical spheres, each with its own ruler, survived until the fall of the Western Empire.

LIT. Barnes, *Constantine & Eusebius* 8–12. W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie* (Paris 1946). –T.E.G.

TETRASTOON (*τετράστῳον*), a huge square in BYZANTION surrounded by four STOAS (porticoes). It existed at least at the time of Septimius Severus, who is said (Malal. 292.2–4) to have added to it the public baths of ZEUXIPPOS. In the middle of the Tetrastoon stood a statue of Helios. Zosimos (Zosim. bk.2:31.2–3, ed. F. Paschoud, 1:104.11–23) relates that Constantine I erected two pagan shrines there dedicated to Rhea and to Tyche. The location of the Tetrastoon is under discussion: according to Guilland (*Topographie* 2:3), it lay on the site of the Basilike Cistern (see CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF), whereas Mango suggests that it coincided in part with the AUGUSTAION that must have been carved out of it. Another *tetrastoon*, dedicated to St. John, was built in Alexandria in the mid-5th C. (Theoph. 114.9–10).

LIT. Mango, *Brazen House* 43–45. Janin, *CP byz.* 16f, 59. –M.J., A.K.

TEVARIH-I AL-I OSMAN, a title attached to numerous Turkish chronicles or histories that recount the fortunes of the Ottoman dynasty, and literally meaning *Histories of the House of Osman.* Unless otherwise qualified, it commonly designates one of the first of these texts, an anonymous collection of stories or legends about the Osmanoğulları from Süleymanşah to ca.1420, composed early in the reign of Murad II (1421–51). MSS of this *Tevarih* in its original form do not survive, but its essential content can be established by comparing 16th-C. recensions (which evidently preserve the original form without major interventions) with the 15th-C. historians AŞIQPAŞAZADE and Uruc Beg, who likewise relied upon it for the early sections of their works. No satisfactory edition of this *Tevarih* exists to date, and Giese's version (*infra*)—although still fundamental—must be used with caution.

ED. *Die Altosmanischen Anonymen Chroniken*, ed. F. Giese, 2 vols. (Breslau 1922, Leipzig 1925), with Germ. tr.

LIT. V. Ménage, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography," in Lewis-Holt, *Historians* 171–73. H. İnalcık, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in ibid. 152–59. –S.W.R.

TEXTILES (*ὑφάσματα*). Byz. textiles were mainly of linen (*linon*), wool (*erion*), and SILK. Cotton (*bambax, bambakina, bambukina*) is more rarely mentioned in the sources, though the cultivation of cotton in the Peloponnesos in the 14th and 15th C. is attested by Plethon (*Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*, ed. A. Ellissen, vol. 4.2 [Leipzig 1860; rp. 1976] 56 and 101, para. 21). These textiles were produced in state weaving establishments, private workshops, and individual households, depending on their type, quality, and use. Alexandria (and Egypt in general) and Syria were particularly noted for textile production before they fell to the Arabs in the 7th C.; Thessalonike, Corinth, Thebes, and Athens are known to have had important textile (esp. silk) weaving workshops between the 10th and 12th C.

Byz. WEAVERS used several types of loom. Only a simple loom was needed for the common linen and woolen cloth (tabby) and tapestry weaves. Patterned compound weaves, preferred for silk but also used for wool, were made on a drawloom with a pattern-making mechanism. Finished woolen fabrics could also be fulled by fullers (*knapheis*) before being made into clothing by TAILORS. Few Byz. weaving implements have been preserved, as most were made of wood, but some clay spindle whorls, bronze spindle hooks, and bronze loom combs have been found at Corinth (Davidson, *Minor Objects*, nos. 1213–33). Bronze needles, open-tip thimbles, and clay thread spools used for sewing were also found at Corinth (nos. 1234–98).

A wide variety of textiles is recorded in the sources. Besides the most highly valued silks and purple-dyed cloths (see BLATTION), homespun woolens, coarse linens (*sabana*), and fine linen cloths (*lepte othone*) are also mentioned (*TheophCont* 199.22–200.1). The Byz. also manufactured loop-pile textiles (*mallota* and *linomallotaria*), the fleece-like texture of which made them particularly suitable for blankets and covers (*P.Ant* I 44.8; *TheophCont* 318.15); they had knotted carpets (*nakotapetes*; ibid. 319.16) as well.

Ordinary tunics and cloaks were made of plain linen, woolen, or cotton cloth, while silks, often woven with gold threads, were the COSTUME of emperors, the imperial household, and court officials. Linen was needed for sails, nets, and for other commercial and military uses. Household towels, coverings, curtains, and such were made of linen, while blankets, coverlets, and cushions were made of wool.

Hangings, curtains, and carpets executed in various materials and techniques were a regular component of domestic and official architecture, both secular and religious. Curtains fill the spaces between columns in a mosaic representing the palace of Theodoric the Great in S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Volbach, *Early Christian Art,* pl.152). The importance of textiles in an architectural context is revealed in the endless opening and closing of curtains around the emperor and in the imperial palace as recorded in the DE CEREMONIIS. Hangings had a more purely decorative function. Often executed in tapestry technique, hangings were particularly suited for the portrayal of figural subjects, both secular (e.g., the Hestia and the Nereid tapestries in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C., ca.6th C.) and religious (e.g., the Virgin in the Cleveland Museum of Art, ca.6th C.). The silk tapestry depicting a triumphant emperor in Bamberg is a rare later specimen of these weavings (ca. early 11th C.). A separate category of textiles comprised those that evolved in the service of church ritual: over time, various altar covers and other liturgical cloths such as the AER, ANTIMENSION, EILITON, and ENDYTE acquired distinctive shapes as well as specific decoration.

Decoration, whether in the form of ornamental designs or figural composition or both, was an important component of higher quality textiles. Besides the mechanically produced designs of the drawloom weaving, decoration could also be painted, achieved through resist dying, or executed in such ancient textile techniques as tapestry weaving and EMBROIDERY. The latter technique was particularly favored in the Palaiologan period.

One of the most noted uses of Byz. textiles, esp. the silks produced in state workshops, was as imperial gifts, regularly distributed on specific official occasions (e.g., *De cer.* 235.12–13, 258.5–6; *TheophCont* 342.21) or sent abroad as important instruments of foreign policy.

Byz. textiles have not fared well. Extant examples are scarce, despite the prominence of textiles as reflected in Byz. written sources and as depicted in works of art. Early textiles (before 8th C.) come mainly from Egyptian graves, while later textiles (from 9th C. onward) survive primarily in the church treasuries of Western Europe; most of the latter are silks. Byz. textiles have also been found in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, esp. Kiev.

LIT. R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*^{2}, vol. 4 (Leiden 1964). J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1923). Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 223–32. W.F. Volbach, "Textiles," Athens Cat. 460–85. Idem, *Early Decorative Textiles* (London 1969). –A.G.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM was applied both to sacred/theological and pagan classical texts. The pre- and proto-Byz. representatives of high level scriptural criticism are ORIGEN and JEROME. Textual criticism gained a strong impetus during theological disputes, as in the 6th C., when the authenticity of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE was questioned by HYPATIOS of Ephesus, and esp. during the Iconoclastic controversy, when a number of FORGERIES and interpolations were produced and, in part, rejected. The textual studies of the earlier period were, however, ideological rather than philological; even Photios, while dealing with the problem of forgery (E. Orth, *Photiana* 1 [Leipzig 1928] 120f), applies stylistic rather than purely philological criteria. We must postulate, however, the practice of some textual criticism during the 9th and 10th C., the period of TRANSLITERATION and collection of texts (e.g., the *Palatine Anthology*). J. Koder (*JÖB* 15 [1966] 182) suggests that Niketas STETHATOS used the principles of textual studies by introducing emendations based on the meter when editing Symeon the Theologian's hymns; this hypothesis is, however, open to discussion (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 34 [1973] 286). P. Maas (*Kleine Schriften* [Munich 1973] 519) considered Eustathios of Thessalonike

as a textual critic of a high order, a hypothesis refuted by Wilson (*infra* 201f).

The evidence is much clearer with regard to the textual studies of some later professional philologists, Maximos PLANOUDES, THOMAS MAGISTROS, Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, and esp. Demetrios TRIKLINIOS. They understood the necessity of using several MSS for an edition (an idea already expressed by John Tzetzes) and correct metrical principles for restitution of corrupted lines of Pindar, the tragedians, and Aristophanes; some "corrections" were extremely felicitous and have survived into modern editions; others were hopeless failures. It is not always clear which emendations belong to Byz. critics and which were drawn from ancient works now lost.

LIT. Wilson, *Scholars* 230–64. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:59–77. B. Schartau, "Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians of the Palaeologian Era," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age grec et latin* 4 (1970) 3–34. –A.K.

THALASSA (Θάλασσα), PERSONIFICATION of the Sea, a female figure shown standing in water with an oar over her shoulder. Found most commonly in scenes of the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, she also appears as the counterpart of Earth in some images of the LAST JUDGMENT, where she represents the Sea disgorging its dead (Rev 20:13). The Sea is still represented by monsters in the 11th-C. Paris, B.N. gr. 74, but in this same century (e.g., in a fresco in the PANAGIA TON CHALKEON at Thessalonike) the monsters are replaced by Thalassa. In monumental art and icons of the 13th–15th C., Thalassa may be shown carrying a boat, seated in a shell, or riding a dolphin. She replaces the figure of Okeanos, an old man with crustaceans in his hair and an oar in his hands, still the usual personification of the Sea in Late Antique art (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 130, 164). In Byz. painting Okeanos survived only as a partner to the figure of JORDAN. (See also BYTHOS.) –A.C.

THALELAIOS (Θαλέλαιος), an ANTECESSOR, probably a professor at the law school of Berytus, and one of the eight addressees of the Constitutio *Omnem* of Justinian I from the year 533. He presumably gave lectures on the INSTITUTES and the DIGEST. Of his commentary to the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, which is perhaps the most important product of the brief period of state legal education in the first half of the reign of Justinian I, a large number of fragments has survived in the BASILIKA (and its scholia) as well as elsewhere. According to general consensus, this commentary formed for books 1–7 and 9–12 of the *Codex* the basis of the *Basilika* text.

LIT. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:32f, 47–49, 72–78. D. Simon, "Aus dem Codexunterricht des Thalelaios," *ZSavRom* 86 (1969) 334–83; 87 (1970) 315–94, and *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité*[3] 16 (1969) 283–308; 17 (1970) 273–311. –A.S.

THAMUGADI (Ταμούγαδις; mod. Timgad, in southeastern Algeria). After CARTHAGE and LEPTIS MAGNA, Thamugadi provides the richest epigraphic records on municipal life in late Roman North Africa. In particular the inscription called the *Album of Thamugadi* (368) offers indisputable evidence of the survival of the curial class and its privileges in that period. The emergence of Thamugadi as the center of DONATISM in the late 4th and early 5th C., particularly under the leadership of Bp. Optatus (388–98), who appears to have usurped civil as well as religious authority, seems to have marked an end to civic generosity on the part of the municipal aristocracy, since from this time onward there is little epigraphic evidence of construction or repairs to public monuments. Significantly, the only attested building erected in this period was the vast Donatist cathedral complex to the west of the city.

Following a brief occupation by the VANDALS, Thamugadi was sacked and emptied of its inhabitants by MAURI tribes from the nearby Aures mountains (late 5th C.). In 539 the city was retaken by the Byz. under the general SOLOMON, who claims in an inscription to have reconstructed the city (Pringle, *infra* 326f, no.27). The principal element of the revived community was the fortress (112 × 67 m) erected to the south of the old urban center; its primary function seems to have been to guard the city and the agriculturally rich plain surrounding it against raids by the Mauri. A chapel constructed in the necropolis south of the fortress during the exarchate of GREGORY (641–47) by John the Armenian, *doux* of Tigisis, is the last monument built at Thamugadi. Nothing else is known of the city's history under Byz. rule.

LIT. Lepelley, *Cités* 2:444–76. Pringle, *Defence* 232–36. J. Lassus, *La forteresse byzantine de Thamugadi*, vol. 1 (Paris 1981). P.-A. Février, "Approches récentes de l'Afrique byzantine," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 35 (1983) 23–34. J. Durliat, *Les dédicaces d'ouvrages de défense dans l'Afrique byzantine* (Rome 1981) 47–53. –R.B.H.

THANTIA. See UMM EL-JIMAL.

THASOS (Θάσος), island in the northern Aegean Sea near CHRISTOUPOLIS. In late antiquity Thasos was assigned either to Macedonia I (Hierokl. 640.9) or Thrace (*De them.* 1.57, ed. Pertusi 86). In the 13th C. Thasos was a Byz. naval base against the Latins and was administered by a *doux*. Held briefly by the Genoese Tedisio, the nephew of Benedetto ZACCARIA, 1307–13, it was Byz. from 1313 to ca.1434, when it fell again to the descendants of Francesco GATTILUSIO; it was handed over to the Turks in 1455. Part of the island was given by Mehmed II to Demetrios Palaiologos, former *despotes* of the Morea, in 1460. The bishop of Thasos was raised to archiepiscopal status by Manuel II (*Notitiae CP* 18.157).

Several churches of the 4th–6th C. have been found, both in the ancient city center (e.g., C. Delvoye, *BCH* 75 [1951] 154–64) and elsewhere (A.K. Orlandos, *ABME* 7 [1951] 1–72; P. Lemerle, *Byzantion* 23 [1953–54] 531–43); there is a double basilica at Aliki, one dating from the early, the other from the late 5th C. Quarries at Aliki yielded a blue-veined marble, easily confused with that from PROKONNESOS, which was used as revetment (Sodini et al., *Aliki I* 81–137). Marble production on a large scale probably continued until the Slavic invasions. Inscriptions testify to the building activity of the Genoese lords of the island (Sodini-Kolokotsas, *Aliki II*).

LIT. J.P. Sodini, *Thasos du IVe au VIIe siècle* (Paris 1975). Ch. Bakirtzes, "Ti synebe stis arches tou 7ou aiona ste Thaso?" *Trito symposio Byzantines archaiologias* (Athens 1983) 57f. Miller, *Essays* 288, 330f. –T.E.G., A.C.

THEATER (*θέατρον*). The performance of plays on stage, which had been the leading form of public ENTERTAINMENT in antiquity, died out in the Byz. era. Theater was perceived as an embodiment of immorality, and even the pagan historian Zosimos presented Stilicho's infatuation with ACTORS and consequent distraction from affairs of state as a crucial factor enabling the successful invasions of the Goths. By the end of the 7th C. the church completely banned theater, theatrical buildings were abandoned, and the word *theatron* came to denote spectacles in the HIPPODROME or a literary circle in which rhetorical works were read aloud. The late Roman church tried to employ the theater as a means of spreading Christianity (A. Vogt, *Byzantion* 6 [1931] 623–40), but these attempts failed.

Vestiges of theatrical performances survived, however. Imperial ceremonial preserved certain traits of theatricality, and popular festivals required the participation of MIMES, jesters, musicians, dancers, etc. Theatrical shows served not only as pure entertainment, but also could be used for political propaganda: thus, in the days of Theophilos, a comic skit presented by actors in the Hippodrome helped to topple the *praipositos* Nikephoros (Janin, *CP byz.* 366). In literature, DIALOGUE contributed to the dramatization of the narrative (e.g., in hymns of ROMANOS THE MELODE), and some plays for reading (e.g., CHRISTOS PASCHON) were produced. LITURGY had numerous dramatic features, and the excessive theatricality of the church service was frequently criticized by strict moralists. In the 14th and 15th C. there was apparently a revival of liturgical drama, including productions of the story of the Three Hebrews in the Furnace.

Theatrical terminology was used by rhetoricians: Psellos described one of his speeches as an *agon* (contest) between him and the object of his *enkomion*, the emperor, who like the sun filled the *theatron* with his rays. This use of theatrical terminology continued throughout the Palaiologan period (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:70, 210f).

LIT. W. Puchner, "To Byzantino Theatro," *EKEE* 11 (1981–82) 169–274. Idem, "Zum 'Theater' in Byzanz: Eine Zwischenbilanz," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing and D. Simon (Munich 1990) 11–16. M. Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama in Byzantium and Russia," *DOP* 16 (1962) 351–55. A. Kazhdan, *La produzione intellettuale a Bisanzio* (Naples 1983) 129–38. –Ap.K., A.K.

THEBAID (Θηβαΐς), administratively, the southern Egyptian province of Upper and Lower Thebaid, with its capital at ANTINOÖPOLIS; in an extended sense, used to designate the heartland of Egyptian monasticism in that area, centered on the Pachomian settlement of PBOW and the site of Shenoute's White Monastery at SOHAG. The area of Thebes proper (LUXOR) contained several

Christian settlements, including the town of Jeme that survived into the 8th C., and the monastery of St. Phoebammon, documented by numerous papyri. The Thebaid was the center of the standard literary dialect of classical Coptic known as Sahidic. Its dry climate preserved the Gnostic books known as the NAG HAMMADI (Chenoboskion) codices.

LIT. M. Krause, "Das christliche Theben: Neuere Arbeiten und Funde," *BSAC* 24 (1982) 21–33.
–L.S.B.MacC.

THEBES (Θῆβαι), name of several cities in the Mediterranean region.

THEBES IN EGYPT, the former capital of ancient Egypt that became in the late Roman period a center of monastic development (see THEBAID). The Byz. had but a vague perception of Thebes; Theophanes mentions it as a region where the *poleis* of Obousiris and Koptos were located (Theoph. 6.24). Tzetzes, however, often speaks of Egyptian Thebes. –T.E.G.

THEBES IN BOEOTIA. In the late Roman period Thebes was a stronghold that successfully resisted ALARIC. Its fortifications were restored by Justinian I (Prokopios, *Buildings* 4.3.5). Excavations have revealed an Early Christian and Byz. cemetery, the date not being defined more precisely (A. Keramopoullos, *Archaiologikon Deltion tou Hypourgeiou ton Ekklesion kai tes Demosiou Ekpaideuseos* 10 [1926] 124–36). Thereafter the political history of Thebes is unknown until the 11th C., although the city is named in notitiae as an autocephalous archbishopric of Hellas by the late 8th–early 9th C. (*Notitiae CP* 2.79) and a metropolitan see from the 10th C. (8.63).

Skylitzes reports that the troops of Deljan reached Thebes in 1040 and there won a victory over the Byz.; a great number of Thebans perished when they tried to escape (Skyl. 411.54–57). In the 12th C. Thebes appears as an important center of the SILK industry. Roger II of Sicily sacked the city in 1147 and carried off many artisans, but the industry continued to flourish. Thebes supplied the court with silk garments and the Seljuks refused to accept any silk fabrics except those made at Thebes; Benjamin of Tudela counted 2,000 Theban Jews engaged in silk production; Tzetzes praised the skill of the local women silk weavers (Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 231). By the 12th C. Thebes became the residence of the *strategos* of Hellas. From the 12th C. the Venetians and Genoese had trading colonies in the city.

In 1204 Thebes was taken by Leo SGOUROS, but it soon came under Frankish domination. It was given first to BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT and then to Othon de la Roche, lord of Athens (1205–25); Thebes became the residence of powerful barons, most prominent of whom was Nicholas II de St. Omer, lord of half of Thebes (1258–94) and bailie of Achaia, married to Anna Angelina Komnene, daughter of Michael II of Epiros. Nicholas rebuilt the walls and constructed a castle after 1287. In 1311 Thebes fell to the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY that destroyed the castle of St. Omer in 1331. The Turks devastated the surrounding territory in 1339/40, and in 1378 it came under the control of the ACCIAJUOLI (G.T. Dennis, *OrChrP* 26 [1960] 42–60), who ruled the city until the Ottomans took it ca.1456.

Literary sources praise the wealth of the castle of St. Omer and mention an episcopal palace and many churches. Of these there survive only a rectangular tower that was probably the donjon of the castle and the Church of St. Gregory of Nazianzos, apparently constructed as a private chapel in 872/3 (G.A. Soteriou, *ArchEph* [1924] 1–26). S. Symeonoglou (*infra* 164) identified up to 20 churches in the city as Byz. in origin.

A bishop of Thebes is attested at the councils of Nicaea and Serdica in the 4th C. He was archbishop by the late 8th–early 9th C. (*Notitiae CP* 2.79) and metropolitan by the 10th C. (8.63).

(For Thebes in Phthiotis, see NEA ANCHIALOS.)

LIT. *TIB* 1:269–71. S. Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes* (Princeton 1985) 156–70. A. Kominis, *Episkopikoi katalogoi Thebon* (Athens 1968). –T.E.G.

THEBES, CADASTER OF, a unique document (probably of the second half of the 11th C.) consisting of fragments of an *isokodikon*, an official copy of a state CADASTER in the form of a KODIX. The fragments contain the description of 45 STICHOI, giving the names of individual taxpayers, the amount of the tax, and cases of tax alleviation: KLASMATA and SYMPATHEIAI. The taxpayers are predominantly middle-ranked notables characterized as *archontes*, *protospatharioi*, *spatharokandidatoi*, *komites*, *droungarioi*, *protokankellarioi*, and other titles. Only once is a taxpayer characterized as *ptochos* (p.18.66). Although the region described is the area of Boeotian Thebes, the taxpayers come not only from Thebes but also Athens, Euripos, and even Avlon.

Svoronos asserted that the Cadaster of Thebes depicted a traditional Byz. rural community no different from that presented in the *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger). Lemerle (*infra* 198) acknowledges that in the cadaster one can see "a reflection of social change," but he also insists on the continuity of the rural community composed of independent peasants, basing his argument in part on the omission of any reference to PROASTEION and PRONOIA.

ED. N. Svoronos, "Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes," *BCH* 83 (1959) 1–166.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 193–200. A. Kazhdan, "Kritičeskie zametki po povodu izdanij vizantijskich pamjatnikov," *VizVrem* 18 (1961) 275–82. –A.K.

THEFT (κλοπή). Common in Byz., ordinary thieves were active at night along with prostitutes and murderers, according to a proverb cited by Stephen SACHLIKES (Koukoules, *Bios* 3:209); they also frequented public bathhouses, at any rate in the 4th–6th C. The FARMER'S LAW testifies to the existence of thieves in the countryside; both agricultural tools and flocks as well as horses and weapons were at risk. Hagiographical texts often relate cases of theft in monasteries. Special categories of theft were burglary at the scene of a fire, robbery of wrecked ships, SACRILEGE, and GRAVE-ROBBING as well as seizing and selling people into slavery. Robbers could act in an organized manner, as in the case of bandits and APELATAI or the attack of nobles upon their neighbors. To protect property from thieves the Byz. used LOCKS and DOGS, as well as magic signs; magical means (e.g., the magic eye drawn on a wall) were used to discover the thief as well. The state maintained night guards and night police; in 14th-C. Trebizond night heralds existed (H. Grégoire, *BZ* 18 [1909] 493f).

While Justinianic law considered theft primarily as a private delict and tried to satisfy the victim with the return of his property or its cash value (sometimes multiplied), the ECLOGA elaborated the idea of the thief's responsibility before the state; accordingly, the PENALTY was not only a fine, but also flogging and mutilation of limbs (Zachariä, *Geschichte* 339f). The church, at least from the 10th C., imposed on thieves severe fasts, compulsory almsgiving, and exclusion from communion for one or two years.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, R. Guilland, "Voleurs et prisons à Byzance," *REGr* 61 (1948) 119–27. Troianos, *Poinalios* 23–29, 107–16. –A.K.

THEKLA (Θέκλα), "the first martyr among the women and an apostle"; according to legend, born in Ikonion, died near Seleukeia, Cilicia, at age 90; major feastday 24 Sept. The legend of Thekla was known before the end of the 2nd C. Despite criticism (esp. by Tertullian) it became popular, representing a type of Christian romance. Its core is the story of an extremely beautiful woman who rejected her family and suitors, despised her body, and followed an apostle (Paul) in whom she saw the embodiment of Christianity. The *Acta Pauli et Theclae* describe her travels, chaste adventures, and miracles: she was placed in a burning pyre, but rain extinguished the flames; wild beasts in the arena did not harm her. She is the only nonbiblical figure included in the COMMENDATIO ANIMAE.

An anonymous 5th-C. author wrote the Miracles of Thekla; the text has been wrongly attributed to BASIL OF SELEUKEIA, whereas the author was, in fact, hostile toward Basil (G. Dagron, *AB* 92 [1974] 5–11). The miracles worked by Thekla are categorized by Dagron (*infra* 102f) as those of healing, of illusion, of foresight, of reward, and of vengeance. She acted as the protector of her home town Hagia Thekla (MERIAMLIK), near Seleukeia, and accordingly the Miracles are an important source for reconstructing the life of a small provincial town. The author concentrates on the urban population, and no inhabitant of the countryside is described in any detail; in addition to the townsmen, only the ISAURIANS, whom the author treats as bandits, play any role. Among the townspeople he focuses primarily on physicians, rhetoricians, soldiers, and clergy rather than on artisans; typical urban entertainments are mentioned, such as *theai*, nocturnal spectacles.

Representation in Art. Images of Thekla among the beasts of the arena appear on AMPULLAE of the 6th–7th C. from Egypt (*Age of Spirit.*, no.516). Later portraits stress her connection with Paul in

that she carries a book, the attribute of the apostles. MSS of the *menologion* of SYMEON METAPHRASTES are sometimes illustrated with a narrative scene: her encounter with the beasts, or her final disappearance into a cleft in the rock.

SOURCES. *Vie et Miracles de s. Thècle*, ed. G. Dagron (Brussels 1978).

LIT. *BHG* 1710–1722. C. Holzhey, *Die Thekla-Akten* (Munich 1905). A.J. Festugière, "Les énigmes de s. Thècle," *CRAI* (1968) 52–63. C. Nauerth, R. Warns, *Thekla. Ihre Bilder in der frühchristlichen Kunst* (Wiesbaden 1981). A. Ja.Kakovkin, "Koptskij tkanyj medal'on s isobraženiem mučeničestva sv. Fekly," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 139–42. R. Warns, "Weitere Darstellungen der heiligen Thekla," *Studien zur frühchristlichen Kunst*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden 1986) 75–137. Sacopoulo, *Asinou* 85–87. J. Leibbrand, *LCI* 8:432–36.

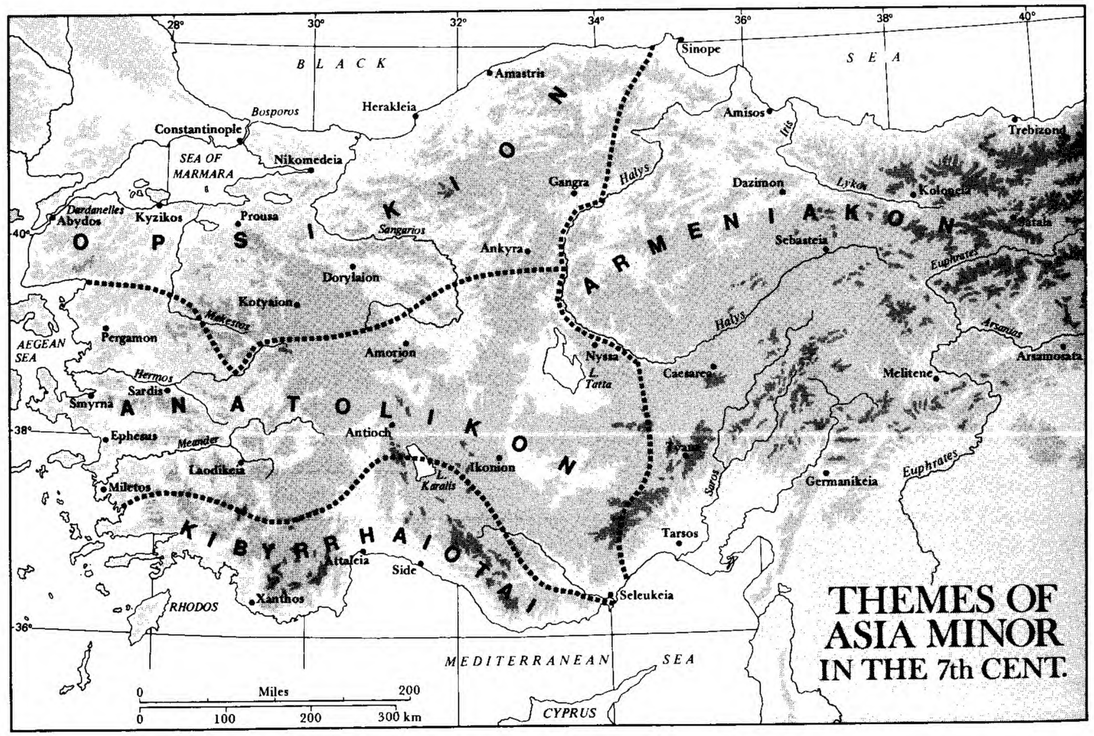
–A.K., N.P.Š.

THEME (*θέμα*), term for a military division and for a territorial unit administered by a STRATEGOS who combined both military and civil power. The etymology and origin of the term is under discussion. J. Howard-Johnston (in *Maistor* 189–97) suggested an Altaic origin for the word—from *tümän*, "ten thousand men"; however, Constantine VII explicitly affirms that the word is Greek, originating from *thesis*. N. Oikonomides (*ZRVI* 16 [1975] 5f) believes it was equivalent to *katalogos*, the list of soldiers. The date of the appearance of the term *thema* is also a subject of controversy: G. Ostrogorsky (*Byzantion* 23 [1953/4] 55) asserted that the term existed in 622, when Theophanes describes the arrival of Herakleios in "the lands (*chorai*) of themes"; according to Pertusi (*infra* 39), the southern themes were created after 634, the northern ones after 679. The nature of this administrative change and its social character are also far from clear: Ostrogorsky argued that Herakleios created the theme when he introduced a new type of army, that of the farmer-soldiers who were granted STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA; they formed the backbone of Byz., until destroyed by the feudal development of the 11th C. Karayannopulos, on the other hand, insists that there was no single reform, but "an organic development" from the 6th C. onward, that had only administrative, not social, implications. Lilie accepts the idea of organic development but thinks that the crucial steps took place in the mid-8th C.

In any case, it appears that by the end of the 7th C. the major part of Byz. territory was organized in large units (unlike the Justinianic system of small provinces), with the military commander functioning simultaneously as civil administrator and judge; the example of the EXARCHATES definitely played a part in this process. The earliest themes were ARMENIAKON, OPSIKION, ANATOLIKON, and THRACE. W. Kaegi (*JÖB* 16 [1967] 39–53) argues that the theme system did not contribute to the strengthening of defense against the Arabs and Bulgarians: by the beginning of the 8th C., the themes were centers of revolts, and the *strategoi* of themes became pretenders to the throne. The task of the central government in the 8th-9th C. was to diminish the power of large themes; they were divided into smaller units. The revolt of THOMAS THE SLAV in the early 9th C. was the last major mutiny of themes. By the 11th C. the unity of thematic administration was dissolved, and civil governors (*kritai*, later *praitors*) slowly replaced military commanders. The collapse of the themes became reality by the last quarter of the 12th C. (J. Herrin, *DOP* 29 [1975] 253–84). The system of themes nevertheless existed in the empire of Nicaea (Angold, *Byz. Government* 243–49) and in Epiros (D. Angelov, *BS* 12 [1951] 56–74), and the term was used, esp. for territorial fiscal units, until the end of the empire (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.56.5–6 [a. 1418]; *Lavra* 3, no.165.9–10 [1420]).

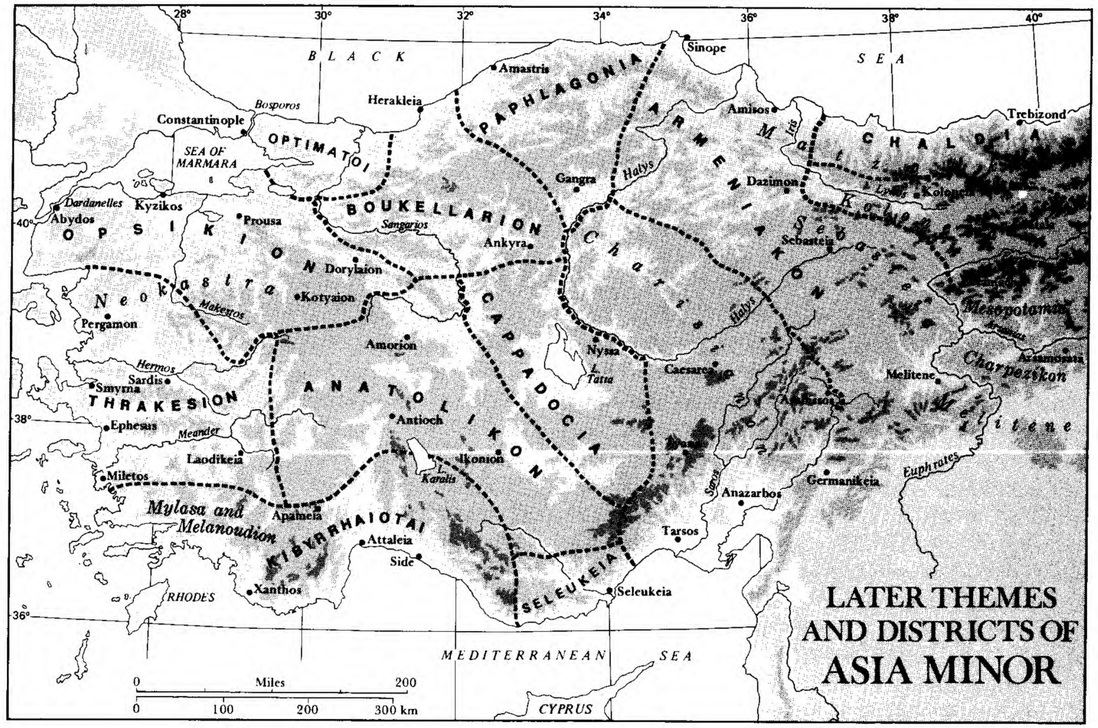
LIT. A. Pertusi, *La formation des thèmes byzantins* (Munich 1958). J. Karayannopulos, *Die Entstehung der byzantinischen Themenordnung* (Munich 1959). R.J. Lilie, "Die zweihundertjährige Reform," *BS* 45 (1984) 27–39, 190–201. J.V.A. Fine, "Basil II and the Decline of the Theme System," *Studia slavico-byzantina et mediaevalia Europensia*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1989) 44–47. F. Dölger, "Zur Ableitung des byzantinischen Verwaltungsterminus *thema*," *Historia* 4 (1955) 189–98.

–A.K.



THEMES OF ASIA MINOR IN THE 7th CENT.

THEMISTIOS (Θεμίστιος), one of the first pagan rhetoricians to make a successful career under Christian emperors; born Paphlagonia or Constantinople ca.317, died ca.388. Apart from wide



LATER THEMES AND DISTRICTS OF ASIA MINOR

travel on official and court business (including a visit to Rome in 357 for the *vicennalia* of Constantius II), he passed his life in Constantinople. His combination of eloquence, level-headed NEOPLATONISM, unfanatic paganism, and timeserving brought him to imperial attention and favor more comprehensively than LIBANIOS, with whom he enjoyed a sometimes stormy friendship; GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS was also a correspondent of his. Theodosios I crowned his career in 384 by appointing him prefect of the capital and entrusting to him the education of his son Arkadios. The notice of PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.74) attests to his Byz. popularity.

The vital theme of his 34 extant speeches, esp. those concerned with Constantius II, Valentinian I, Gratian, and Theodosios, is a Neoplatonically conceived perfect ruler, guided by divine and philosophic principles. His philosophic essays *On Virtue* (extant in Syriac) and *On the Soul* (adduced by STOBAIOS) are natural pendants to these. His Aristotelian paraphrases (H. Blumenthal, *Hermes* 107 [1979] 168–82), of which some survive only in Hebrew, are more industrious than original; those on Plato (lost, though known to Photios) might have been better.

ED. *Orationes quae supersunt*, ed. H. Schenkl, G. Downey, A.F. Norman, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1965–74). Aristotelian paraphrases—*CAG*, vol. 5, in 6 pts. (Berlin 1899–1903).

LIT. G. Dagron, "L'empire romain d'Orient au IVe siècle et les traditions politiques de l'hellénisme: le témoignage de Themistios," *TM* 3 (1968) 1–242. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 32–35. G. Downey, "Themistius' First Oration," *GRBS* 1 (1958) 49–69. L.H. Daly, "Themistius' Refusal of Magistracy," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 164–212. –B.B.

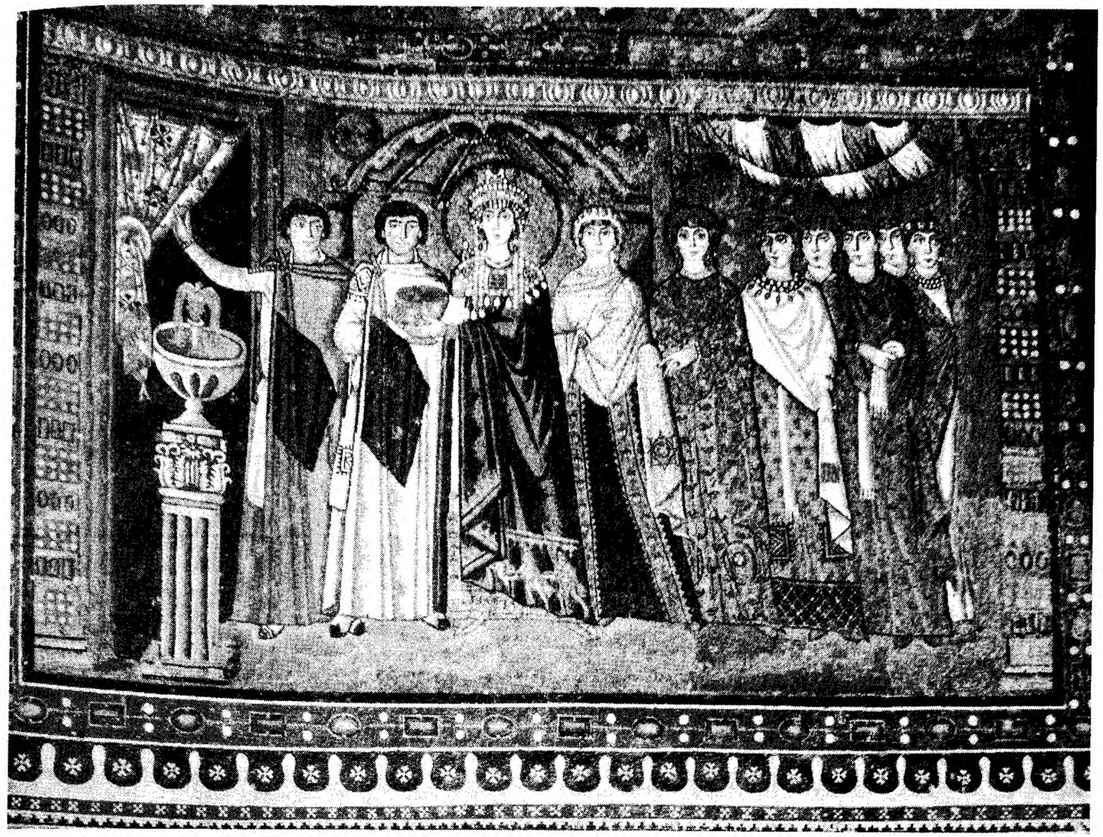
THEODAHAD (Θευδάτος), Ostrogothic king (from 2 Oct. 534); died Dec. 536 on the way from Rome to Ravenna. Theodoric's nephew, Theodahad was a rich landowner in Etruria, notorious for his greed. Inexperienced in warfare, he showed an interest in Platonic philosophy. He planned in 533/4 to hand over the whole of Etruria to the emperor, to whom he was loyal, in exchange for money, a senatorial title, and a mansion in Constantinople. His cousin AMALASUNTHA raised him to be *consors regni* after the death of her son Athalaric and Theodahad's recognition of her as regent. The conflict between Amalasuntha and Theodahad ended in the queen's exile and murder; together with Theodahad's support of the anti-Byz. Pope Silverius (536–37), these events served as the cause of Justinian's invasion. Theodahad had no clear idea of defense, sent envoys to Constantinople apologizing for his conduct, and even promised to cede his throne to Justinian. When Byz. armies invaded Dalmatia, Sicily, and Calabria and BELISARIOS occupied Naples, the Goths elected VITIGES as their king. Theodahad fled to Ravenna, but was murdered.

LIT. Wolfram, *Goths* 337–42. *PLRE* 2:1067f. Burns, *Ostro-Goths* 93–95. E. Chrysos, "Die Amaler-Herrschaft in Italien und das Imperium Romanum," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 433–474. –W.E.K., A.K.

THEODORA (personal name). See THEODORE.

THEODORA (Θεοδώρα), empress; wife of Justinian I; born Constantinople or Paphlagonia ca.497, died Constantinople 28 June 548, perhaps of gangrene (J. Fitton, *Byzantion* 46 [1976] 119) or cancer (J. Körbler, *Janus* 61 [1974] 15–22). She was allegedly one of three daughters of Akakios, an animal keeper of the Green faction. Theodora spent some time as an actress in Alexandria and Antioch and reportedly bore a son before she met JUSTINIAN I ca.520. She married him in 525 and was proclaimed augusta 1 Apr. 527. Theodora had strong religious interests, favored Monophysitism, endowed monasteries, churches, orphanages, and hospitals, and took interest in the welfare and the rehabilitation of former prostitutes. She vigorously participated in the decision to resist NIKA rioters, stiffening the resolve of Justinian. She contrived the removal of JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA and Pope Silverius (536–37) and pressured Justinian to remove Pope VIGILIUS.

The best-known extant representation of Theodora is the wall mosaic in S. Vitale, RAVENNA; some authorities accept a marble bust in Milan as her portrait (*Age of Spirit.*, no.27). Prokopios of Caesarea scurrilously and inaccurately depicts her in his *Secret History*; his charges about her sinister influence cannot be verified. Her role as an adviser on political and religious policies is difficult to ascertain, but Rubin (*Zeit. Justinians* 1:113f) assumed that her role was significant. JOHN OF EPHESUS praised her for her Monophysite sympathies and for her sponsorship of JACOB BARADAEUS (PO 19:153f). She was buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles.



THEODORA. The empress and her retinue; mosaic, 6th C. South wall of the apse of the Church of San Vitale, Ravenna.

LIT. Cameron, *Procopius* 67–83. R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (London 1987) 38–41, 128–31. Stein, *Histoire* 2:235–39, 385–88, 623–25. H.G. Beck, *Kaiserin Theodora und Prokop* (Munich-Zurich 1986) 89–158. –W.E.K.

THEODORA, wife of Theophilos, empress (842–56), and saint; born Ebissa in Paphlagonia, died after 867. The daughter of a *droungarios* or *tourmarches* Marinos and Theoktiste Phlorina (*TheophCont* 89.15–19), she was of Armenian descent (P. Charanis, *BS* 22 [1961] 207f). Perhaps on 12 May 821 (E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 10 [1901] 540–45), but more likely on 5 June 830 (W. Treadgold, *GRBS* 16 [1975] 325–41), Theodora was married to Theophilos after a BRIDE SHOW and crowned empress shortly thereafter. Together they had five daughters—Thekla, Anna, Anastasia, Pulcheria, Maria—and two sons, Constantine and Michael III. After the death of Theophilos in 842, she served as regent for Michael but the eunuch THEOKTISTOS effectively held power.

A devout ICONOPHILE, Theodora reportedly venerated icons despite the disapproval of Theophilos; she secured the release from prison of the painter LAZAROS. Yet she consented to the restoration of icons in Mar. 843 only after being assured that Theophilos would not be condemned: she vowed that he had repented on his deathbed. She approved the election of Patr. IGNATIOS and the persecution of the PAULICIANS. Her brother, Caesar BARDAS, reportedly convinced Michael to dethrone her by saying that she planned to marry Theoktistos or else marry him to one of her daughters (R. Guilland, *REB* 29 [1971] 49). She was formally deposed on 15 Mar. 856 but continued to live in the palace until 858, when she and

her daughters were eventually sent to the monastery of Gastria, despite the refusal of Ignatios to tonsure them. Michael may have released her a few years later and allowed her to play a ceremonial role. She died sometime after the accession of Basil I and was buried in the Gastria monastery (P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 [1962] 57). Her vita was written soon after her death; it served as a source for GEORGE HAMARTOLOS. She is commemorated on 11 Feb. for her role in the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY.

SOURCE. A. Markopoulos, "Bios tes autokrateiras Theodoras (BHG 1731)," *Symmeikta* 5 (1983) 249–85.

LIT. D. Stiernon, *Bibl. sanct.* 12 (Rome 1969) 222–24. Bury, *ERE* 154–61. –P.A.H.

THEODORA, third daughter of CONSTANTINE VIII, co-empress (with her sister ZOE) 21 Apr.–12 June 1042, sole empress 1055–56; died Constantinople 31 Aug. 1056. Early in the reign of ROMANOS III, she was charged with complicity in conspiracies of Prousianos and Constantine DIOGENES; Zoe forced her into the Petrion convent in Constantinople. The Madrid Skylitzes MS represents this expulsion from the palace and confinement in the monastery (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 487, 498). On 19 Apr. 1042 the populace, guided by senators and Patr. ALEXIOS STOUDITES, rebelled against MICHAEL V and drew Theodora forth; she was crowned in Hagia Sophia shortly after midnight on 20 April. After Michael fled, she joined Zoe in the palace. At her insistence, Michael was blinded. Theodora then shared Zoe's rule and remained in the palace after the accession of CONSTANTINE IX. Her image together with those of Zoe and the emperor in the Chrysostom MS, Sinai gr. 364, enables one to date this book not later than three months after Constantine's coronation (12 June 1042). At his death she claimed the throne as the last member of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY. She ruled authoritatively. Her appointment of clerics, deemed a masculine privilege, aroused the enmity of Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS. Leo PARASPONDYLOS was her chief minister and Michael PSELLOS alleges he advised her. When the general BRYENNIOS brought his army to Chrysopolis, her supporters seized and exiled him. As Theodora lay dying, she consented to her officials' choice of MICHAEL VI. Psellos described her as placid and miserly, but given to chattering.

LIT. H. Mädler, *Theodora, Michael Stratiotikos, Isaak Komnenos. Ein Stück byzantinischer Kaisergeschichte* (Plauen im Vogtland 1894) 17–27, rev. P. Bezobrazov, *VizVrem* 2 (1895) 233f. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 50–52, 68–71. –C.M.B., A.C.

THEODORA OF ARTA, saint; born Thessaly, died Arta ca.1270?; feastday 11 March. Daughter of the *sebastokrator* John PETRALIPHAS, she married MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros ca.1230 and moved to Arta. According to her vita, Michael soon took a mistress and banished Theodora from Arta, even though she was pregnant with their first child, the future NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros. After enduring five years of exile and poverty without complaint, she was finally recalled by Michael, who repented of his adultery. After their reconciliation, the couple produced five more children.

Theodora is reputed to have influenced Epirot policy. She favored rapprochement first with the empire of Nicaea and later with the restored Palaiologan dynasty in Constantinople. Famed for her piety and virtue, she founded the nunnery of St. George (now the Church of St. Theodora) at ARTA and took the habit there after her husband's death. Her tomb (Grabar, *Sculptures II*, no.152) in the monastic church bears carved portraits of Theodora and Nikephoros; it was reputedly the site of many healing miracles. The monk JOB wrote her short vita (*BHG* 1736) in the late 13th C. (L.I. Vranouses, *Chronika tes mesaionikes kai tourkokratoumenes Epeirou* [Ioannina 1962] 49–54).

SOURCE. PG 127:903–08.

LIT. *PLP*, no.5664. Nicol, *Epiros I* 128–31, 149–60, 200–03. Polemis, *Doukai* 166. –A.M.T.

THEODORA OF THESSALONIKE, saint; born Aigina ca.812, died Thessalonike 29 Aug. 892. Theodora was the daughter of Antony, *protopresbyteros* of the local "Great Church." Beautiful and rich, she was betrothed at seven to one of the most noble men on the island. An Arab attack forced the family to flee ca.826 to Thessalonike. Theodora and her husband had three children, two of whom died; the third, Theopiste, was given to a nunnery. After being widowed at 25, Theodora took the monastic habit and divided her property between the poor and the convent of Stephen the Protomartyr, where she spent the rest of her life.

A certain cleric Gregory, who was evidently a young man at the time of the translation of Theodora's corpse into a marble coffin, wrote the vita and *Translatio*; he had never met Theodora, but he listened to the tales of eyewitnesses. Unlike the vitae of MARY THE YOUNGER and THOMAIS OF LESBOS, Theodora's story concentrates on the heroine's monastic virtues, which sometimes conflicted with parental love. Thus, although Theodora and Theopiste lived in the same convent, the *hegoumene* forbade them to converse. The hagiographer praises Thessalonike, "the brilliant megalopolis," and mentions its monuments and some of its inhabitants, including a painter who never saw Theodora alive but who "witn God's help" as the result of a dream produced an icon that strikingly resembled the saint (ed. Arsenij, 31f). The vita became the object of later reworking, including an *enkomion* by Nicholas KABASILAS (PG 150:753–72).

SOURCES. *Žitie i podvigi sv. Feodory Solunskoj*, ed. Arsenij (Juriev 1899). *Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der hl. Theodora von Thessalonich*, ed. E. Kurtz (St. Petersburg 1902).

LIT. *BHG* 1737–41. E. Patlagean, "Theodora de Thessalonique: Une sainte moniale et un culte citadin (ix^{e}–xx^{e} siècle)," in *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, ed. S.B. Gajano, L. Sebastiani (Rome 1984) 39–67. –A.K.

THEODORE (Θεόδωρος, fem. Θεοδώρα), personal name (meaning "God's gift"). Common in antiquity, the name remained in broad use after the triumph of Christianity, albeit the perception of God (as part of the theophoric name) changed radically. This ambiguity allowed the name to be accepted by both pagans and Christians: thus, among 29 Theodores of the 4th C. (*PLRE* 1:896–902) we meet a pagan high priest of Asia in 362, a Neoplatonist philosopher, a pagan rhetorician from Arabia, and a friend of EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS. In the 5th C. (*PLRE* 2:1085–99) PROKLOS addressed one of his works to the engineer and Neoplatonist philosopher Theodore. At the same time many Theodores were theologians (e.g., Theodore of Mopsuestia) and clergymen. Several Theodores were martyrs, THEODORE TERON and THEODORE STRATELATES being esp. popular saints; their popularity contributed to the expansion of the name.

Theodore occupies third place in Sozomenos (7), after EUSEBIOS and JOHN, and in Prokopios (11) is second only to John. It retains second place (34) in Theophanes the Confessor (after John), but drops to fifth in Skylitzes (26) and to fourth in Niketas Choniates (18). In the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), Theodore holds seventh place (30), right behind NIKEPHOROS, and sixth position (145) in vols. 2–3 of *Lavra* (13th–15th C.), following MICHAEL (152). The name was frequently used as a play on words to emphasize the positive qualities of an emperor or saint.

The feminine version of the name, Theodora, also known in the 4th–5th C. in the pagan and the Christian milieus (*PLRE* 1:895f, 2:1084f), was used throughout the whole period of Byz. history as one of the most popular feminine names. It was borne by several Byz. empresses and holds fifth place in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3. –A.K.

THEODORE, brother of Herakleios, military commander, and *kouropalates;* died Yarmuk 20 Aug. 636, according to some Arabic sources, or, more probably, later. Theodore commanded the army that fought SHAHIN in Asia Minor, brought military aid to Constantinople at the end of the siege of 626, assisted Herakleios in campaigns against the Persians, and ejected recalcitrant Persians from Edessa after they refused to obey the peace agreement of ARABISSOS. Theodore may have been a commander at Mu'ta, and probably at Ajnādayn; he led the Byz. forces that reoccupied Ḥimṣ and Damascus as Muslims evacuated them during the abortive Byz. counteroffensive of 636. Some Muslim traditions attribute an aggressive and foolhardy attitude to Theodore. Monophysite traditions are hostile to him and blame him for Byz.'s military debacle. After Theodore fled Ajnādayn (or YARMUK), he went to Herakleios at Emesa or to Antioch; the emperor, enraged by Theodore's military failures, ordered him sent to Constantinople and imprisoned. Theodore's son Theodore participated in an unsuccessful palace plot against Herakleios in 637.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 2:135–37. M. Krivov, "Nekotorye voprosy arabskogo zavoevanija Sirii i Palestiny," *VizVrem* 46 (1986) 88–99. –W.E.K.

THEODORE I LASKARIS, founder of the empire of NICAEA and its emperor (1205–21); born ca.1174, died Nicaea Nov. 1221 (J. Darrouzès,

REB 36 [1978] 276). He married Anna, daughter of ALEXIOS III ANGELOS (1199) and was soon afterward promoted to the rank of DESPOTES. After his father-in-law's overthrow in July 1203, he escaped with his wife to Asia Minor. There he began to lay the foundations of an empire in exile centered on Nicaea, organizing resistance to the Latins and bringing local rulers under his control. In summer 1205 (B. Sinogowitz, *BZ* 45 [1952] 345–56; Dieten, *Erläuterungen* 151f), an assembly at Nicaea proclaimed him emperor in the aftermath of the Latin defeat at the battle of ADRIANOPLE (1205). His elevation to the imperial office was confirmed by his coronation in March 1208 by the new patriarch MICHAEL IV AUTOREIANOS.

In 1211 Theodore had to meet a full-scale Seljuk invasion. He secured victory by killing the sultan in single combat, a success that so alarmed HENRY OF HAINAULT that he invaded the Nicaean territories in order to preempt a Nicaean strike against Constantinople. He won a great victory over Theodore on 15 Oct. 1211 on the banks of the RHYNDAKOS RIVER. Theodore was forced to cede northwestern Asia Minor to the Latins of Constantinople, but his annexation of Paphlagonia after the death of its ruler, DAVID KOMNENOS, in 1212 was some compensation. His marriage in 1219 to Marie, daughter of YOLANDE, was an attempt to break the deadlock with the Latins of Constantinople, but one that foundered on ecclesiastical opposition. He was buried in the monastery of Hyakinthos at Nicaea.

LIT. A. Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicaea* (London 1912) 52–115. P. Žavoronkov, "Nikejsko-latinskie i nikejsko-sel'džukskie otnošenija v 1211–1216 gg.," *VizVrem* 37 (1976) 48–61. –M.J.A.

THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of Morea (1380/1–1407; cf. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr I* 230–34); born 1350s, died Mistra 24 June 1407, as monk Theodoretos. Fourth son of JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS and Helena Kantakouzene, Theodore was named *despotes* of Thessalonike in 1376. He was not able to take up this post, however, because he was imprisoned for three years (1376–79) after his brother ANDRONIKOS IV seized control of Constantinople. In 1382 Theodore went to Mistra as first Palaiologan *despotes* of the MOREA. In 1384 he married Bartholomaia, daughter of Nerio I ACCIAJUOLI.

During his rule over the Morea he encouraged the settlement of ALBANIANS, whom he used as soldiers to maintain control over the local *archontes*. He initiated an aggressive foreign policy, seeking to expand Palaiologan territory in the Morea, and was moderately successful, purchasing CORINTH from Carlo I Tocco in 1395/6 (J. Chrysostomides, *Byzantina* 7 [1975] 81–110), and defeating the NAVARRESE COMPANY in 1395. Discouraged, however, by the Ottoman attacks on the Morea of 1395 and 1397, Theodore sold Corinth (1397) and then the despotate itself (1400) to the HOSPITALLERS and temporarily withdrew from Mistra to Monemvasia. The Byz. recovered this territory in 1404.

Theodore was very close to his brother MANUEL II, who ca.1409 composed a funeral oration in his honor. Although this speech is a eulogy of Theodore that defends his policies in the Morea and omits some of his less worthy actions, it is a source of great importance for the history of the despotate of the Morea.

SOURCE. *Manuel II Palaeologus. Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore,* ed. J. Chrysostomides (Thessalonike 1985), with Eng. tr.

LIT. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:117–69, 339–53. Papadopulos, *Genealogie,* no.85. *PLP,* no.21460. –A.M.T.

THEODORE II LASKARIS, emperor of Nicaea (from 3 Nov. 1254); born Nov. 1221, died Nymphaion 16 Aug. 1258 (*Kleinchroniken* 1:75, no.3). The only son of JOHN III VATATZES, Theodore was brought up to be a "philosopher-king," tutored by the most learned and exacting teachers, including Nikephoros BLEMMYDES and George AKROPOLITES. Some notes in his own hand in a MS of Aristotle's *Physics* proclaim that he had read the whole volume from beginning to end (G. Prato, *JÖB* 30 [1981] 249–58). He left a corpus of philosophical, scientific, and theological works and a series of rhetorical pieces, including an *enkomion* for the city of NICAEA and a funeral oration for FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN (C. Astruc, *TM* 1 [1965] 393–404; H. Hunger, *JÖB* 8 [1959] 127–37). His letters reveal a man of great charm, who could also be spiteful and cruel. Toward the end of his reign his health deteriorated and he became increasingly neurotic.

Before his health gave way, he proved himself a ruler of great energy. In the winter of 1254–55 he led a brilliant campaign, throwing back the Bulgarians who were threatening the Nicaean territories in Europe. The marriage in 1256 of his daughter Maria to NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, the heir to Epiros, appeared to consolidate his hold over his European territories. At home, however, his position was weakened by the opposition of great court families, who objected to his reliance on ministers of humble origin, such as George MOUZALON. He dealt with his adversaries ruthlessly, depriving some of their rank and some of their eyes. Others, including MICHAEL (VIII) PALAIOLOGOS, he forced into exile. Theodore left George Mouzalon, as regent for his young son JOHN IV LASKARIS, to face the mounting resentment of the aristocracy.

ED. *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistolae CCXVII,* ed. N. Festa (Florence 1898). L. Tartaglia, "L'opusculo *De subiectorum in principem officiis* di Teodoro II Lascaris," *Diptycha* 2 (1980–81) 187–222 (with It. tr.). For other works see *Tusculum Lexikon,* 772f.

LIT. A.M. de Guadan, "La 'democracia' in la epoca de Teodoro II Lascaris (1254–1258)," *Publications de l'Institut d'études orientales de la bibliothèque patriarcale d'Alexandrie* 11 (Alexandria 1962) 29–50. J. Papadopoulos, *Théodore II Lascaris, empereur de Nicée* (Paris 1908). M. Andreeva, "Názory Theodora II. Laskarise na ideálniho panovníka," *Sbornik Jaroslavu Bidlovi* (Prague 1928) 71–76. –M.J.A.

THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of the Morea (1407–43); born ca.1395, died Selymbria 26 June (?) 1448 (E. Trapp, *Byzantina* 13 [1985] 959–64). Second son of Manuel II, Theodore spent part of his childhood at the court of his uncle, THEODORE I, at MISTRA. He was about 12 when he succeeded his uncle as *despotes* in 1407. During Theodore's minority, Manuel took a special interest in the MOREA, visiting the region twice, in 1408 and in 1415–16 when he supervised the construction of the HEXAMILION. In 1421 Theodore married an Italian princess, Cleopa Malatesta (died 1433; cf. G. Hofmann, *OstkSt* 4 [1955] 129–37). Theodore pursued an expansionist policy in the Peloponnesos, esp. against Centurione ZACCARIA, prince of Achaia, and Carlo TOCCO, count of Kephalenia, but the Byz. were weakened by the invasion of the Turkish general, Turahan Bey, in 1423. After 1428, when Theodore's younger brothers CONSTANTINE (XI) and THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS associated themselves with his rule, the Byz. enjoyed even greater military success, adding Patras to their territory in 1430. The final years of Theodore's despotate were marred, however, by disputes with Constantine over the succession to the childless JOHN VIII. As the result of a compromise in 1443, Theodore exchanged his despotate at Mistra for Constantine's newly acquired appanage of SELYMBRIA. He died of the plague five years later.

LIT. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:119–21, 165–225, 299–302, 352–54. Papadopulos, *Genealogie,* no.91. *PLP,* no.21459. –A.M.T.

THEODORE ABU-QURRA (Ἀβουκαρᾶ), theologian; born in Edessa between ca.740 and 750, died between 820 and 825. Theodore was a monk in the Lavra of St. SABAS, later for a time bishop of Harran, and then itinerant controversialist. He wrote in Syriac, Arabic, and perhaps Greek, although his works preserved in Greek may be translations (S. Griffith, *JEH* 36 [1985] 23–45). In some cases there are parallel Greek and Arabic versions of sayings attributed to him (S. Griffith, *Le Muséon* 92 [1979] 33f). Influenced by LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM and JOHN OF DAMASCUS (the suggestion that Theodore was John's disciple is questionable), Theodore dedicated himself to the defense of Orthodoxy. A passionate polemicist, he argued against Judaism, Islam, and Christian heresies. It is not excluded that he participated in a dispute (Baghdad 824) with several brilliant Muslim scholars at the caliph's court. Theodore developed John's views in support of icon veneration; he also defended the importance of the church councils (H.J. Sieben, *Theologie und Philosophie* 49 [1974] 489–509). His philosophical concepts are very close to those of Leontios and John (E. Hammerschmidt, *OstkSt* 4 [1955] 153f), and it is plausible that the treatise *On the Heresies,* ascribed in some MSS to Leontios, belonged in fact to Theodore (M. Waegeman, *AntCl* 45 [1976] 190–96), whereas J. Speigl (*AnnHistCon* 2 [1970] 207–30) attributes it to another Theodore, of the late 6th C.

ED. PG 97:1462–1610. *Theodori Abu Kurra de cultu imaginum libellus e codice arabico,* ed. J.P. Arendzen (Bonn 1897). I. Dick, *Théodore Abuqurra, Traité de l'existence du createur et de la vraie religion* (Jounieh-Rome 1982). Idem, *Théodore Abuqurra, Traité du culte des icônes* (Jounieh-Rome 1986).

LIT. G. Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abû Qurra* (Paderborn 1910). I. Dick, "Un continuateur arabe de Jean Damascène: Théodore Abuqurra, évêque melkite de Harran, la personne et son milieu," *PrOC* 12 (1962) 209–23, 319–32; 13 (1963) 114–29. J. Nasrallah, "Dialogue islamo-chrétien à propos de publications récentes," *REI* 46 (1978) 129–32. –S.H.G., A.K.

THEODORE GRAPTOS (Γραπτός, lit. "marked with writing"), saint; born in Moabite mountains, Palestine ca.775, died in Apameia, Bithynia, between 841 and 844; feastday 27 or 28 Dec. He and his brother THEOPHANES GRAPTOS, pupils of MICHAEL SYNKELLOS in the Lavra of St. SABAS, followed Michael to Constantinople in 813. There they defended icon veneration and were exiled by Leo V and again by Theophilos; in 836 the latter ordered a certain Christodoulos to tattoo 12 iambic lines on their foreheads (hence their soubriquet Graptoi). Theodore describes their ordeal in a letter to John, bishop of Kyzikos; SYMEON METAPHRASTES includes this letter in his vita of the two brothers. Their biography is known primarily from the vita of Michael Synkellos. Circa 886 Theophanes of Caesarea wrote an *enkomion* of Theodore, suppressing most details and omitting Michael's role in the struggle against the Iconoclasts. This *enkomion* served as the major source for Metaphrastes, who possessed, however, some additional information. Before 1300 Theodora RAOULAINA wrote a vita of both brothers.

Representation in Art. The crucial event that gave the saint his epithet is illustrated only in the 11th-C. marginal psalters (e.g., THEODORE PSALTER, fol.120v): Theodore lies prone while the Iconoclast Christodoulos inscribes the verses onto his forehead. Elsewhere the saint is portrayed as an ordinary monk.

SOURCES. J.-M. Featherstone, "The Praise of Theodore Graptos by Theophanes of Caesarea," *AB* 98 (1980) 93–150. PG 116:653–84. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:185–223, 5:397–99.

LIT. *BHG* 1745z–1746a, 1793. S. Vailhé, "Saint Michel le Syncelle et les deux frères Grapti, saint Théodore et saint Théophane," *ROC* 6 (1901) 313–32, 610–42.

–A.K., N.P.Š.

THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS (of the ANGELOS family), ruler of Epiros (ca.1215–30), emperor at Thessalonike (from 1224/5—A. Karpozilos, *Byzantina* 6 [1974] 253–61—or between Apr. and Aug. 1227—E. Bee-Sepherle, *BNJbb* 21 [1971–74] 272–79); born ca.1180–85, died Nicaea soon after 1253. A son of the *sebastokrator* John DOUKAS, he took service with THEODORE I LASKARIS, but ca.1210 went to EPIROS to join his half-brother MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, whom he succeeded ca.1215. Having assured the alliance of the Albanians and Serbians, Theodore attacked Bulgaria. In 1217 he defeated and captured PETER OF COURTENAY; then, after occupying one by one Neopatras, Lamia, Platamon, and Prosek, he seized Thessalonike in autumn 1224 (B. Sinogowitz, *BZ* 45 [1952] 28) and was subsequently crowned as *basileus*.

Theodore's conquest of Adrianople in 1225 suggested that the recovery of Constantinople was within his grasp, but this hope was dashed by his defeat and capture by the Bulgarian tsar, JOHN ASEN II, in 1230 at the battle of KLOKOTNICA. The tsar released him from captivity ca.1237 when he married Irene, the daughter of Theodore and his wife Maria Petraliphaina. Theodore was able to recover Thessalonike, but preferred to rule through his sons John and DEMETRIOS ANGELOS DOUKAS, while he resided at VODENA. His aim was to hold together the various princes of the house of Doukas in the face of the Nicaean advance. In 1252 John III Vatatzes had him seized; he died soon afterward in captivity.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 47–112. Polemis, *Doukai* 89f, no.42. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:548–637, no.168. G. Prinzing, "Studien zur Provinz- und Zentralverwaltung im Machtbereich der epirotischen Herrscher Michael I. und Theodoros Dukas," *EpChron* 24 (1982) 73–120; 25 (1983) 37–112.

–M.J.A.

THEODORE LECTOR, or Anagnostes, ecclesiastical historian; died after 527. Theodore lived at Constantinople, where he produced a *Tripartite History* comprising extracts from SOKRATES, SOZOMENOS, and THEODORET OF CYRRHUS for the period 305–439, and also an *Ecclesiastical History* continuing until 527. Only fragments survive from both. He once cites John Diakrinomenos for an anecdote concerning Emp. ANASTASIOS I. The SOUDA mentions his interest in the biblical commentaries of DIODOROS OF TARSOS. Theodore's own work, or excerpts therefrom, were a major source for THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR.

ED. *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G.C. Hansen (Berlin 1971).

LIT. J. Bidez, *La tradition manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de Théodore le Lecteur* (Leipzig 1908). –B.B.

THEODORE OF ALANIA, bishop of Alania, certainly by 1226 when he signed a synodal decree (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:114) and probably from 1223; fl. first half of the 13th C. Theodore wrote a *logos* for Patr. GERMANOS II on his enthronization at Nicaea (Jan. 1223), and the *Alanikos*, an account of Theodore's journey to his see, Alania, in the northern Caucasus, after his consecration as bishop. This work, in the form of a letter to the *endemousa synodos* in Nicaea, describes the state of Christianity among the Alans and the behavior of the local ecclesiastical authorities. It refers to a "Scythian" attack on the Bosporos, which has been identified with the Tatar attack in the winter of 1223 (M. Nystazopoulou, *EEBS* 33 [1964] 270–78). Theodore's *Ethika* and *Matthaios*, as well as his *logos* on the tomb of Christ, remain unpublished.

ED. *Alanikos*—PG 140:387–414. Russ. tr. Ju. Kulakovskij, *Zapiski Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej* 21.2 (1898) 11–27. *Logos*—A. Karpozilos, "An Unpublished Encomium by Theodore Bishop of Alania," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 227–49.

–R.J.M.

THEODORE OF DEKAPOLIS (Dekapolites), mid-10th-C. high official, *patrikios* and quaestor under CONSTANTINE VII, *magistros* under ROMANOS II. He was the author of several novels concerning agrarian relations. The Novel of 947, following the legislative principles of ROMANOS I, required that the DYNATOI return to the poor the allotments sold by their owners under duress; unlike Romanos I, however, Theodore presumed that the peasants, except the poorest, should return the price of the land. Small *archontes* and small monasteries were to be recompensed for the improvements made on the land during their term of possession. In another, undated novel Theodore stated that the allotments of the *stratiotai* should not have been sold; this novel is probably the first legislation concerning soldiers' holdings. In his decision (*lysis*) of 960/1, Theodore regulated the procedure for the restitution of peasants' and soldiers' properties illegally acquired by the *dynatoi*.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 1:222–26, 227–29, 240–42.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 98–100, 116–26. –A.K.

THEODORE OF EDESSA, saint; hero of a hagiographical romance preserved in Greek MSS (the oldest Moscow, Hist. Mus. 15/381, dated 1023) and in Arabic and Slavonic translations; feastday 19 July. His identification with the homonymous author of *heirmoi* in Florence Laur. B 32 (13th C.), proposed by S. Eustratiades (*Nea Sion* 34 [1939] 43–45), is based only on the similarity of names. According to his vita, Theodore was born in Edessa to a noble couple after his mother had a miraculous vision; he became a monk and then *hegoumenos* of the Lavra of St. SABAS. He was appointed to the see of Edessa—in 836 according to A. Vasiliev (*Byzantion* 16 [1942–43] 176f), who defends the historicity of the vita. Theodore supposedly died at St. Sabas. In the vita's title, its author calls himself Basil, bishop of Emesa, and claims to be Theodore's nephew, an eyewitness to and participant in the events described. The core of the vita is the story of Mauias, the *basileus* in "Babylon" (Baghdad), who converted to Christianity and was murdered by the Muslims; Vasiliev identified him first with Abbas, nephew of al-Muʿtaṣim (833–42), who allegedly "embraced Christianity" (according to Armenian sources), then with al-Mu'aiyad, who was murdered by his brother Caliph al-Muʿtazz (866–69); no evidence of al-Mu'aiyad's Christian sympathies exists, however. Most probably the vita was an apologetic work produced in the 10th C. (Michael III is mentioned) within the milieu connected with the St. Sabas monastery, or, less probably, in Constantinople. P. Peeters (*AB* 48 [1930] 64–98) hypothesized that Theodore's legend reflected some traits of the biography of THEODORE ABU-QURRA, but this is only conjecture.

ED. *Žitie iže vo svjatych otca našego Feodora archiepiskopa Edesskogo*, ed. I. Pomjalovskij (St. Petersburg 1892), corr. P. Nikitin, *ZapANIst-fil* 1 (1895), no.1, 63–67, rev. A. Vasiliev, *ŽMNP* 286 (1893) 201–10.

LIT. *BHG* 1744. J. Gouillard, "Supercheries et méprises littéraires: L'oeuvre de saint Théodore d'Edesse," *REB* 5 (1947) 137–57. A. Abel, "La portée apologétique de la 'Vie' de St. Théodore d'Edesse," *BS* 10 (1949) 229–40. S.H. Griffith, "Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 131f.

–A.K.

THEODORE OF KYZIKOS, epistolographer and bishop of Kyzikos (mid-10th C.). Two collections of his letters have been published: one by S. Lampros from Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr. 342 (some texts in this collection are probably not by Theodore) and another by J. Darrouzès from Patmos 706. Theodore was a confidant of Constantine VII (his correspondence with the emperor is preserved) and adversary of Patr. POLYEUKTOS. The correspondence includes an allusion to an invasion of the Scythians (i.e., the expedition of IGOR of Kiev in 941), some data on the administrative system (e.g., the mention of a KOMES HYDATON),

and a short *ekphrasis* of the warm springs of Pythia (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:171).

ED. S. Lampros, "Epistolai ek tou Biennaiou kodikos phil. gr. 342," *NE* 19 (1925) 269–96; 20 (1926) 31–46, 139–57. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 317–41. –A.K.

THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, theologian; bishop of MOPSUESTIA (from 392); born Antioch ca.350, died Mopsuestia ca.428. In Antioch Theodore was a fellow pupil of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, first under LIBANIOS, then DIODOROS OF TARSOS. A brief worldly lapse led to thoughts of marriage and a legal career, but two letters from Chrysostom recalled him to the monastic life. He was ordained priest ca.383; after becoming bishop, he remained in his Cilician see until his death.

Theodore's writings and reputation enjoyed very mixed fortunes in Byz. He was accused of Nestorianism and Pelagianism, and his opinions on Christology and sin were proscribed at Ephesus (431). His writings were among those condemned by the Second Council of Constantinople in 553 in the Affair of the THREE CHAPTERS. PHOTIOS, however, commended his refutation of EUNOMIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.4). His works survive mainly in Syriac versions. The biblical commentaries are historical and philological in approach, with minimal allegorization. His most important theological work was *On the Incarnation*, aimed primarily at the Apollinarians whose *logos-sarx* dichotomy he countered with the definition of Christ as a union of two natures. His terminologies are not always precise, but they helped point the way to the formulations of the Council of CHALCEDON in 451.

ED. PG 66:9–1020. *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes (I–LXXX)*, ed. R. Devreesse (Vatican 1939). *Commentarius in XII prophetas*, ed. H.N. Sprenger (Wiesbaden 1977). Lat. tr. *In epistolas B. Pauli commentarii*, ed. H.B. Swete, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1880–82). Syriac texts—*Commentarius in Evangelium Iohannis Apostoli*, ed. J.M. Vosté, 2 vols. (Paris 1940). *Fragments syriaques du Commentaire des Psaumes*, ed. L. van Rompay, 2 vols. (Louvain 1982), with Fr. tr. For complete list of ed., see *CPG* 2, nos. 3827–73.

LIT. R.A. Norris, *Manhood and Christ: A Study in the Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Oxford 1963). R. Devreesse, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste* (Vatican 1948). J.M. Dewart, *The Theology of Grace of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Washington, D.C., 1971). R.K. Bultmann, *Die Exegese des Theodor von Mopsuestia* (Stuttgart 1984). M. Simonetti, "Note sull'esegesi veterotestamentaria di Teodoro di Mopsuestia," *VetChr* 14 (1977) 69–102. –B.B.

THEODORE OF RAITHOU, theologian; monk at the monastery of RAITHOU; fl. first half of the 7th C. W. Elert (*Theologische Literaturzeitung* 76 [1951] cols. 67–76) identified him with Theodore, bishop of Pharan (died before 625). The major work of Theodore of Raithou is a *Preparation* (*Proparaskeue*) consisting of two parts: a refutation of Christological heresies from MANI to SEVEROS of Antioch, and a "dialectical" presentation of Christian creed. The main purpose of the book was to reconcile the Chalcedonian formulas with the statements of CYRIL of Alexandria, which had been interpreted by the Monophysites in their own vein. M. Richard (*Opera minora*, vol. 2, no.55) attributed the treatise *On Sects* to Theodore; recently the work was discovered also in a Georgian version and attributed by L. Datiašvili to THEODORE ABU-QURRA, but M. van Esbroeck (*BK* 42 [1984] 35–52) suggests that the tract is by LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM as in the MS tradition.

ED. *Preparation*—ed. Diekamp, *AnalPatr* 173–222.

LIT. A. Nikas, *Theodoros tes Raithou* (Athens 1981). Beck, *Kirche* 382f. –B.B., A.K.

THEODORE OF SMYRNA, high-ranking official and scholar; born mid-11th C., died after 1112. He was *magistros* and judge in 1082 and later held the post of quaestor with the titles of *protoproedros* and *protokouropalates* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 1118–19). After the deposition of JOHN ITALOS, Theodore was appointed HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON. In 1112 he engaged in discussions in Constantinople with the Latin theologian Peter GROSSOLANO. His writings, mostly unpublished, include a commentary on Aristotle (W. Lackner, *ByzF* 4 [1972] 168), a theological tract on the AZYMES, a funeral speech on a son of the *protostrator* Michael Doukas (now lost), and a couple of hagiographical works. The author of the *Timarion* made Theodore the guide of his hero through the underworld and praised (ironically?) his learning and fairness.

LIT. P. Gautier, "Le synode des Blachernes (Fin 1094): Étude prosopographique," *REB* 29 (1971) 255f. V. Laurent, "Légendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines," *EO* 31 (1932) 331–35. –A.K.

THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, theologian, monastic reformer, and saint; born 759, died on Princes' Islands or near Cape Akritas 11 Nov. 826. Born to a family of civil functionaries and iconodules, in 780 he entered the family monastery of Sakkoudion, in Bithynia, administered by his uncle PLATO OF SAKKOUDION; in 794 Theodore became its *hegoumenos*. During the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY he opposed CONSTANTINE VI and was exiled in 795/6 to Thessalonike. After Constantine's defeat, Theodore returned to Sakkoudion and ca.798 went to Constantinople; J. Leroy has questioned the traditional view that an Arab raid forced him to move (*OrChrAn* 153 [1958] 201f). In Constantinople Theodore restored the STOUDIOS monastery and organized there a strong cenobitic community. Theodore objected to the efforts of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I to find a compromise between the court of Emp. Nikephoros I and the militant monks; in 809 Theodore and his brother Joseph of Thessalonike were banished to Princes' Islands. Michael I decided the dispute in Theodore's favor, but the new outbreak of ICONOCLASM set Theodore again in opposition to the court. After having refused to participate in the local council of 815 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), he was exiled again, to Metopa in Bithynia, then to a much more remote fortress (Bonita) and finally to Smyrna. Michael recalled him in 821.

The essence of Theodore's activity was the creation of an independent monastic organization able to resist imperial coercion: the rules of BASIL THE GREAT served him as a model. In his struggle Theodore did not neglect the possibility of papal support (J. Gill, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 115–23). Both his *Catecheses*, the Great and the Little, emphasize the role of monastic discipline and the necessity for the monk to participate in communal work, both manual and intellectual. Theodore highly valued family ties and paid serious attention to the role of women (J. Gouillard, *JÖB* 32.2 [1982] 445–52). His letters, primarily dispatched from exile, treat the moral duties of monks and admonish his correspondents to resist and to endure their ordeal; his own example in the face of adversity should encourage his followers. Theodore's epigrams are also dedicated to the moral courage of the monk, and the terminology of martyrdom is typical of them. At the same time Theodore is fond of the theme of everyday monastic life and praises the hard labor of the monastic cook or the serenity of evening prayer. A steadfast fighter, Theodore wrote a refutation of Iconoclastic concepts and developed John of Damascus's theory of the image (see ICONS). He also produced liturgical hymns, as well as homilies and panegyrics: of his mother, of his uncle Plato, of the chronographer THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR (C. van de Vorst, *AB* 31 [1912] 19–23), of St. Arsenios (T. Nissen, *BNJbb* 1 [1920] 246–62). ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS translated Theodore's *enkomion* of the apostle Bartholomew.

Theodore's memory was celebrated by Naukratios, his successor at Stoudios (PG 99:1825–49); in an anonymous description of the translation of Theodore's relics to Constantinople on 26 Jan. 844 (C. van de Vorst, *AB* 32 [1913] 27–62); and in several vitae. Avoiding traditional hagiographical motifs (such as miracles), these vitae present Theodore first and foremost as a politician and administrator.

ED. PG 99. *Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände*, ed. P. Speck (Berlin 1968). *Parva Catechesis*, ed. E. Auvray (Paris 1891). Eng. tr. C.P. Roth, *On the Holy Icons* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1981). Germ. tr. J. Leroy, *Studitisches Mönchtum* (Graz-Cologne-Vienna 1969).

SOURCE. B. Latyschev, "Vita S. Theodori Studitae in codice Mosquensi musei Rumianzoviani no.520," *VizVrem* 21 (1914) 258–304.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 491–95. A. Dobroklonskij, *Prep. Feodor, ispovednik i igumen Studijskij*, 2 vols. (Odessa 1913). I. Hausherr, *Saint Théodore Studite* (Rome 1926). P. Henry, "Theodore of Stoudios: Byzantine Churchman" (Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 1968). E. Werner, "Die Krise im Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in Byzanz: Theodor von Studion," *BBA* 5 (1957) 113–33. –A.K.

THEODORE OF SYKEON, saint; born in the village of Sykeon, Galatia, during the reign of Justinian I, died Sykeon 613; feastday 22 Apr. Theodore was the illegitimate son of the prostitute Maria and an imperial messenger, Kosmas, a Constantinopolitan who had performed in the Hippodrome as an acrobat on camels. After Theodore's birth, his mother abandoned her previous way of life. Upon finishing elementary school, Theodore became a hermit; he lived two years in a subterranean cave, then in an iron cage. He worked miracles, exorcised demons, and healed the sick (P. Horden, *SChH* 19 [1982] 1–13); he built the Church of the Archangel Michael, founded a monastery in Sykeon, and was elected bishop of Anastasioupolis, but he later resigned and returned to his monastery. He traveled far—to Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Sozopolis. Throughout his life Theodore remained under the special protection of St. George.

His disciple George, priest and *hegoumenos* of the Sykeon monastery, wrote Theodore's Life. It contains important data on rural life, topography (M. Waelkens, *Byzantion* 41 [1971] 349–73; 49 [1979] 447–64), and political history, esp. the

rebellion of KOMENTIOLOS, brother of Emp. PHOKAS, against Herakleios (Kaegi, "New Evidence" 308–30). Theodore was also praised by JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *EkAl* 24 [1900] 388–95) and by Nikephoros, *skeuophylax* of the church in Blachernai, in the 9th C. (C. Kirch, *AB* 20 [1901] 252–72).

SOURCES. *Vie de Théodore de Sykeon*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, 2 vols. (Brussels 1970), corr. D. Baker, *SChH* 13 (1976) 83–96, and J.O. Rosenqvist, *Eranos* 78 (1980) 163–74; partial Eng. tr. Dawes-Baynes, *Three Byz. Sts.* 88–192.

LIT. *BHG* 1748–1749c. J.O. Rosenqvist, *Studien zur Syntax und Bemerkungen zum Text der Vita Theodori Syceotae* (Uppsala 1981). R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (New York 1985) 17–49. –A.K.

THEODORE PSALTER (London, B.L. Add. 19.352), one of the marginal PSALTERS. It was illustrated in Feb. 1066 by Theodore, a native of Cappadocian Caesarea and *protopresbyteros* of a monastery the name of which is erased in the colophon of the MS; he is otherwise unknown. Theodore says that he prepared his book at the orders of Michael, *synkellos* and *kathegoumenos* of his monastery; since Michael is identified beneath his picture in the book as *kathegoumenos* and *synkellos* of the STOUDIOS monastery in Constantinople, the Psalter is always taken to be a Stoudite production. The MS contains more than 400 miniatures, including a wealth of Gospel, liturgical, and hagiographical illustration allusively applied to the Old Testament text. Richer in this apparatus than previous Psalters of the type, Theodore's book allows the presumption of considerable iconographic inventiveness in the center where it was made. Stylistically, it is a landmark of the STYLE MIGNON.

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des Psautiers grecs du moyen âge, II. Londres Add. 19.352* (Paris 1970). –A.C.

THEODORE SCHOLASTIKOS, jurist of the second half of the 6th C., from Hermoupolis in the Thebaid of Egypt. He composed a short Greek paraphrase of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, of which numerous fragments have been preserved in the scholia to the BASILIKA and elsewhere. Almost completely preserved is his abridged version of a collection of about 168 Justinianic and post-Justinianic novels (see NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I) down to the year 575, in which there are references to parallel passages in the *Novels* and in the *Codex*.

THEODORE PSALTER. Miniature from the Theodore Psalter (London, B.M. add. 19.352, fol.255r). British Museum, London. St. Theodore of Stoudios (left) and Patr. Nikephoros I of Constantinople (right) refuting Emp. Leo V. At the far right, Iconoclast bishops whitewash an icon of Christ.

ED. Paraphrase of the *Codex*—ed. H.J. Scheltema, "Fragmenta breviarii Codicis a Theodoro Hermopolitano confecti," *Byzantina Neerlandica* 3 (1972) 9–35. H.R. Lug, "Ein Bruchstück des Codex-Kommentars des Theodoros," *FM* 1 (1976) 1–15. Paraphrase of the *Novels*—ed. K.E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Anekdota*, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1843; rp. Aalen 1969) 1–165.

LIT. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:80–85, 88f. P. Pieler in Hunger, *Lit.* 2:436. –A.S.

THEODORE STRATELATES (στρατηλάτης, "general"), saint; feastday 7 Feb. Closely linked with St. THEODORE TERON (the recruit), Theodore Stratelates first appears in hagiographical literature in the 9th C. The author of his earliest extant biography, NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON, clearly distinguishes him from Theodore Teron and places his execution in the reign of Licinius (*AASS* Nov. 4:83–89). His developed biography, however, was modeled on that of Teron. Allegedly the *tachygraphos* Augaros, Theodore's contemporary, wrote his earliest vita, which is preserved in an 11th-C. MS; the story of his killing a dragon with the help of Eusebia, a woman from Euchaita (Van Hooff, *infra* 361.1–2), forms the core of the vita. In the 10th C. Euthymios Protasekretis composed a very conventional *enkomion* of Theodore that omits any factual information, even the name of Licinius (F. Halkin, *AB* 99 [1981] 223–37); Symeon Metaphrastes also devoted a *martyrion* to Theodore Stratelates (Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 168–82). Byz. hagiographers disagreed about the place of Theodore's interment: "Augaros" located it in Euchaita (Van Hooff 367.11–18), Metaphrastes in Euchaina (Delehaye 181.31, 182.7), and the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 738.33) in "Euchaina near Euchaita."

The cult of the Stratelates became popular by the end of the 10th C., probably owing to the increasing aristocratization and militarization of society: Theodore Teron, the ordinary recruit, did not satisfy the new social tendencies. Skylitzes relates that during the battle against the Rus' in 971 "one of the victorious martyrs named Theodore," that is, the Stratelates (Skyl. 308.15–19), came to help the Byz. army; as a commemoration of this event John I Tzimiskes built the large and beautiful shrine in which the saint's remains were deposited (309.29–33), and gave the new name of Theodoropolis to Euchaneia (a third similar name for the place of Theodore's burial). It is plausible to hypothesize that the cult of Theodore Teron continued in Euchaita, whereas Euchaneia became the center of veneration of the general. Euchaneia is attested as an archbishopric in the 10th C. and as a metropolis in the 11th c; at least one of its "shepherds" had the image of Theodore Stratelates on his seal (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.519). It is curious that he is not celebrated in the early MSS of the *Typikon of the Great Church* but is called *megalomartyros* in the *Menologion of Basil II*.

The cult of Theodore as a MILITARY SAINT, who is frequently represented as a mounted warrior, acquired particular significance from the 12th C. when Manuel I introduced Theodore's image on his coins (Hendy, *Coinage* 438). Both Theodores served as military helpers in a story of the conquest of the fortress at MELNIK in 1255 written by Theodore PEDIASIMOS (Dölger, *Paraspora* 299–305).

Representation in Art. In the earliest representations of Theodore, ivories and MSS of the 10th and 11th C. (e.g., MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.383), he is portrayed as an officer holding a lance, sword, and shield. His pointed, occasionally two-part, brown beard serves to distinguish him from Theodore Teron, with whom he is most often paired. His martyrdom in the form of a flagellation is depicted in the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.39v). Sometimes he appears in court costume, and he is paired with St. GEORGE as a mounted warrior spearing a serpent.

SOURCES. G. Van Hooff, "Acta graeca S. Theodori ducis," *AB* 2 (1883) 359–67.

LIT. *BHG* 1750–1753m. Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 26–43. N. Oikonomides, "Le dédoublement de S. Théodore et les villes d'Euchaïta et d'Euchaneia," *AB* 104 (1986) 327–35. G. Weigert, *LCI* 8:444–46. M.F. Murjanov, "Fragment kul'turnoj istorii drevnich Slavjan," *Sovetskoe Slavjanovodenie* (1984) pt.1, 57–67. L. Mavrodinova, "Sv. Teodor–razvitie i osobenosti na ikonografskija mu tip u srednovekovnata živopis," *Izvestija na instituta za izkustvoznanie* 13 (1969) 33–52. –A.K., N.P.Š.

THEODORE SVETOSLAV, Bulgarian monarch (1300–21/2), son of Georgij Terter I (1280–92). Held as hostage by the Mongol khan NOGAY from 1286 to 1298, he escaped and organized a conspiracy against Khan Čaka that ended Mongol rule in Bulgaria. Theodore united all Bulgarian principalities except VIDIN under his sovereignty; in the course of a war against Byz. in 1303–07 he seized Mesembria, Sozopolis, Anchialos, Achtopolis, Rusokastro, and other strong points in east-

ern Bulgaria, his possession of which was confirmed by a treaty of 1307. After his first marriage to Euphrosyne, the granddaughter of a rich merchant Pantoleon (A. Failler, *BZ* 78 [1985] 92f), Theodore married (ca.1308) Theodora, daughter of Michael IX. The rest of his reign was marked by peace with Byz., friendly relations with Serbia, and growing links with Venice, which was interested in purchasing Bulgarian grain.

LIT. Fine, *Late Balkans* 227–30, 268–70. Dölger, *Paraspora* 222–30. –R.B.

THEODORE SYNKELLOS, politician and writer; first half of 7th C. His biography is barely known. The *Chronicon Paschale* (*Chron. Pasch.* 721.9) mentions him as a member of the embassy sent to the khagan on the eve of the AVAR siege of Constantinople in 626. His identification with Patr. Theodore I (677–79, 686–87) is impossible because of the chronological gap. Theodore delivered an oration on the robe of the Virgin that was preserved in the church of Blachernai but was moved to Hagia Sophia because of an enemy invasion. Ch. Loparev, disregarding the MS tradition, ascribed the speech to GEORGE OF NIKOMEDEIA and considered the events described as the attack of the Rus' in 860 (*VizVrem* 2 [1895] 581–628). Vasil'evskij (*infra*), however, demonstrated that Theodore was referring to the Avar assault of 619. Theodore probably also composed the anonymous homily on the siege of Constantinople by the Avars and Persians in 626 that was delivered on 7 Aug. 627.

ED. F. Combefisius, *Graecolatinorum patrum bibliothecae novum auctarium,* vol. 2 (Paris 1648) 751–86. L. Sternbach, "Analecta Avarica," *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział filologiczny*[2] 15 (Krakow 1900) 297–333. Fr. tr. F. Makk, *Traduction et commentaire de l'homélie écrite probablement par Théodore le Syncelle sur le siège de Constantinople en 626* (Szeged 1975).

LIT. V. Vasil'evskij, "Avary, a ne Russkie, Feodor, a ne Georgij," *VizVrem* 3 (1896) 83–95. *VizIzvori* 1:159–68. –A.K.

THEODORE TERON (Τήρων, lit. "recruit"), "the great martyr," saint; born "in an eastern land," died Amaseia under Maximian; feastday 17 Feb. According to a homily ascribed to GREGORY OF NYSSA, Theodore was a simple soldier who came with his *tagma* "to our country." When he confessed to being Christian, the authorities urged him to recant, but in response he set afire the temple of "the mother of the gods" in Amaseia (PG 46:744A). He was then condemned to be burned. Chrysippos of Jerusalem (died 479) dedicated an *enkomion* to Theodore, locating his activity in an unnamed city in Pontos (*AASS* Nov. 4:59B). His cult underwent changes by the 9th C.: a legend appeared about Theodore's killing a dragon with a spear, helped by a princess named Eudokia. Nikephoros OURANOS (F. Halkin, *Martyrs grecs* [London 1974], pt.IX [1962], 308–24) combined various stories about Theodore.

The *Miracles* of Theodore describe life in the province of Pontos, recount "barbarian" raids, and locate the saint's tomb on an "estate" at Euchaita belonging to his patroness Eusebia. The *Miracles* have been variously dated: from the 7th C. (F. Trombley in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos,* ed. S. Vryonis, Jr. [Malibu 1985] 83, n.26), to the second half of the 8th C. (C. Zuckerman, *REB* 46 [1988] 192f), to the 10th C. (H. Delehaye in *AASS* Nov. 4:17, par.22). John MAUROPOUS testifies that in the 11th C. Theodore was venerated in Euchaita as a foot soldier (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 544f). The area was a popular destination of pilgrimages (H. Delehaye in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* [Manchester 1923] 11–82).

A sermon for the first Saturday of Lent, falsely attributed to Nektarios, patriarch of Constantinople, describes a miracle worked by Theodore: during the reign of Julian, Theodore allegedly appeared before the "patriarch" and informed him that all the food in the marketplace was stained with blood and therefore could not be used on fastdays. He urged a boycott of the market and provided the inhabitants of Constantinople with food "called *kolbia* [*kollyba,* boiled wheat?] in the local dialect of Euchaita" (PG 39:1832A).

Representation in Art. The homily ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa speaks of paintings depicting the martyrdom of Theodore at his tomb (PG 46:737D). There are surviving images of Theodore, with his dark pointed beard, at least as early as the 6th C. (in the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano in Rome); a Sinai icon dating to the 9th–10th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons,* no.B.43) already shows him in military attire, mounted and spearing a dragon. A gold medallion found in Calabria also depicts Theodore killing a dragon; it has parallels in objects of the late 6th–7th C. (W.F. Volbach, *AStCal* 13 [1943–44] 65–72). His martyrdom in the fiery oven appears in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.407). In monumental painting he is often paired with THEODORE STRATELATES: the two saints, both in full armor, turn to address Christ, who extends to them crowns from the arc of heaven. The features of the two saints resemble each other, but Theodore Teron's beard is not forked.

SOURCE. *AASS* Nov. 4 (1925) 11–82.

LIT. *BHG* 1760–73. N. Oikonomides, "La dédoublement de Saint Théodore et les villes d'Euchaïta et d'Euchaneia," *AB* 104 (1986) 327–35. Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 11–43. A. Sigalas, *Des Chrysippos von Jerusalem Enkomion auf den hl. Johannes den Täufer* (Athens 1937) 81–102. C. Weigert, E. Lucchesi-Palli, *LCI* 8:447–51. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Erytheia* 9 (1988) 197–200. –A.K., N.P.Š.

THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, Christian writer; bishop of CYRRHUS (from 423); born Antioch ca.393, died ca.466. Although dedicated by his parents from childhood to service of Christ, Theodoret (Θεοδώρητος) received a classical education. He became an *anagnostes* while still a boy and eventually entered a monastery near Apameia. After becoming bishop he was frequently embroiled in theological controversies, taking the side of NESTORIOS against CYRIL of Alexandria, whom he attacked in a (lost) pamphlet, maintaining his position even after the condemnation of Nestorian doctrine at the Council of EPHESUS (431). Deposed and exiled in 449 by the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS at the behest of Patr. DIOSKOROS of Alexandria, he was restored after appeals to Pope Leo I and the emperor Marcian but was compelled by the Council of Chalcedon (451) to anathematize Nestorios. He then returned to his diocese in Syria, where he spent his remaining years. His writings against Cyril were condemned in the THREE CHAPTERS affair by the Council of Constantinople in 553.

Of his numerous writings (which he estimated to be 35 in number in 450), the most important extant work is *The Cure of Pagan Maladies,* a Christian apology replete with classical quotations. Ten discourses titled *On Providence* argue for God's loving care of mankind. His chief Christological treatise, *Eranistes* (Beggar), ridicules the Monophysites. His *Religious History,* consisting of biographies of about 30 monks, is a major source of information on Syrian monasticism in the 4th and 5th C. It is to be distinguished from his *Church History* for the period 323–428, written between 444 and 450, which celebrates the Orthodox victory over ARIANISM, discreetly excluding the Nestorian issue; in contrast to his contemporaries SOKRATES and SOZOMENOS, he concentrates on ecclesiastical affairs. Secular and dogmatic issues are embraced in over 200 surviving letters (M.M. Wagner, *DOP* 4 [1948] 119–81).

ED. PG 80–84. *Kirchengeschichte*[2], ed. L. Parmentier, revised F. Scheidweiler (Berlin 1954). *The Ecclesiastical History, Dialogues and Letters of Theodoret,* tr. B. Jackson (New York 1892; rp. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1953). *Graecarum affectionum curatio,* ed. I. Raeder (Leipzig 1904). *Histoire des moines de Syrie,* ed. P. Canivet, A. Leroy-Molinghen, 2 vols. (Paris 1977–79), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. R.M. Price, *A History of the Monks of Syria* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1985). *Correspondance,* ed. Y. Azéma, 3 vols. (Paris 1955–65), with Fr. tr. *Commentaire sur Isaie,* ed. J.N. Guinot, 3 vols. (Paris 1980–84). For complete list of ed., see *CPG* 3, nos. 6200–88.

LIT. B. Croke, "Dating Theodoret's *Church History* and *Commentary on the Psalms,*" *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 59–74. G. Ashby, *Theodoret of Cyrus as Exegete of the Old Testament* (Grahamstown, South Africa, 1972). M. Simonetti, "La tecnica esegetica di Teodoreto nel Commento ai Salmi," *VetChr* 23 (1986) 81–116. P. Canivet, *Le monachisme syrien selon Theodoret de Cyr* (Paris 1977). –B.B.

THEODORIAS (Θεοδωριάς), small maritime civil province created in 528 from territory taken from Syria I and II by Justinian I, who named it after his wife (Malal. 448.11–15). In addition to its capital, LAODIKEIA, it included the cities of Paltos, Balaneai, and Gabala, all of which retained their earlier ecclesiastical provincial affiliations under either ANTIOCH or APAMEIA on the Orontes. Theodorias is also another name for the city of ANASARTHA.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 2:881. E. Honigmann, *RE* 2.R. 5 (1934) 1803f. –M.M.M.

THEODORIC THE GREAT, Flavius Theodericus, king of the Ostrogoths (from 471) and ruler of Italy (from 493); born Pannonia ca.454, died Ravenna 30 Aug. 526. Son of Theodemur, king of the Ostrogoths, Theodoric (Θευδέριχος) was hostage for ten years in Constantinople, where he was educated. As his father's colleague he won several victories in 472–73 over the Romans, capturing Singidunum, Herakleia Lynkestis, and Larissa. After his father died ca.474, Theodoric became sole ruler. In 476 he helped Zeno regain his throne. He was named *patrikios* and *magister militum* and was adopted by Zeno. A long period

ensued in which Theodoric was hostile to Byz. and attacked the cities of Thrace and Macedonia, although in 484 he was named consul. In 488 Theodoric agreed to Zeno's proposal that he and his people move to Italy and seize control from ODOACER. He arrived in Italy in 489 and had Odoacer killed in 493. In 497 Theodoric won recognition from Anastasios I as ruler of Italy but he never took the title of augustus. Although Theodoric was an Arian, he generally treated his Orthodox subjects, including the Italian aristocracy, with respect. Both BOETHIUS and CASSIODORUS lived under his rule and they at least partially profited from the king's favor for traditional Roman culture. After 497 Theodoric grew more hostile toward his Roman subjects, whom he suspected of plotting with the Eastern emperor against him. Theodoric reigned from RAVENNA, where he constructed a palace (now destroyed) and the Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo, the Arian baptistery, and his own mausoleum, all of which are preserved.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:411–28, 453–69. *PLRE* 2:1077–84. W. Ensslin, *Theoderich der Grosse* (Munich 1947). L. Várady, *Epochenwechsel um 476. Odoaker, Theoderich der Grosse und die Umwandlungen* (Budapest 1984). P. Lamma, "Teodorico nella storiografia bizantina," *Studi romagnoli* 3 (1952) 87–95. D. Claude, "Universale und partikulare Züge in der Politik Theoderichs," *Francia* 6 (1978) 19–58. –T.E.G.

THEODOROKANOS (Θεοδωροκάνος), a noble family, possibly of Armenian origin. The family founder was the *patrikios* Theodorokanos, Basil II's general and governor of Philippopolis. Several 11th-C. Theodorokanoi served as generals: George, *strategos* of Samos during the reign of Constantine VIII; the *magistros* Basil, *katepano* of Italy in Feb. 1043 and commander against the Rus' in July 1043. Adontz's hypothesis that both George and Basil were sons of the first Theodorokanos cannot be proved. Constantine (Basil's son, acc. to Adontz, but without any textual evidence) was defeated by the rebel Nikephoros BRYENNIOS in 1077 and taken captive. The family disappeared after the 11th C.

LIT. Adontz, *Études* 153–62. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 97–99. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 96f. –A.K.

THEODORO-MANGUP. See DORY.

THEODOSIAN CODE. See CODEX THEODOSIANUS.

THEODOSIAN RENAISSANCE. See RELIEF; RENAISSANCE; SCULPTURE.

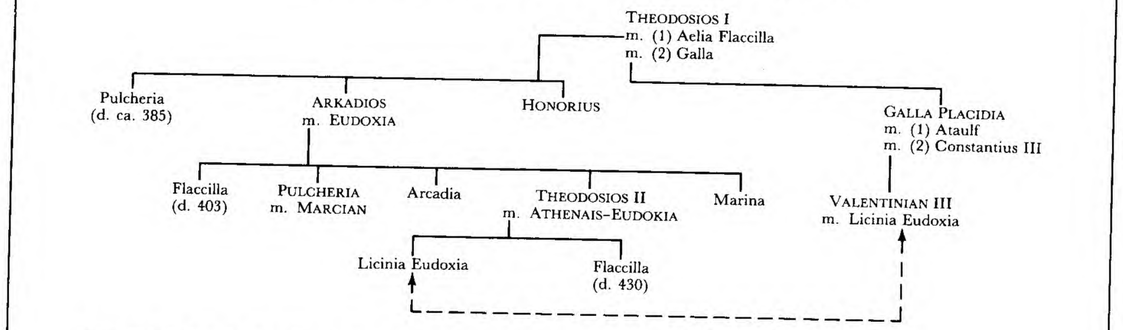
THEODOSIOS (Θεοδόσιος), eldest son of Maurice; born Constantinople 4 Aug. 583 or 585, died soon after 27 Nov. 602 (Whitby, *Maurice & His Historian* 18, 26). MAURICE married him in 601/2 to a daughter of Germanos, an influential member of the senate. During the revolt of PHOKAS, the soldiers demanded that Theodosios or Germanos replace Maurice, but the emperor refused. He dispatched Theodosios to ask CHOSROES II for assistance, but the youth was forced to return. It was rumored that Theodosios had escaped the slaughter of Maurice's family, fled to the east, and, after much wandering, landed in Colchis, where he died. Simokattes claims that he investigated the case and discovered that Theodosios had been slain with his brothers. Nonetheless NARSES, the rebellious governor of Syria, proclaimed a (false) Theodosios and presented him to CHOSROES II, who then used him in support of his claims to avenge Maurice's murder.

LIT. Olster, "Politics of Usurpation" 125–27, 193–216. Stratos, *Byzantium* 1:55f. P. Goubert, "Autour de la révolution de 602," *OrChrP* 33 (1967) 612f. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:5f. –W.E.K., A.K.

THEODOSIOS (Serbian hagiographer). See TEODOSIJE.

THEODOSIOS I, augustus (from 19 Jan. 379); born Cauca in Gallaecia (northwest Spain) 11 Jan. 347 (346?), died Milan 17 Jan. 395. Son of the general THEODOSIUS THE ELDER, who fell in disgrace in 375, Theodosios had to interrupt his military career. After the battle of ADRIANOPLE, however, he was summoned by Gratian and proclaimed emperor in the East; when Gratian was murdered in 383 Theodosios ruled over an undivided empire. He pursued a policy of "national" unity. He supported the urban curiae, reduced taxation in provinces ravaged by the barbarians, and encouraged the cultivation of abandoned fields. He also sought to control the flight of slaves and *coloni* from the land. At the same time Theodosios tried to attract barbarians to his service, settling them as FOEDERATI within the empire (in Pannonia and Thrace) and assigning them to positions of command in the army. His attitude toward religion reflected his political tendencies. Officially

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE THEODOSIAN DYNASTY



Based on K. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* (Berkeley 1982) 133.

Theodosios was the staunchest supporter of Orthodoxy. In 380 he issued an edict declaring Orthodoxy the true faith and had Arianism condemned at the First Council of Constantinople in 381 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Beginning in 391 he issued a series of harsh laws prohibiting pagan rites of sacrifice. On the other hand, he tolerated the Arianism of *foederati* and collaborated with influential pagans such as THEMISTIOS and SYMMACHUS. In 390, during a riot in Thessalonike, Theodosios supported the barbarian soldiers against the city population and severely punished the citizens, for which he was compelled by AMBROSE to do penance. He was surrounded by energetic assistants (STILICHO, RUFINUS, etc.)—Spaniards, barbarians, and Easterners—and brought about the recovery of the state after the disaster of the Gothic invasions. He had to deal with several revolts (esp. those of MAXIMUS and EUGENIUS) and with the opposition of the Roman aristocracy.

Theodosios was married first to Aelia Flavia Flaccilla, the mother of Arkadios, Honorius, and Pulcheria, and then to Galla, who bore to him Galla Placidia (see genealogical table). He appears with his sons on the base of the OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS that he erected in the Hippodrome, and on a missorium made for his *decennalia* in 388 (*Age of Spirit.*, no.64). He is described in Kedrenos as a gracious man with blond hair and eagle-like nose. Already by the mid-5th C. the church endowed him with the title "Great."

LIT. A. Lippold, *Theodosius der Grosse und seine Zeit*² (Munich 1980). W. Ensslin, *Die Religionspolitik des Kaisers Theodosius d. Gr.* (Munich 1953). N. King, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity* (London 1961). M. Pavan, *La politica gotica di Teodosio nella pubblicistica del suo tempo* (Rome 1964). –T.E.G., A.C.

THEODOSIOS II, augustus (from 10 Jan. 402), successor of his father Arkadios (from 1 May 408); born Constantinople 10 Apr. 401, died Constantinople 28 July 450. Theodosios was a typically Constantinopolitan ruler who left his capital infrequently; he was of scholarly temperament, interested in theology and science. A man of gentle and kindly nature, he was dominated by strong women such as his sister PULCHERIA and his wife ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA as well as by civil officials, esp. ANTHEMIOS, KYROS of Panopolis, and the eunuch Chrysaphios, whereas generals like ASPAR had no strong influence on his policy. His government was more concerned about functionaries and senators than *curiales*, and paid special attention to building activity in the capital, such as construction of the Theodosian Walls, begun in 413 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF). Publication of the CODEX THEODOSIANUS and formation of the UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE (425) met the interests of officialdom.

The situation on the Eastern frontier was relatively quiet during his reign, and the offensive of ATTILA was stopped by heavy payments. After the death of STILICHO and esp. after the demise of

Honorius, the leaders of the Eastern administration tried to restore the unity of the empire. They avoided military confrontation, however, and in the end failed to achieve unification, being satisfied that in the person of Valentinian III a representative of the dynasty ruled in the West. Growing papal claims, esp. under Pope Leo I, made relations even more tense, although there was no open clash between the churches of Rome and Constantinople.

The religious views of Theodosios were often on the verge of heresy: he supported Nestorios (who in his turn maintained the idea of strong imperial power) and only reluctantly agreed to the condemnation of Nestorianism; he convoked the "Robber" Council of Ephesus in 449 and supported its decisions despite the remonstrations of Pulcheria, Valentinian III, and Leo I. Theodosios died unexpectedly in a riding accident. A marble head in Paris (*Age of Spirit.*, no.22) is generally accepted as his likeness, which is well known from coins.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:212–35. A. Lippmann, *RE* supp. 13 (1973) 961–1044. A. Güldenpenning, *Geschichte des oströmischen Reiches unter den Kaisern Arcadius und Theodosius II* (Halle 1885; rp. Amsterdam 1965). C. Luibhéid, "Theodosius II and Heresy," *JEH* 16 (1965) 13–38. M. Giacchero, "Il realismo della politica orientale di Teodosio II," *Accademia romanistica constantiniana. Atti del V° Convegno internazionale* (Perugia 1983) 247–54. –T.E.G., A.C.

THEODOSIOS III, emperor (715–17); perhaps son of Tiberios II (Sumner, *infra*); died Ephesus after 754?. A tax-gatherer at Atramyttion, Theodosios was acclaimed emperor by troops in the Opsikion revolting against Anastasios II. Reluctantly accompanying the rebels, he entered Constantinople in late fall. Little is known of his reign. In 716 he concluded a treaty with the Bulgar khan Tervel, probably anticipating the impending Arab attack on Constantinople. When Maslama invaded Byz. territory that same year, the thematic generals Artabasdos and Leo III deposed Theodosios. He abdicated on 25 March and both he and his son became monks. Sumner identifies Theodosios with the bishop "Theodosios of Ephesus, son of Apsimar" who served as Leo III's religious adviser in the late 720s and presided over Constantine V's Iconoclastic Council in 754, but Grierson ("Tombs & Obits" 52f) believes him to be Theodosios's son.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *History* 155f. Sumner, "Philippicus, Anastasius II & Theodosius III" 291–94. –P.A.H.

THEODOSIOS BORADIOTES (Βοραδιώτης), patriarch of Constantinople (between Feb. and July 1179–Aug. 1183 [V. Grumel, *REB* 1 (1943) 259f]). The father of Theodosios was Armenian; a letter calls Theodosios Syrian (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 30 [1972] 209, no.18), while a later chronicle specifies that he was Antiochene (*Kleinchroniken* 1:147.4–5 [no.84]). He moved to Constantinople and became a monk in the Boradion monastery on the Asian shore of the Bosporos (Janin, *Églises centres* 16f). Appointed patriarch by Manuel I, Theodosios resisted the emperor's attempt to abolish the anathema on "the god of Muḥammad" and made Manuel accept a compromise formula. Theodosios tried to reconcile the factions who were fighting for power during Alexios II's minority; Michael the Syrian even relates that Theodosios imposed an interdict on the populace of Constantinople for massacres committed there so that "prayers in churches ceased from February to October" of 1182. He opposed Andronikos I and refused to bless the marriage of Andronikos's illegitimate daughter Irene to Alexios, illegitimate son of Manuel I. Forced to comply with the expulsion of the dowager empress Maria from the Great Palace, Theodosios soon abdicated and retired to the island of Terebinthos (Nik.Chon. 262.89). His subsequent fate is unknown.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1152–61. Hussey, *Church & Learning* 142f. F. Cognasso, *Partiti politici e lotte dinastiche in Bisanzio alla morte di Manuele Comneno* (Turin 1912) 254, n.2. –A.K.

THEODOSIOS OF PEČERA. See Feodosij of Pečera.

THEODOSIOS OF TŬRNOVO, Bulgarian hesychast monk and saint; born ca.1300, died Constantinople 27 Nov. 1363. Theodosios (Slav. Teodosij) took the monastic habit in a monastery at Arčar, near Vidin; later, together with Romylos, he joined Gregory Sinaites at the monastery of Paroria (in southeastern Bulgaria). There he was introduced to hesychastic doctrines and practices. After Gregory's death, Theodosios founded ca.1350 a monastery located either at Kilifarevo, near Tŭrnovo, or at Kefalerevo, near Mesembria (M. Damjanova in *Tŭrnovska knižovna škola* 4 [1985] 334–40), under the patronage of Tsar Ivan Alexander. An ardent supporter of hesychasm, Theodosios translated the *Kephalaia* of Gregory Sinaites into Church Slavonic. He fought against heretics

(esp. Bogomils) and Jews who had acquired some influence at the court of Ivan Alexander. Syrku (*infra*) suggested that Theodosios allied with Patr. Kallistos I of Constantinople against the Bulgarian patriarch Theodosios II (1337–60); in any case, at the end of his life Theodosios of Tŭrnovo and some of his followers moved to Constantinople, where Kallistos arranged for them to reside in a suburban monastery. Among Theodosios's disciples were Evtimij of Tŭrnovo and Kiprian.

Kallistos was probably the author of a Greek vita of Theodosios that has survived only in Bulgarian; according to Kiselkov (*infra*), the text now available is a 15th-C. revision of the original translation. In addition to data on the church and heresy in Bulgaria, the vita contains evidence on the Turkish penetration into the area (Dujčev, *Medioevo* 3:339–41).

SOURCE. "Žitie i žizn' prepodobnogo otca našego Feodosija," ed. V.N. Zlatarski in *Sbornik na narodni umotvorenija, nauka i knižnina* 20 (1904) 1–41.

LIT. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (New York–Washington, D.C. 1971) 302f, 336f, 342. P.A. Syrku, *K istorii ispravlenija knig v Bolgarii v XIV veke* (St. Petersburg 1898) 2:141–411. V. Kiselkov, *Sv. Teodosij Tŭrnovski* (Sofia 1926). Idem, *Žitieto na sv. Teodosij Tŭrnovski kato istoričeski pametnik* (Sofia 1926), with rev. P. Nikov, *Makedonski pregled* 3.2 (1927) 162–66. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 2:221f.

–A.M.T., A.K.

THEODOSIOS THE DEACON, author of a poem, *The Capture of Crete*; his life is obscure. The poem was written in 962/3 and dedicated to the recovery by Nikephoros II Phokas of the island from the Arabs in 961. His verses present the conquest on a cosmic scale as a victory of light over darkness and as an exploit of the army rather than of a single general. Theodosios refers to some ancient authors but is contemptuous of antiquity: contemporary deeds surpass incomparably the successes of ancient Greeks and Romans. He imitated George of Pisidia. L. Petit attributed to Theodosios, although hesitantly, an *akolouthia* on the death of Nikephoros Phokas (*BZ* 13 [1904] 400).

ED. *De Creta capta*, ed. U. Criscuolo (Leipzig 1979).

LIT. U. Criscuolo, "Aspetti letterari e stilistici del poema *Halosis tes Kretes* di Teodosio Diacono," *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* 28 (1979) 71–80. –A.K.

THEODOSIOS THE KOINOBIARCHES (Κοινοβιάρχης), saint; born in village of Garissos or Mogarissos, Cappadocia, died in his monastery near Jerusalem 11 Jan. 529, reportedly almost 100 years old. Hagiographers are silent about his family and youth. He left for Antioch where Symeon the Stylite the Elder supposedly proclaimed Theodosios's sanctity; ca.457 he came to Jerusalem and, after staying in various monasteries, settled in a cave. With material assistance from the *illoustrios* Akakios from Constantinople, Theodosios built a monastery, which included four churches—one for Greek services, another for Armenian, the third for the enigmatic "language of the Bessoi," and the fourth for brethren whose minds had been deranged by "the sordid demon" (Usener, *infra* p.45.6–14).

Theodore of Petra wrote Theodosios's Life, emphasizing his political activity; the Life includes his correspondence with Emp. Anastasios I as well as the story that Theodosios gave his threadbare cloak to the "*komes* of the East" Kerykos, thus making him victorious over the Persians. Theodosios is said to have worked miracles (drove off locusts, created abundance during famine, healed the sick). Cyril of Skythopolis wrote a short Life of Theodosios; Symeon Metaphrastes reworked the legend.

Representation in Art. The saint is portrayed as an old, somewhat balding monk with a long two-pointed beard. There is a scene of his temptation in the Theodore Psalter (fol.78r).

SOURCES. H. Usener, *Der heilige Theodosios* (Leipzig 1890). Russ. tr. I.V. Pomjalovskij, "Žitie iže vo svjatych otca našego avvy Feodosija Kinoviarcha," *Palestinskij paterik* 8 (1895) 1–94; rev. I. Sokolov, *VizVrem* 3 (1896) 166.

LIT. *BHG* 1776–1778b. K. Krumbacher, "Studien zu den Legenden des hl. Theodosios," *SBAW* (1892) 220–379. C. Weigert, *LCI* 8:454. Mouriki, *Nea Moni* 165f.

–A.K., N.P.Š.

THEODOSIOS THE MONK, 9th-C. eyewitness to the capture of Syracuse by the Arabs in 878, who described this event in a letter addressed to the deacon Leo. The complete Greek MS of the letter is lost (S.G. Mercati, *ST* 68 [1935] 320–30), and the text was published on the basis of Paris, B.N. gr. 3032 that comprised only a section of the letter. Fortunately, the full Latin translation, by a certain Josaphat Azzale, is preserved in a 17th-C. MS. Although Theodosios was an eyewitness, his presentation is impersonal: he acts only as a member of the Syracusan clergy that suffered from the Arab siege. His description lacks concrete detail, except for an exaggerated account of the hunger in the besieged city (e.g., a modios of grain reportedly cost 150 gold coins). Theodosios is inclined to give lists of objects: e.g., when

describing the Arabs' murder of their captives, he specifies their use of stones, clubs, and spears. The hero of the story is a certain Patritius (*patrikios*) whose moral noblesse astonished even the Arab leader. The story differs drastically in style from the description by John KAMINIATES of the fall of Thessalonike. Theodosios also wrote iambs on the Arab capture of Syracuse (B. Lavagnini, *Diptycha* 1 [1979] 295–99).

ED. C.O. Zuretti, "La espugnazione di Siracusa nell' 880," in *Centenario della nascità di Michele Amari*, vol. 1 (Palermo 1910) 165–73.

LIT. B. Lavagnini, "Siracusa occupata dagli Arabi e l'epistola di Teodosio monaco," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 271–79. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:359f. Vasiliev, *Byz.Arabes* 2.1:71f, n.6.

–A.K.

THEODOSIOUPOLIS (Θεοδοσιούπολις, Arm. Karin, Ar. Qalīqalā, Turk. Erzurum), major strategic and commercial center on the main east-west highway between Anatolia and the East. Its original name of Karin (or more correctly *Karnoy k'alak'*) was derived from that of the district known to classical authors as Karenitis. It was renamed Theodosioupolis in honor of Theodosios II and returned to a variant of its original name under the Arabs.

Karin first formed a part of the domain of the Armenian Arsacids and was the residence of the last ruler of the western part of the realm after its partition between the late Roman Empire and Persia ca.387. Its real importance began with its fortification under Theodosios in 415 and esp. under Justinian I when it became the northern anchor of the eastern *limes* and the seat of the *magister militum* for Armenia. The strategic importance of the site was recognized throughout the Middle Ages. First taken by the Arabs in 653 and included in the Muslim fortified border zone, it was briefly recovered by Constantine V in 754 and part of its population moved to the Balkans. Recaptured by the Arabs, it remained Muslim, though occasionally recognizing Armenian overlordship, until its reconquest by Byz. in 949, when Greeks and Armenians were again settled there. Early in the 11th C., Basil II made it the residence of the *strategos* of the theme of IBERIA until its administrative center was shifted to ANI in 1045. The Seljuk sack of the neighboring commercial city of Artze in 1048/9 forced its population to retreat to the fortress of Theodosioupolis, which began to be called Arcn Rum (Arzān ar-Rūm). The city was ruled from 1201 by the Seljuks and after 1243 by the Mongols, under whom it appears to have prospered, but a new period of crises began in the 14th C. and continued until the incorporation of Erzurum into the Ottoman Empire.

LIT. N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* (Lisbon 1970) 98–100, 115–24. A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia* (Lisbon 1976) 22–24, 88–91, 115, 127–33. –N.G.G.

THEODOSIUS THE ELDER, father of Theodosios I; died Carthage ca.375. A native of Spain, he rose through a military career to become *comes rei militaris* and commander in Britain (368–69) and *magister equitum* (369–75) under Valentinian I. He was active in the north against the Alemanni and the Sarmatians and in 373 was sent to Africa against the usurper Firmus, whom he defeated. Theodosius became involved in some difficulty, however, and was executed on a charge of unclear nature. He was baptized a Christian just before his death.

LIT. *PLRE* 1:902–04. A. Demandt, "Die Feldzüge des älteren Theodosius," *Hermes* 100 (1972) 81–113. Idem, "Der Tod des älteren Theodosius," *Historia* 18 (1969) 598–626. N. Gasparini, "La morte di Teodosio padre," *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica* 1 (Milan 1972) 180–97. –T.E.G.

THEODOTOS I KASSITERAS (Κασσιτερᾶς, Κασσιτηρᾶς), patriarch of Constantinople (1 Apr. 815–ca.Jan. 821 [V. Grumel, *EO* 34 (1935) 506]). Born in Nakoleia to the distinguished Iconoclast family of MELISSENOS, Theodotos was related to the third wife of CONSTANTINE V. After the deposition of Patr. Nikephoros I, Leo V appointed him patriarch; at this time he was an elderly *spatharokandidatos* who is described as "meek" and "uneducated" (*Script. incert.* 395f). Theodotos presided over the local council of Constantinople of 815, which officially ushered in the second period of ICONOCLASM (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Theodotos is not mentioned in the sources after Leo's death in 820. A 9th-C. marginal PSALTER (Athos, Pantokrator 61, fol.16r) contains a miniature depicting Patr. Nikephoros trampling on Leo V and Theodotos (I. Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.XIII [1965], 39–60).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 408–11. P.J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford 1958) 136f, 141. –A.M.T.

THEODOTUS, *ktetor* of a private chapel in S. Maria Antiqua, Rome; fl. second half of the 8th C. Theodotus is described in a Latin inscription as administrator (*dispensator*) of the *diaconia* of the church and *primicerius* of the *defensores* (i.e., head of a college of curial lawyers). In the *Liber Pontificalis* (*Lib.pont.* 1:486) he is called "consul et dux." The decoration of the chapel is unique in that it shows its founder in three different ways: once in a donor portrait; once with his family; and in a votive image, adoring the chapel's titular saints, Kerykos and Ioulitta, martyrs of Ikonion (*BHG* 313y-318e). Belting read the latter image as reflecting the iconophile concerns of the community of Byz. and Eastern monks in Rome. The donor, his relatives, and Pope John VII are shown wearing square haloes. The wall paintings in the chapel include a Crucifixion closely akin to that in the RABBULA GOSPELS.

LIT. H. Belting, "Eine Privatkapelle im frühmittelalterlichen Rom," *DOP* 41 (1987) 55–69. Sansterre, *Moines grecs* 1:166, 168. –A.C.

THEOGNOSTOS (Θεόγνωστος), grammarian and author of the book *On Orthography,* dedicated to "the wise crown-bearer Leo" (first half of 9th C.). Since THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS mentions Theognostos as a contemporary of the events of 826/7, the emperor in question must be LEO V. Theognostos claims to be the emperor's servant (*oiketes*); K. Alpers (*infra* 63f) hypothesizes that he is identical with his homonym, a *protospatharios* sent by Michael I in 812 to Charlemagne; Theognostos's description of the revolt of a certain Euphemios in Sicily and the Arab assault on the island is lost. The book *On Orthography* contains more than 1,000 rules (*kanones*) of spelling, mainly based on Herodian of Alexandria (2nd C.). It treats primarily the classical vocabulary and proper names, although it includes such words as *Sarakenos* (p.67) or *Pascha* (p.78). K. Alpers (*Byzantion* 39 [1969] 5–12) suggested that Theognostos reworked Herodotus's story of Artaxerxes so as to flatter Leo V. *On Orthography* was a source for the *Etymologicum Genuinum.*

ED. J.A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, vol. 2 (Oxford 1835–37; rp. Amsterdam 1963) 1–165.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:19f. K. Alpers, *Theognostos, Peri Orthographias* (Hamburg 1964). A. Kambylis, "Theognostea," *Glotta* 49 (1971) 46–65. W. Bühler, "Eine Theognosthandschrift aus der Zeit um 1000 auf Patmos," *JÖB* 22 (1973) 49–91. –A.K.

THEOGNOSTOS, monk who was the staunchest supporter of Patr. IGNATIOS; fl. second half of the 9th C. The lemma to his *Libellus* gives him the curious title of "exarch of Constantinople," and an even stranger one, that of "archimandrite of ancient Rome." In 861 he wrote the *Libellus,* an epistle addressed to Pope NICHOLAS I in the name of Ignatios, in which he presented the elevation of Photios to the patriarchate from the viewpoint of the anti-Photian opposition; he emphasized the pope's PRIMACY and called Nicholas "the *proedros* and patriarch of all sees" and "the ecumenical pope." In secular garb he surreptitiously left for Rome where he remained until 868, urging the pope to support Ignatios. Soon after the dethronement of Photios, Theognostos returned to Constantinople and was rewarded by Ignatios with an appointment as archimandrite of the PEGE monastery and *skeuophylax* of Hagia Sophia. His further fate is unknown. Two more works "by Theognostos the monk" are ascribed to him: an *enkomion* of all saints and another one on the Dormition of the Virgin, in which the author strongly stressed Mary's perpetual sanctity, from conception through her Dormition.

ED. PG 105:849–61. M. Jugie, "Homélies mariales byzantines," PO 16 (1922) 457–62.

LIT. M. Jugie, "La vie et les oeuvres du moine Théognoste (IX^{e} siècle)," *Bessarione* 34 (1918) 162–74. –A.K.

THEOKTISTE OF LESBOS, saint; born Methymna, Lesbos, died Paros; feastday 9 Nov. The Life of Theoktiste (Θεοκτίστη), written by NIKETAS MAGISTROS ca.920, is modeled on that of MARY OF EGYPT but incorporates crucial changes to suit 10th-C. taste: instead of being a "wild" harlot (like Mary), Theoktiste is said to have been an 18-year-old nun when captured by the Arabs. She escaped on the island of Paros, where she lived 35 years in solitude until a hunter discovered her and learned her story. After Theoktiste died, he buried her corpse but cut off her hand as a relic. Miraculously, winds obstructed his departure so that he had to return his relic, and thereafter the corpse disappeared. The legend, retold to the author by a hermit called Symeon, is placed in a setting that depicts the real political situation

of the early 10th C. (e.g., an embassy to the Cretan Arabs in which Niketas participated) and thus strikingly contrasts with the miraculous contents of the Life itself. Niketas's Life was slightly reworked by SYMEON METAPHRASTES, who placed Theoktiste's celebration on 10 Nov.

Representation in Art. The association of Theoktiste with St. Mary of Egypt determined her iconographical type: a thin woman with white hair, who is barefoot and wears a ragged cloak that covers barely half her body. In two MSS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, she is shown sitting inside an initial, being blessed by Christ; there are *stelai*, pagan statues, above the initial.

SOURCE. *AASS* Nov. 4:224–33.

LIT. *BHG* 1723–1726b. H. Delehaye, "La Vie de sainte Théoctiste de Lesbos," *Byzantion* 1 (1924) 191–200. L.G. Westerink, *Nicétas Magistros, Lettres d'un exilé* (Paris 1973) 41–46. O. Karsay, "Der Jäger von Euböa," *ActaAntHung* 23 (1975) 9–14. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *BZ* 78 (1985) 49f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

THEOKTISTOS (Θεόκτιστος), regent for Michael III and adviser to Empress THEODORA; died Constantinople 20 Nov. 855 (F. Halkin, *Byzantion* 24 [1954] 11–14). A eunuch (*TheophCont* 148.11) and perhaps a member of the imperial guard under Leo V, Theoktistos was instrumental in helping Michael II assassinate Leo and seize the throne. Michael appointed him *patrikios* and *chartoularios tou kanikleiou*. Theophilos made him *magistros* and *logothetes tou dromou*, and before his death designated Theoktistos to serve in the regency for the infant Michael III. Under Theodora he capably exercised great influence. Most notably, Byz. sources credit him with the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY over Iconoclasm in 843. He was directly involved in the elections of Patr. METHODIOS and Patr. IGNATIOS.

By continuing the sound fiscal policies of Theophilos—in 856 Theodora showed Michael 190 kentenaria of gold and 300 kentenaria of silver in the treasury—Theoktistos could build up the navy and campaign against the Arabs. In 843 he led a naval expedition that briefly restored Byz. rule on Crete (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 112), but in 844 he was defeated by an Arab army at Mauropotamon in Cappadocia. He made peace with the caliphate in 845 and exchanged prisoners, but hostilities broke out again in 851. In 853 a Byz. fleet sacked the Arab fortress of Damietta in Egypt (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:212–18). Under his influence the PAULICIANS were persecuted; many were resettled in Thrace. Theoktistos helped revive secular learning by promoting the careers of LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN and CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER. In 855 Caesar BARDAS persuaded Michael to dethrone Theodora, and Theoktistos was arrested and killed.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.IX (1970), 348–50. I.I. Malyševskij, "Logofet Feoktist, pokrovitel' Konstantina Filosofa," *Trudy Kievskoj duchovnoj akademii* 28.2 (1887) 265–97. –P.A.H.

THEOKTISTOS THE STOUDITE, 14th-C. monk, hagiographer, and hymnographer. He is known only from his writings, which were almost entirely devoted to perpetuating the memory of Patr. ATHANASIOS I of Constantinople. In the 1320s and 1330s he composed a Life of Athanasios, an *enkomion*, an oration on the translation of his relics, and a number of *kanones*. The collected writings of Theoktistos were an important factor in the recognition of Athanasios's sanctity in the mid-14th C.

His epithet indicates his association with the STOUDIOS monastery, but he must also have resided for a time in Athanasios's monastery on Xerolophos in Constantinople. Theoktistos was a supporter of Gregory PALAMAS, in whose honor he wrote a quatrain.

ED. *Vita Athanasii*—ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *ZapIstFilFakSPetUniv* 76 (1905) 1–51. Oration—ed. A.-M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* (Brookline, Mass., 1983).

LIT. *PLP*, no.7498. V. Grolimund, "Theoktistos Studites, ein wenig bekannter byzantinischer Hymnograph und theologischer Gelegenheitsschriftsteller des 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift für Fairy von Lilienfeld zum 65. Geburtstag* (Erlangen 1982) 479–510. –A.M.T.

THEOLEPTOS (Θεόληπτος), metropolitan of Philadelphia (1283/4–1322); born Nicaea ca.1250, died 1322. After a brief marriage, Theoleptos left his wife by 1275 and became a monk. On Mt. Athos he was introduced to the mystical life; Gregory PALAMAS called him a forerunner of HESYCHASM. He was imprisoned in Constantinople by Michael VIII for his opposition to the Union of LYONS, but after the accession of Andronikos II was given the see of Philadelphia. He held the

position of metropolitan for about 40 years, and led the heroic defense of the city against Turkish attack in 1310. Theoleptos was an ardent opponent of the ARSENITES and refused to accept the reconciliation of the church with the Arsenites in 1310; he remained in schism until ca.1319 (V. Laurent, *REB* 18 [1960] 45–54).

Theoleptos had close ties with the Choumnos family; he served as spiritual director to Irene CHOUMNAINA and was counselor to the double monastery of Philanthropos Soter, which she restored in Constantinople. Irene's father, Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, wrote a eulogy of Theoleptos at his death (ed. Boissonade, *AnecGr* 5:183–239). The writings of Theoleptos, still largely unpublished, include religious poetry, treatises on monastic life, anti-Union and anti-Arsenite tracts, and letters to Irene Choumnaina.

ED. R.E. Sinkewicz, "A Critical Edition of the Anti-Arsenite Discourses of Theoleptos of Philadelphia," *MedSt* 50 (1988) 46–95, with Eng. tr. S. Salaville, "Une lettre et un discours inédits de Théolepte de Philadelphie," *REB* 5 (1947) 101–15. A.C. Hero, "The Unpublished Letters of Theoleptos Metropolitan of Philadelphia (1283–1322)," *Journal of Modern Hellenism* 3 (1986) 1–31; 4 (1987) 1–17. For list of further ed., see Beck, *Kirche* 694.

LIT. D.J. Constantelos, "Mysticism and Social Involvement in the Later Byzantine Church: Theoleptos of Philadelphia—A Case Study," *BS/EB* 6 (1979) 83–94. *PLP*, no.7509. –A.M.T.

THEOLOGY (*θεολογία*, lit. "speech about God"). This entry is divided into three sections that treat, in turn, the Byz. definition of theology, that branch of theology called "negative" or "apophatic," and the historical development of Byz. theology.

BYZANTINE DEFINITION OF THEOLOGY. Originally, the term "theology" referred to stories about God handed down in the mythic cult. In the Aristotelian and middle-Platonist traditions, it signified the science of the highest principles or demiurge. Both of these ideas flourished in the threefold division of Stoic philosophy: mythical and political theology on the one hand, and a "natural," or philosophical, theology on the other (EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, *Praeparatio evangelica* 4.1.1–4). But in ORIGEN (*In Ioannem* 1.23 [24], ed. E. Preuschen [Leipzig 1903] 30.14), "theology" is brought into Christian usage as the doctrine of the true God and his Messiah that is inaccessible to created minds (man, angel, demon) except at the end of time. The apologetic force of the term is often evident and appears when the verb *theologein* is contrasted to *mythologein* (Athanasios of Alexandria, PG 25:40C).

Characteristic of 4th-C. literature is the treatment of the incarnation of the Logos and the sending of the Spirit under "economy" (OIKONOMIA), as distinguished from *theologia*. In the mind of Athanasios, "theology" refers to the immanent TRINITY (PG 26:49A), that is, its object of study is the one essence of God, which transcends human understanding, and the relationship of Father, Son (Logos), and Holy Spirit as three HYPOSTASES of the (numerically) one divine substance. In this respect, theology refers more specifically to human thought and speech about the (immanent, and not economic) Trinity, and signifies the highest form of mystical knowledge of God.

In its narrowest sense, theology is "pure prayer," beyond all multiplicity, and therefore devoid of image, thought, or conception. It may be conceived as purely intellective activity (EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, Thalassios [ca.650], MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR); or it may be interpreted as the experience of spiritual perception of the vision of light (DIADOCHOS of Photike, SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, Niketas STETHATOS). This concept of theology became dominant in Byz. *Oikonomia*, on the other hand, deals with the relationship of themes pertaining to Christology and SOTERIOLOGY, and so, in contrast to Western tradition, does not belong to theology in the technical sense: "Things that are said with respect to the *oikonomia* are not necessarily to be joined to things that are said with respect to theology" (THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Eranistes* II, ed. G.H. Ettlinger, 40.20–21).

In pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, all theological activity is carried out with reference to authority, that is, to Scripture or *logia*, as in PROKLOS, and to spiritual and ecclesiastical hierarchies. A technical terminology distinguishes between affirmative (cataphatic) and negative (apophatic) theology (see below). Cataphatic theology offers affirmative statements about God at first in symbolic, and then in conceptual languages in the manner of the philosophic and apodictic tradition of the theologians. Affirmative theology, however, must be dialectically complemented by negative theology. Yet one should not equate apophatic theology with the hidden, mystical tradition that transcends all dialectic, and therefore speech, in the One. Although affirmative theology and the

authority of the hierarchy dominate the thought of pseudo-Dionysios, the mystical aspect nonetheless remains the ultimate and irreducible element of theology, "For the ineffable has intertwined itself with speech" (PG 3:1105CD).

Since the Dionysian Corpus influenced Byz. only indirectly, through the interpretation given to it by JOHN SCHOLASTIKOS and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, the history of its reception in Byz. does not affect our perspective. Byz. retained its emphasis on the negative and mystical aspect; yet, in spite of the influence of the passage in *Divine Names* 2.7 (PG 3:645AB), it continued to focus on the immediacy of the vision (*theoria*) or knowledge of God, as opposed to the mediation of the knowledge of God through the hierarchies and analogies (*analogia entis*). This remained true even into late Byz. history, for example, in men such as John KYPARISSIOTES (PG 152:762A–769B; 772C–776C), BARLAAM of Calabria (Podskalsky, *Theologie* 129–32, 138), their opponent Gregory PALAMAS (*Syngrammata* 1:265.21–277.28), and Prochoros KYDONES, in his treatise on affirmative and negative theology (Vat. gr. 678, fols. 31–64). What we today would call "theology" (which is contrasted primarily to philosophical concepts that do not derive from revelation), is understood under the formulas "according to us" (*kath' hemas*) or "the inner philosophy" (*eso philosophia*), in contrast to "outer (*exothen*) philosophy" or "the wisdom of the world" (*kosmike sophia*—cf. 1 Cor 1:20, 3:19). As a result, although the verb *philosophein* embraces a wider range of meaning, in this connection it became a catchword of the monastic life. A slogan coined by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS to oppose the second generation Arians, EUNOMIOS and AETIOS, "To be like a fisherman, not like Aristotle" (cf., e.g., PG 35:1164CD), and that became a part of the store of Byz. tradition (A. Grillmeier, *Mit ihm und in ihm* [Freiburg-Basel-Vienna 1975] 283–300; Podskalsky, *Theologie* 24f), was also applied in this connection to keep "specifically Christian doctrine," that is, the unique tradition, separate from any theology consisting of rational or dialectical argumentation.

In Gregory Palamas and in the reaction to SCHOLASTICISM (H.-G. Beck, *Divus Thomas* 13 [1935] 3–22; Podskalsky, *Theologie* 180–230), the concept of theology is placed in opposition to rational, scientific disputation, challenging and surpassing it: "For theology transcends philosophy by virtue of its incomparable subject (*logos*); but it itself is subject to nothing" (Joseph BRYENNIOS, ed. Vulgaris, 1:93).

LIT. J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York 1974). Idem, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological and Social Problems* (London 1974), cf. A. Wenger, *REB* 13 (1955) 167–73. D. Stiernon, "Bulletin sur le Palamisme," *REB* 30 (1972) 255–61. G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* (Munich 1977). A. Catoire, "Philosophie byzantine et philosophe scolastique," *EO* 12 (1909) 193–201. Idem, "Philosophie et théologie ou épisodes scolastiques à Byzance de 1059 à 1197," *EO* 29 (1930) 132–56. E. von Ivánko, *Plato christianus* (Einsiedeln 1964) 389–91, 401–04, 461–82. F. Kattenbusch, *Die Entstehung einer christlichen Theologie: Zur Geschichte der Ausdrücke theologia, theologein, theologos*[2] (Darmstadt 1962). –K.-H.U.

APOPHATIC THEOLOGY (from ἀπόφασις, "denial"). Also called negative theology, apophatic theology is a branch or rather methodology of Orthodox theological thought concerned with the problems that now might be termed the theory of knowledge of the Godhead. This approach was developed in NEOPLATONISM; Neoplatonists, however, employed the term *aphairesis* more often than *apophasis*. For them the Supreme principle, the One, appeared bereft of all attributes. The CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS also emphasized the unknowability of God but with a substantial reservation: they rejected every concept that our minds could form about God as being inadequate, but they accepted revelation about God in Scripture. Pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE elaborated further the apophatic approach (while using the Neoplatonic term *aphairesis* as well): although an adequate knowledge of God is impossible, we can approach him with the assistance of SYMBOLISM and ideas. Since the cosmos is a reflection of the divine and possesses the same dialectic structure, our intellect can produce symbols and figures resembling the unknowable; pseudo-Dionysios calls this process *anagoge*, "leading up." In his view, "the *apophaseis* are the genuine way of dealing with the divine whereas affirmations (*kataphaseis*) are inadequate, since the enigmatic nature of the ineffable is more proper for the invisible world than fantastic explanations based on dissimilar objects" (PG 3:141C). Thus RIDDLE and obscurity became vehicles of *anagoge*.

LIT. V. Lossky, "La théologie négative dans la doctrine de Denys l'Aréopagite," *Revue de sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 28 (1939) 204–21. H.J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik*[2] (Amsterdam 1967) 343–46. Armstrong, *Philosophy* 434f. –A.K.

HISTORY OF BYZANTINE THEOLOGY. The development of Byz. theology reflects the political history of Byz. and its unique cultural environment.

Byz. (or late Roman) theology begins in the 4th C. after the First Council of Nicaea (325) when the church was embroiled in controversies over the doctrine of the TRINITY. These disputes were finally settled when the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS proposed a notion of HYPOSTASIS that proved acceptable to the majority. In the 5th C., theology centered on the reality of Christ's human nature and its union with the Logos. Controversy over this issue led to the Council of EPHESUS (431) and the separation of the NESTORIANS, Christian communities located predominantly beyond the eastern borders of the empire. The Christological controversy continued, leading to the Council of CHALCEDON (451), which set forth a definition of faith that was rejected by Egyptian and Syrian MONOPHYSITES, whose radical adherence to CYRIL of Alexandria would not allow them to go beyond Cyrillian formulas.

A position mediating between Nestorianism and Monophysitism, today called NEO-CHALCEDONISM, was reached in the time of Justinian I. Oriented toward the Christology of Cyril, neo-Chalcedonism was directed against a strict Chalcedonism that was prevalent esp. in the Latin West, and that followed the so-called *Tome* of Pope LEO I THE GREAT (440–461) in emphasizing the two natures of Christ more than the hypostatic union. Neo-Chalcedonism, which became dogma at the Third Council of Constantinople in 553 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), presented Justinian's religious policy with a compromise formula that would appear acceptable to the Monophysites of Egypt and the eastern provinces, and unite them with the imperial church.

Under Emp. Herakleios church unifications did take place in Armenia (626) and in Egypt (633). These rapprochements were established on the basis of a doctrine inspired by neo-Chalcedonism: MONOENERGISM. Monoenergism emphasized Christ's personal unity by teaching the unity of his energies (or wills—MONOTHELETISM). One of the reasons they did not succeed was the Arab invasions. The imperial church, at the Council of Constantinople IV (680/1), however, chose union with Rome and Western Christianity, and at that council received as dogma the teaching of dyotheletism (the concept of two wills in Christ), represented by MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, and rejected the idea of a singular, personal/hypostatic will in Christ.

In the second half of the 7th C., even though Origenism had been condemned in 543 under Justinian I, a union was effected, through the synthesis of Maximos the Confessor, between the mysticism of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, which sought a direct knowledge of God, and the theology of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, in which knowledge of God is mediated through the authority of hierarchies. The result was a monastic spirituality that sought direct knowledge of God through the mediating symbols of the church.

At the time of the controversy over ICONOCLASM (726–843), both Iconoclasts and Iconodules were able to advocate their own practices, Christological arguments, and ecumenical councils (at HIERIA and the Second Council of NICAEA). The beginning of the controversy appears to have been a dispute over images that arose in a former territory of the empire that had been conquered by the Muslims; and indeed, the most significant theologian of this period, JOHN OF DAMASCUS, lived and worked his whole life under the rule of a Muslim caliph.

The period from ca.850 to ca.1050 witnessed both increasing alienation between East and West, and the process, which began with PHOTIOS and ended with MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, that led to the so-called SCHISM of the mid-11th C. The beginning of the schism is usually dated 16 July 1054 when Cardinal HUMBERT of Silva Candida laid a bull of excommunication on the altar of Hagia Sophia. This event was not viewed by Byz. historians and contemporaries with the significance it has acquired today. Photios had already challenged the Roman view of papal PRIMACY; but until the revival of this argument under Keroularios, it had remained secondary to the FILIOQUE. In the mission of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS to the Slavs in the 9th C., differences of rites and discipline (e.g., the use of unleavened bread [AZYMES], CELIBACY, and Saturday fasts) were the most prominent controversial issues that contributed to the schism.

Yet in the 9th–11th C., polemical literature, whether directed against the Westerners, or Muslims (see ISLAM, POLEMIC AGAINST), or the PAULICIANS and the BOGOMILS, constitutes but a fraction

of the theological output. The period represents the highpoint of homiletic and hagiographic literature. It had in ARETHAS OF CAESAREA a philologically inclined exegete, and produced in SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN an outstanding mystic.

In the 11th C. Byz. turned in increasing measure to the study of the ancients. The theological literature shows a marked interest in the philosophy of PLATO, and there was a revival of ARISTOTLE in the recourse to a kind of dialectical argumentation.

The theological activity in the period of the Komnenoi and Angeloi is distinguished by the revival of the tradition of compiling FLORILEGIA that bring together arguments from tradition to form an arsenal (*panoplia*) for fighting every kind of HERESY. The treatise of Neilos DOXOPATRES, *On God's Oikonomia*, is comparable to this, although its structure is that of an independent, systematic work. One emperor, Manuel I, took special delight in theological controversies such as the questions of whether the Son is greater than the Father (Jn 14:28), and whether the Son offers and receives the eucharistic offering, disputed by Soterichos PANTEUGENOS. He opposed the Islamic claim that its God is the one true God, and he defended the compatibility of ASTROLOGY with Christian belief. His theological adviser, NICHOLAS OF METHONE, wrote against a revival of PROKLOS that was going on in Byz. at that time.

The capture of Constantinople in 1204, and the installation of a Latin hierarchy to which the Greeks were subjected, gave occasion for the revival of anti-Latin polemic, with the notable exception of the most cultured theologian of the empire of Nicaea, Nikephoros BLEMMYDES. The period of Latin domination in Constantinople raised barriers between East and West that would frustrate all future attempts at UNION OF THE CHURCHES.

The 14th C. was dominated by the controversy over PALAMISM. Through the activity of GREGORY SINAITES on Mt. Athos, the MYSTICISM and method of prayer made popular by Symeon the Theologian became the possession of Athonite spirituality. Gregory PALAMAS sought to defend this mystical movement—known as HESYCHASM—against the attacks of BARLAAM OF CALABRIA by providing it with a speculative basis that, in his view, was grounded in the tradition of the church fathers. His doctrine of the uncreated ENERGIES of God, distinguished from God's essence, together with the theological method he put forth, provoked a controversy that was made particularly intense by Demetrios KYDONES' preparation of a translation of the works of Thomas AQUINAS. Nonetheless, the Palamite doctrine of God's uncreated energies did not set the hesychastic practices of Palamites and anti-Palamites at variance with each other.

In view of the Ottoman successes, there occurred in Byz. in the 15th C. an ethical and theological renewal that found expression in, for example, the apology of MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS directed against Islam. The most significant theologians of the time, both those writing for the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE, such as ISIDORE OF KIEV and BESSARION, and those writing against it, such as Mark EUGENIKOS and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, envisioned a world-wide culture embracing all men. Their successors and those of PLETHON worked together with the Platonic Academy of Florence at the beginning of the Renaissance in the West.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 279–368. H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich* (Göttingen 1980). J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford 1986). J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York 1974). J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, vols. 1–3 (Chicago 1971–79). G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* (Munich 1977). –K.-H.U.

THEON OF ALEXANDRIA, mathematician, astronomer, and teacher; father of HYPATIA; fl. ca.360–80. According to the SOUDA, Theon (Θέων) was a member of the MOUSEION at Alexandria; if so, he would be the latest to be recorded. His approximate chronology is known from his references to two eclipses in 364 and to other dates ranging from 360 to 377.

Theon is best known as a commentator on the two major astronomical works of PTOLEMY. Of that on the *Almagest* books 1–4, part of book 5 (J. Mogenet, A. Tihon, *AntCl* 56 [1987] 201–18), books 6–10 and 12–13 are extant; some of this commentary, which is a revision of his lectures, is based on that by PAPPOS. Of the five books of the *Great Commentary* on the *Handy Tables* there survive books 1–3 and the beginning of book 4 (A. Tihon, *AntCl* 50 [1981] 526–34). The *Little Commentary* on the *Handy Tables* (in one book) survives intact. The *Handy Tables* accompanied by the *Little Commentary* was apparently available to Severos Sebokht in Syria in the 7th C. (D. Pingree, *JAOS* 93 [1973] 34) and was translated into Arabic in the early 9th C. (F.I. Haddad, E.S. Kennedy, D. Pingree, *The Book of the Reasons behind Astronomical Tables* [Delmar, N.Y. 1981] 203–06). Severus Sebokht most probably based his treatise on the ASTROLABE on a lost work of Theon (O. Neugebauer, *Isis* 40 [1949] 242–46).

In MATHEMATICS Theon's effort consisted in revising the *Elements* and *Data* of EUCLID and in reworking his *Optics* to make them more accessible to his students. He may also be the author of the pseudo-Euclidean *Catoptrics* or *Mirrors*. His version of Euclid was that most familiar to the Byz., e.g., the MS of Euclid copied for ARETHAS in 888 was the revision of Theon.

ED. *Le "Petit Commentaire" de Théon d'Alexandrie aux Tables Faciles de Ptolémée*, ed. A. Tihon (Vatican 1978), with Fr. tr. *Le "Grand Commentaire" de Théon d'Alexandrie aux Tables Faciles de Ptolémée*, vol. 1, ed. J. Mogenet, A. Tihon (Vatican 1985), with Fr. tr. *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste*, ed. A. Rome, 3 vols. (Vatican 1931–43). *Euclidis Opera Omnia*, ed. J.L. Heiberg et al., 5.1 (Leipzig 1888; rp. 1977) xxxix–lviii; 6 (Leipzig 1896) xxxii–xlix; 7 (Leipzig 1895) xlix–l.

LIT. G.J. Toomer, *DSB* 13:321–25. Wilson, *Scholars* 42, 83, 86, 121, 262. –D.P.

THEOPASCHITISM (from θεοπασχίτης, "[one who believes that] God suffered"), a variant of MONOPHYSITISM that held that "one of the Holy Trinity suffered in the flesh." First propounded in Constantinople in 519 by four Scythian monks, the doctrine was seen by some, including Justinian I, as a solution to the division between Monophysites and Chalcedonians. Although Theopaschite doctrine was vigorously opposed in Constantinople by the AKOIMETOI, it was officially propounded by a law of 533 (*Cod. Just.* I 1.6). This concession, however, failed to win the allegiance of the Monophysites and the issue was allowed to lapse.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 2:375–77. E. Amann, *DTC* 15 (1946) 505–12. W. Ebert, "Die theopaschitische Formel," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 75 (1950) 195–206. –T.E.G.

THEOPHANES (Θεοφάνης) favorite and adviser of ROMANOS I; *patrikios*, *protovestiarios*, and later *parakoimomenos*; died after 947. Theophanes came to the fore in October 925, when he replaced John Mystikos as the emperor's chief adviser; he played a decisive role in negotiations with PETER OF BULGARIA in 927 and with the Hungarians (see HUNGARY) in 934 by arranging terms of truce satisfactory to both sides. In 941 he commanded the Byz. fleet in actions against IGOR. The vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER describes the victory over the Rus', but instead of Theophanes names other generals: the *patrikios* (Bardas) Phokas, Pantherios, Theodore Spongarios. H. Grégoire suggested that the last, who is mentioned in no other sources, was substituted for Theophanes in the vita; he also hypothesized that Theodore Spongarios was a personification of St. THEODORE STRATELATES. In 944 Theophanes was sent to receive the MANDYLION of Edessa. After Romanos's deposition, Theophanes and Patr. THEOPHYLAKTOS devised a plot to reinstate the deposed emperor, but the scheme was discovered and Theophanes banished.

LIT. E. v. Dobschütz, "Der Kammerherr Theophanes," *BZ* 10 (1901) 170–72. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:219f. H. Grégoire, P. Orgels, "La guerre russo-byzantine de 941," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 155f, with criticism by Angelide, *Bios tou Basileiou* 146–64. Zacos, *Seals* 2:472f, no.1084. –A.K.

THEOPHANES, a painter or patron of ca.1100, shown as a monk presenting his Gospel book (now Melbourne, Nat. Gall. 710/5) to the Virgin. Above this frontispiece image (fol.1v) are verses in which Theophanes claims to have written and illuminated the MS; the rarity of this claim—its only parallel is in the THEODORE PSALTER—has led it to be questioned by R.S. Nelson (*J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 [1987] 63f). Buchthal (*infra*) suggested that Theophanes may have been a monk in the HODEGON MONASTERY. Theophanes' book has canon tables, with human *atlantes* representing the MONTHS and virtues, and elaborate calligraphic headpieces.

LIT. H. Buchthal, "An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book of about 1100 A.D.," *Special Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria* (Melbourne 1961). Spatharakis, *Portrait* 76–78. –A.C.

THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, or *Scriptores post Theophanem*, conventional title of a collection of chronicles preserved in a single 11th-C. MS, Vat. gr. 167. The collection encompasses 813–961 and consists of four independent sections. The anonymous author of the first part (813–67) considered himself as the continuator of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR; he differed, however, from his predecessor in the composition of his

work, which is not annalistic, but a series of imperial biographies. Commissioned by CONSTANTINE VII, the chronicle expressed the political views of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY, praised generals, and criticized merchants (p.88f). The anonymous author sometimes attempted to clarify the earthly causes of great events, e.g., the Arab invasion of Crete (p.74.5–6). He probably used the same sources as GENESIOS. The second part is a biography of Basil I (VITA BASILII), the third (886–948) is very close to SYMEON LOGOTHETE. The final section was apparently written before 963, probably by Theodore DAPHNOPATES, and reveals an aristocratic bias: e.g., the author censures the agrarian policy of ROMANOS I and contrasts it with the generosity of Constantine VII, his favorite hero (p.443.13–18). He writes with great sympathy about the Phokas family, John Kourkouas and the Argyroi; he does not yet know about the conflict between the Phokades and Joseph BRINGAS, however, and is quite favorable toward the latter.

ED. *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1838), corr. K. Kumaniecki, *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 235–37.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:339–43. A. Kazhdan, "Iz istorii vizantijskoj chronografii X v. 1," *VizVrem* 19 (1961) 76–96. H. Nickles, "The Continuatio Theophanis," *TAPA* 68 (1937) 221–27. Jenkins, *Studies*, pt. IV (1954), 11–30. –A.K.

THEOPHANES GRAPTOS (Γραπτός, lit. "marked with writing"), saint; brother of THEODORE GRAPTOS; born in the Moabite mountains ca.778, died in Constantinople ? 11 Oct. 845. A defender of icon veneration, Theophanes accompanied his brother on a trip to Constantinople in 813 just as the second period of ICONOCLASM began; like Theodore he endured exile and the punishment of having insulting verses tattooed on his forehead. After the end of Iconoclasm, Theophanes was elected archbishop of Nicaea. He was an active hymnographer, and a great number of *idiomela* and *kanones* are ascribed to him, including some in dialogue form (a unique feature) and an acrostic *kanon* on ROMANOS THE MELODE (S. Pétridès, *BZ* 11 [1902] 363–69). S. Vailhé (*ROC* 6 [1901] 641) characterizes him as a poet more personal and human than JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER.

Representation in Art. Theophanes looks just like his brother Theodore, except that he wears the turban of a Palestinian melode. In a pendentive at CHORA he is shown writing his hymns in the pose of an evangelist in the company of other hymnographers. In the illustrated MS of John SKYLITZES in Madrid, he is shown clad as a bishop, confronting the emperor Theophilos and his court (fol.51r).

SOURCES. See THEODORE GRAPTOS.

LIT. S. Eustratiades, "Theophanes ho Graptos," *Nea Sion* 31 (1936) 339–44, 403–16, 467–78, 525–40, 666–73; 32 (1937) 81–96, 187–95, 252–59, 401–08, 569–79; 33 (1938) 317–22, 516–23, 618–23. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 8:461. –A.K., D.E.C., N.P.Š.

THEOPHANES KERAMEUS. See THEOPHANES OF SICILY.

THEOPHANES OF BYZANTIUM, historian; fl. 2nd half of 6th C. His *Historika* is an account in ten books of the period 566–81, with an introduction going back to 562. Known only from PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.64), its main theme was the diplomatic and military history of Byz. and its eastern neighbors, the Persians, Armenians, and other peoples of the Caucasus. Some of its information is rare and precious, for instance on the Turks who were called "Kermichiones" by the Persians (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:158f) and on Tblisi as the capital of the IBERIANS; Theophanes clearly took pains over his ethnography and geography. He also recounts the smuggling into Byz. of silkworm eggs from CHINA, an episode made famous by PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA (R. Hennig, *BZ* 33 [1933] 295–312); the two versions do not tally in all points. The works of Theophanes and MENANDER PROTECTOR overlap in period and subject matter; who used whom cannot be determined.

ED. *FHG* 4:270f. Dindorf, *HistGr* 1:446–49.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:309. –B.B.

THEOPHANES OF MEDEIA. See AGALLIANOS, THEODORE.

THEOPHANES OF SICILY, 9th-C. hymnographer. His biography is unknown. S. Pétridès surmised that he lived in Syracuse before 878 (*EO* 4 [1900-1901] 285). Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*infra* 371) made him a pupil of JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER, the author of Joseph's vita and a correspondent of PHOTIOS; however, the identification proves to be not valid, and the letter in question, although it used to be published among the works of Photios (PG 102:924D–925D), was apparently written by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS in 824. Theophanes wrote several *kanones* dedicated to Sicilian saints: Beryllos of Catania, Theoktistos *hegoumenos* of Cucumo, Agatha of Palermo, Pankratios of Taormina, Markianos of Syracuse, and perhaps Agrippina, martyred in Rome and buried in Sicily. Some of them allude to the war against the Arabs in Sicily. The relationship between Theophanes and "Theophanes Kerameus," author of a homily on Pankratios of Taormina (*BHG* 1412), needs to be clarified, since the MS tradition of the homily is confusing (G. Rossi Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami* [Palermo 1965] vii-xvi).

ED. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Theophanes Sikelos," *BZ* 9 (1900) 370-78.

LIT. M. Théarvic, "A propos de Théophane le Sicilien;" *EO* 7 (1904) 31-34, 164-71. –A.K.

THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, historian and saint; born Constantinople ca.760, died Samothrace 12 Mar. 817 (C. Van de Vorst, *AB* 31 [1912] 155) or 818 (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:336). Son of a *strategos* of the Aegean Sea, Theophanes became *strator* at the court of Leo IV and married Megalo, daughter of a *patrikios* and the emperor's friend. After a short conjugal life, Theophanes and Megalo took the monastic habit; Theophanes founded the monastery of Megas Agros on the mountain of Sigriane (the southern shore of the Propontis) and lived there. During the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY Theophanes supported Patr. Tarasios in his policy of compromise, in contrast to THEODORE OF STOUDIOS (J. Pargoire, *VizVrem* 9 [1902] 62–66). However, their common fate under Leo V (Theophanes was summoned to Constantinople and exiled to Samothrace after his refusal to join the Iconoclasts) led to their reconciliation; Theodore even wrote an *enkomion* after the death of Theophanes (ed. C. Van de Vorst, *AB* 31 [1912] 19–23).

The *Chronographia* of Theophanes covers the years 285–813 and forms a continuation of GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS. C. Mango's hypothesis (*ZRVI* 18 [1978] 9–17) that Theophanes served only as editor of the *Chronographia* written by George is questionable. The problem of the sources of Theophanes is very complicated. L. Whitby (*BMGS* 8 [1982/83] 1–20) suggests that the lost Great Chronographer was the major source of both Theophanes and Patr. NIKEPHOROS I; on the contrary, Ja. Ljubarskij (*VizVrem* 45 [1984] 72–86) thinks that Theophanes used 5th- to 7th-C. historians (Prokopios, Malalas, Theophylaktos Simokattes, etc.) in the original, often quoting them from memory. K. Uspenskij (*VizVrem* 3 [1950] 393–438; 4 [1951] 211–62) emphasizes that Theophanes had at his disposal pro-Iconoclast sources that he sometimes employed uncritically. N. Pigulevskaja (*JÖB* 16 [1967] 55–60) assumes that Theophanes used Syriac chronicles. All these assertions are difficult to prove. Theophanes was freer in his use of sources than Synkellos, an antiquarian who clung to the original; Theophanes reworked the available material, adapting it to his purposes (I. Čičurov, *VizVrem* 37 [1976] 62–73; *ADSV* 10 [1973] 203–06) and rarely indicating the provenance of his material. Theophanes, like JOHN OF DAMASCUS, consistently presents his account not as his personal opinions, but as objective truth; unlike Synkellos, he considered himself as a humble narrator (I. Čičurov, *Antičnost' i Vizantija* [Moscow 1975] 203–17). More than Synkellos he believed that the flow of time by itself determines the logic of historical development and presented his material in a strictly chronological order, rather than organizing it in thematic groupings. His is a rare case of Byz. annals that did not find a proper continuation.

As a steadfast iconodule, Theophanes was critical of the imperial power and subsequent to the idealized Constantine I found scarcely a single ruler worthy of praise; Marcian forms an exception. He was esp. hostile to the Orthodox emperor Nikephoros I, as well as to the Iconoclasts. The earliest MS (Oxford, Bodl., Wake 5) is of the late 9th C. (N. Wilson, *DOP* 26 [1972] 358). ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS translated Theophanes into Latin. Several vitae of Theophanes are known, including one attributed to Patr. METHODIOS.

ED. *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1883–85, rp. Hildesheim 1963). Eng. tr. H. Turtledove (Philadelphia, Pa., 1982).

SOURCE. V. Latyšev, *Mefodija patriarcha Konstantinopol'skogo Žitie prep. Feofana Ispovednika* (Petrograd 1918).

LIT. I. Čičurov, *Vizantijskie istoričeskie sočinenija* (Moscow 1980) 17–144. Idem, "Mesto 'Chronografii' Feofana v rannevizantijskoj istoriografičeskoj tradicii," in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR* (Moscow 1981) 5–146. A.S. Proudfoot, "The Sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian Dynasty," *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 367–439. *BHG* 1787z-1792e. –A.K.

THEOPHANES "THE GREEK," painter of frescoes, icons, and books; active in Russia from 1378 at the latest, until at least 1405. His only surviving wall-painting is in the Church of the Transfiguration at NOVGOROD where, according to the *ktetor*'s inscription (preserved in the Third Novgorod Chronicle, *sub anno* 6886 = 1378), he worked with a team of indigenous craftsmen. This highly individualized decoration consists of fragments of biblical scenes alternating with friezes of saints. A letter of ca.1415 from the hagiographer EPIFANIJ PREMUDRYJ describes Theophanes' work elsewhere and is the fullest and most personal account we have of any Byz. artist. Epifanij relates that Theophanes painted more than 40 stone churches in Constantinople, Chalcedon, Galata, Kaffa, Novgorod, and Nižnij Novgorod. In Moscow, Theophanes is said to have decorated three churches, painting the TREE OF JESSE and the APOCALYPSE in the Annunciation Church in the Kremlin and "a city with all its particulars" in that of the Archangel Michael. Theophanes' secular frescoes included a view of Moscow in the palace of Vladimir, prince of Serpuchov (1353–1410), and an unidentified picture in that of Basil I of Moscow (1389–1425). Epifanij reports that Theophanes painted a view of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, and the statue of Justinian I in the AUGUSTAION in a book that served as a model to other artists. The painter's activities in Moscow, including his work in the Annunciation Church (1405), are confirmed in the early 15th-C. Troickaja Chronicle. The iconostasis from this church, containing a Great DEESIS by Theophanes, is preserved in the present cathedral of the same name.

LIT. V.N. Lazarev, *Feofan Grek i ego škola* (Moscow 1961; Germ. tr. Vienna 1968). G.I. Vzdornov, *Feofan Grek: Tvorčeskoe nasledie* (Moscow 1983). –A.C.

THEOPHANIES. See EPIPHANIES; VISIONS.

THEOPHANO (Θεοφανώ), empress; first wife of LEO VI; born Constantinople ca.875, died Constantinople 10 Nov. 895 or 896 (cf. P. Karlin-Hayter, *BZ* 62 [1969] 14). Daughter of the *patrikios* Constantine Martinakios, Theophano was chosen as Leo's bride by EUDOKIA INGERINA (Theophano's relative, according to later sources) at the BRIDE SHOW of 881/2 (Vogt, "Léon VI," 415; Karlin-Hayter questioned the date, *Vita Euthym.* 167). Theophano bore to Leo a daughter, Eudokia. Theophano supported Leo during his imprisonment, but eventually her great piety made the marriage a failure; Theophano devoted herself to prayer, while Leo lived with his mistress Zoe, daughter of Stylianos ZAOUTZES. After Theophano's premature death, she was proclaimed a saint, and Leo built for her relics a sanctuary of St. Theophano (G. Majeska, *BS* 38 [1977] 14–21). The vita of Patr. EUTHYMIOS emphasizes the discord between Theophano and Leo: allegedly only Euthymios's influence stopped Theophano from divorce; in contrast, the vita of Theophano, written by an anonymous contemporary, presents the couple's relationship as ideal. The cult of Theophano existed in later centuries, and Nikephoros GREGORAS produced a new version of her Life.

SOURCES. E. Kurtz, *Zwei griechische Texte über die heilige Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI.* (St. Petersburg 1898), rev. Ch. Loparev, *ŽMNP* 325 (Oct. 1899) 343–61.

LIT. G. Downey, "The Church of All Saints (Church of St. Theophano) near the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *DOP* 9–10 (1956) 301–05. –A.K.

THEOPHANO, empress and wife of ROMANOS II; baptismal name Anastaso; born Constantinople after 940, died Constantinople probably after 976. Daughter of a wine merchant from Constantinople, the beautiful Theophano enchanted Romanos II, who married her ca.956 after the premature death of his fiancée. Skylitzes, who hated the young upstart, asserts that Theophano tried to poison CONSTANTINE VII (Skyl. 246.55–56) and participated in murdering Stephen Lekapenos, son of ROMANOS I (Skyl. 255.71–72). She probably also urged Romanos II to send his sisters to a convent and incited him against his mother Helen. However, he did not dare remove her from the palace for fear of her curse. After Romanos II's premature demise, Theophano remained regent for her minor sons BASIL II and CONSTANTINE VIII; in the struggle for power she supported NIKEPHOROS (II) PHOKAS against Joseph BRINGAS. After seizing the throne in 963, Nikephoros removed Theophano temporarily to the palace of Petrion, but soon (in Sept.) married her. Marriage with the austere and ascetic warrior did not satisfy Theophano; eventually she plotted with JOHN (I) TZIMISKES and helped his supporters to enter Nikephoros's bedchamber and murder him. Theophano's expectations of a third marriage, to Tzimiskes, were not realized. Under pressure from Patr. POLYEUKTOS, Tzimiskes banished her before his coronation and married Theodora, Romanos II's sister. A satirical song describes Theophano's failure (G. Morgan, *BZ* 47 [1954] 292–97). She was banished to the Prokonnesos but recalled from exile in 976. –A.K.

THEOPHANO (Lat. Theophanu), wife of the German emperor Otto II (973–83); born ca.955, died Nimwegen 15 June 991. Her grant of dowry from Otto II specifies that she was a niece of Emp. JOHN I TZIMISKES, but M. Uhlirz attempted to show that she was descended from the Lekapenoi. F. Dölger refuted this theory (*HistJb* 62–69 [1942–49] 646–58). Apparently because she was not a *porphyrogennete*, some in Otto I's court opposed her marriage to Otto II, but the wedding and coronation occurred at St. Peter's, Rome, 14 Apr. 972. Theophano bore Otto II daughters and a son, the future OTTO III. Under her influence, Otto II revived the title *Romanorum imperator augustus*; he also undertook an attack on the Saracen invaders of southern Italy because such action was appropriate for an emperor. As regent for Otto III, Theophano stressed her imperial rank. Following the pattern of Empress IRENE, she used the masculine form for her title (W. Ohnsorge, *Konstantinopel und der Okzident* [Darmstadt 1966] 59–61). In the youthful Otto III, she instilled her consciousness of imperial tradition and a desire to emulate Byz. Together with her husband, she is represented on a southern Italian (?) ivory in Paris (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, no.85). H. Wentzel (*Aachener Kunstblätter* 40 [1971] 15–39, 43 [1972] 11–96) associated a huge quantity of Late Antique gems and Byz. ivories, textiles, and MSS with her dowry and ascribed an excessive number of new creations in these media to her patronage.

LIT. W. Ohnsorge, *Ost-Rom und der Westen* (Darmstadt 1983) 128–206. M. Uhlirz, "Zu dem Mitkaisertum der Ottonen: *Theophanu coimperatrix*," *BZ* 50 (1957) 382–89. K. Ciggaar, "The Empress Theophano," *Byzantium and the Low Countries in the Tenth Century* (Hernen 1985) 33–77. –C.M.B., A.C.

THEOPHILOS (Θεόφιλος), archbishop of Alexandria (from 385 [Favale] or 384 [Declerck]); theologian and politician; born Menfi, Egypt, ca.345, died Alexandria 15 Oct. 412. A saint of the Coptic and Syrian churches (feastdays 15 and 17 Oct.), Theophilos appears in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 812.16–20) in a negative vein—as the alleged organizer of the slaughter of holy fathers "in caves." Uncle of Cyril of Alexandria, Theophilos was his political forerunner. His aim was to promote the role of Alexandria, which had experienced a setback at the Council of Constantinople in 381: Theophilos at first supported the usurper MAXIMUS but prudently changed his mind; he then tried to exert influence on Theodosios I and to introduce the Alexandrian paschal date into Constantinople ca.388. He collaborated with Theodosios in antipagan persecutions, culminating in the destruction of the Serapeion at Alexandria (391). He failed, however, in his plan to elect his closest aide, the priest Isidore, to the see of Constantinople (397). As an Origenist, Theophilos attacked (ca.399) anthropomorphist views popular among Egyptian monks; the ensuing opposition led Theophilos to change his position and begin persecution of the Origenists, esp. the so-called Tall (*Makroi*) Brothers. After emigrating from Egypt, they were supported by JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, the bishop of Constantinople, thus introducing a new source of conflict between the two sees. This time Theophilos emerged victorious, and at the Synod of the Oak near Chalcedon (403) obtained John's deposition.

Most of what remains from his many attested writings survives in fragments or in Coptic, Ethiopic, Latin, or Syriac translations. His name has also been assigned to some spuria, notably a discourse describing the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt.

ED. PG 65:29–68.

LIT. A. Favale, *Teofilo d'Alessandria* (Turin 1958). J. Declerck, "Théophile d'Alexandrie contre Origène," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 495–507. Richard, *Opera minora* 2, nos. 37–39. P. Nautin, "La lettre de Théophile d'Alexandrie à l'Église de Jérusalem et la réponse de Jean de Jérusalem (juin-juillet, 396)," *RHE* 69 (1974) 365–94. –B.B., A.K.

THEOPHILOS, 6th-C. jurist, ANTECESSOR, professor at the law school of Constantinople. He was appointed by Justinian I to the commissions for the compilation of the first edition of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS and the DIGEST; together with DOROTHEOS, he was ordered to compile the INSTITUTES. Résumés of passages of the first books of the *Digest* are ascribed to him in the scholia to the BASILIKA.

His paraphrase of the *Institutes* is preserved in its entirety in several MSS. This work, whose attribution to Theophilos was incorrectly disputed by Ferrini, may have been based on notes taken by a student at a lecture given by Theophilos shortly after the completion of the *Institutes*.

ED. Paraphrase of the *Digest*—Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:33–36. Paraphrase of the *Institutes*—E.C. Ferrini, *Institutionum graeca paraphrasis Theophilo Antecessori vulgo tributa,* 2 vols. (Berlin 1884–97; rp. Aalen 1967).

LIT. B. Kübler, *RE* 5A 2 (1934) 2138–2148. J.H.A. Lokin, "Theophilus Antecessor," *Tijdschrift* 44 (1976) 337–44. Idem, "Die Karriere des Theophilus Antecessor: Rang und Titel im Zeitalter Justinians," *SubGr* 1 (1984) 43–68. –A.S.

THEOPHILOS, emperor (829–42); born 812/13 (W. Treadgold, *GRBS* 16 [1975] 337), died Constantinople 20 Jan. 842. Son of Michael II and Thekla, he was crowned co-emperor in spring 821. Theophilos married THEODORA after a BRIDE SHOW at which he rejected KASSIA. Theophilos cultivated an image as "a fiery lover of justice and a strict guardian of civil laws" (*TheophCont* 85.1–2). Immediately after his accession he executed his father's accomplices in the assassination of Leo V (his godfather). Many colorful stories depict him dispensing justice at the expense of high officials like PETRONAS. His reputation endured in legend (C. Diehl, *SemKond* 4 [1931] 33–37): the TIMARION depicts him as a judge in hell. His sound fiscal policies enriched the treasury and allowed major additions to the GREAT PALACE, renovations of Constantinople's walls, the building of a *xenon* on the Golden Horn, and the construction of a palace at BRYAS. Theophilos likely established regional mints and issued large numbers of FOLLEIS, partly aiding the gradual revival of provincial economies (D. Metcalf, *Byzantion* 37 [1967] 310). His devotion to learning included patronage of LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, METHODIOS (I), and JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS (his childhood tutor); evidently he himself wrote hymns as well (Vasiliev, *infra* 1:16, n.1). With Patr. ANTONY I KASSYMATAS and John Grammatikos he restored ICONOCLASM by prohibiting all painted images (*Reg* 1, no.427) and any aid to iconodules, many of whom he exiled or physically punished (e.g., THEODORE GRAPTOS).

To strengthen the empire's defenses he built the fortress of SARKEL on the Don; created the themes of Cherson, Paphlagonia, and Chaldia; and formed the *kleisourai* of Charsianon, Cappadocia, and Seleukeia (Oikonomides, *Listes* 348–54). He neglected the threat of the Muslims in Sicily and southern Italy, but confronted them in Asia Minor and was defeated by Muʿtaṣim in 831. In 837 he campaigned with his generals MANUEL and THEOPHOBOS against the Arabs. Their destruction of Zapetra provoked the invasion in 838 of Muʿtaṣim, who defeated Theophilos at the battle of Dazimon, where the emperor narrowly escaped capture; his life was reportedly saved by Theophobos. The Arabs then sacked AMORION. The emperor subsequently sent embassies to the Franks, Venice, and Cordoba to obtain help against the caliphate (P. Teofilatto, *Studi Meridionali* 12 [1980] 186–94). Theophilos died of dysentery.

LIT. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 263–329. J. Rosser, "Theophilos (828–842)," *Byzantiaka* 3 (1983) 37–56. Griffith, "Apologetics in Arabic." Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:89–190. Bury, *ERE* 120–43, 251–74. –P.A.H.

THEOPHILOS OF EDESSA (Ar. Thīyūfīl ibn Thūmā), translator and Christian astrologer; born Edessa ca.695, died 15/16 July 785. A Greek from Syria, Theophilos served the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī (775–85) as astrological military adviser and wrote several astrological treatises in Greek (partially preserved also in Arabic versions). His *Labors Concerning the Beginnings of Wars* is the only medieval Greek text devoted entirely to the subject of military ASTROLOGY. Addressed to his son Deukalion, it is partially based on Indian sources (D. Pingree, *Viator* 7 [1976] 148f); a "second edition," consisting of chapters 24–41, includes material ascribed to Zoroaster and to Julian of Laodikeia, the latter taken from the collections of RHETORIOS OF EGYPT. A later recension of all of Theophilos's astrological writings was made in ca.1100, and another devised in the School of John ABRAMIOS in the 14th C. The *Labors* were also pillaged by John's pupil, Eleutherios Zebelenos, also called Elias, for his compendium falsely ascribed to Palchos.

Theophilos's so-called *Astrological Effects* in 30 chapters, addressed to Deukalion, also contains material influenced by Indian sources and was utilized by 9th-C. theoreticians of magic from Ḥarrān (D. Pingree, *JWarb* 43 [1980] 6). In part it too is dependent on Rhetorios. Theophilos's final work, entitled *On Different Beginnings*, deals with the rules for undertaking activities governed by each of the 12 astrological places. Much of this work is based on Dorotheos of Sidon and HEPHAISTION OF THEBES. A separate treatise by Theophilos, the *Collection on Cosmic Beginnings*, deals with annual and monthly predictions and the various definitions of the beginning of the year according to the Egyptians, Greeks, Persians, and Arabs. Theophilos's works are among the most original and influential medieval Greek treatises on various aspects of astrology. Theophilos's Syriac translations of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have not survived.

ED. *CCAG* 1:129–31; 4:93f, 122f; 5.1:212–26, 233–38; 8.1:266–70; 11.1:204–66.

LIT. D. Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1978) 443f. –D.P.

THEOPHILOS PROTOSPATHARIOS, physician; his biography and dates are unknown; conventionally assigned to the 7th C., but may date to the 9th or 10th. Theophilos composed *On the Constitution of the Human Body*, melding Christian theology and the *Use of the Parts of the Human Body* by GALEN. Greek texts on various medical subjects, including *Excrements*, *Pulses*, and *Urines*, survive under Theophilos's name. The work *Urines* became the ancestor of many tracts on this subject, such as the *Urines* of JOHN AKTOUARIOS. Apparently Theophilos also wrote some commentaries on the works of Hippocrates, but these tracts are jumbled in the MSS with similar treatises by DAMASKIOS, STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA (or Athens), and MELETIOS THE MONK; Theophilos's *On Various Fevers* has come down in MSS meshed with tracts on the same subject by Stephen. A portrait of Theophilos in physician's garb, conducting uroscopy, is preserved in a 15th-C. copy of his *Urines* (L. MacKinney, *Medical Illustrations in Medieval Manuscripts* [Berkeley–Los Angeles 1965] fig.5).

ED. *De corporis humani fabrica libri V*, ed. W.A. Greenhill (Oxford 1842). For list of other works, see Hunger, *Lit.* 2:299–301.

LIT. L.G. Westerink, "The Theophilus Scholia," in *Stephanus of Athens: Commentary on Hippocrates' Aphorisms, Sects. I–II* (Berlin 1985) 17–19. –J.S., G.V.

THEOPHILOS THE INDIAN, also called the Ethiopian (Philostorg., *HE* 6.3), Arian bishop; born island of Dibous (probably the Maldive Islands, near Ceylon), died after 364. His life is described in detail by PHILOSTORGIOS. As a young man he was sent to the court of Constantine I where EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA ordained him deacon. Although Constantius II respected him, he still banished Theophilos for his support of the caesar GALLUS. Famous for working miracles, Theophilos was recalled to Constantinople and acquired even greater renown for healing the empress Eusebia. In 356 Constantius II sent him to the ethnarch of Saba (ḤIMYAR) with 200 Cappadocian horses and other gifts. Theophilos founded three churches—one in the capital called Tapharos (Ẓafār), one in the Roman *emporion* or Adane, and another in the Persian *emporion*. From the land of the Ḥimyarites he sailed to Dibous, then to the "other India," and returned to Constantinople via Antioch. Constantius II exiled him again together with other partisans of AETIOS the Arian, to whom Theophilos maintained allegiance after his banishment and subsequent release in 359. A later version of the *Martyrdom of Arethas* makes him "orthodox" and the principal evangelizer of South Arabia, from Najrān to the Persian Gulf.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 5 (1934) 2167f. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs* (*4th C.*) 86–104. G. Fiaccadori, "Teofilo Indiano," *Studi classici e orientali* 33 (1983) 295–331; 34 (1984) 271–308. A. Dihle, "Die Sendung des Inders Theophilos," in *Politeia und Res publica: Dem Andenken Rudolf Starks gewidmet*, ed. P. Steinmetz (Wiesbaden 1969) 330–36. –A.K., L.S.B.MacC.

THEOPHOBOS (Θεόφοβος; Naṣr in Arabic and Syriac sources), a Persian or Kurdish military commander in Byz. service; died Constantinople 840 (Kaegi, *Unrest* 254) or 842. Theophobos fled to Byz. territory in 834 after the Khurramites were defeated by Muʿtaṣim in 833. Emp. Theophilos organized the Khurramite refugees into a special cavalry *tagma* under Theophobos, who converted to Christianity, was appointed *patrikios*, and married the sister of either Theophilos or Empress Theodora (Bury, *ERE* 253). Skylitzes (Skyl. 67.3–9) reports that Theophobos wedded the emperor's sister; in the illustrated Madrid MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.127), Theophilos is shown seated with Theophobos on his knee—a symbolic representation of adoption. Theophobos campaigned with Theophilos in 837, and Michael the Syrian (ed. Chabot, 3:96) says that his troops cruelly sacked Zapetra. He campaigned with Theophilos again in 838 and reportedly saved the emperor's life during the battle at Dazimon

(*TheophCont* 113f). Rumors of the death of Theophilos apparently instigated a conspiracy in Constantinople on behalf of Theophobos; reports that Theophobos was an iconophile suggest that the plot may have been a reaction against ICONOCLASM. When Theophilos returned to the capital, he recalled Theophobos, who fled with his *tagma* to Amastris and then Sinope, where the troops proclaimed him emperor. There Theophobos secretly negotiated with Theophilos, who received him favorably in Constantinople but dispersed the *tagma* throughout the themes. Byz. sources report that Theophilos ordered PETRONAS to arrest and kill Theophobos, perhaps to forestall any plot against the young Michael III.

LIT. M. Rekaya, "Mise au point sur Théophobe et l'alliance de Bâbek avec Théophile (833/34–839/40)," *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 43–67. J. Rosser, "Theophilus' Khurramite Policy and its Finale: the Revolt of Theophobus' Persian Troops in 838," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 263–71. H. Grégoire, "Manuel et Théophobe ou la concurrence de deux monastères," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 183–204. Z.M. Bunijatov, "Babek i Vizantija," *Doklady Akademii Nauk Azerbajdžanskoj SSR* 15 (1959) no.7, 613–16. –P.A.H., A.C.

THEOPHYLAKTOS, patriarch of Constantinople (2 Feb. 933–27 Feb. 956); born Constantinople? 917, died Constantinople. He was a son of Romanos I Lekapenos, who wanted him to become patriarch, and appointed him when he was still a child (924) as *synkellos* of Patr. Nicholas I Mystikos. At age 16 Theophylaktos was ostentatiously installed in the see of Constantinople. He consistently supported his father's policy and acted in accord with him. In 937 he negotiated with the sees of Alexandria and Antioch and informed them about changes in the liturgy of Constantinople, thus trying to confirm the links with Eastern patriarchates. In order to influence the Hungarians, ca.948 Theophylaktos sent the monk Hierotheos as "bishop of Tourkis" (Skyl. 239.67–68). In a letter to Tsar Peter of Bulgaria, Theophylaktos defined BOGOMILISM as a dangerous heresy, a mixture of Manichaeanism with "Paulinism," that is, the teaching of Paul of Samosata, who was considered the founder of Paulicianism. Byz. chroniclers hostile to Theophylaktos present him as an irreverent man who cared only for his 2,000 horses and who was willing to interrupt services in Hagia Sophia to attend the foaling of his mares. He reportedly introduced theatrical elements into the liturgy and appointed as *domestikos* of the church a certain Euthymios Kasnes, who organized "satanical dances" and singing of street songs during the liturgy (Skyl. 243f). Theophylaktos was buried at the ROUPHINIANAI monastery in Chalcedon, whose restoration he had ordered (Janin, *Églises centres* 39).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 787–89. Runciman, *Romanus* 76f. –A.K.

THEOPHYLAKTOS, archbishop of OHRID (from 1088/9) and writer; born Euboea ca.1050, died after 1126. P. Gautier (*REB* 21 [1963] 165–68) has shown that his surname was Hephaistos, a patronymic otherwise unattested after the 6th C. He was the pupil of Michael PSELLOS and served as deacon of Hagia Sophia. As the teacher of Constantine DOUKAS, son of Michael VII, Theophylaktos produced ca.1085/6 a MIRROR OF PRINCES addressed to his pupil, in which he praised noble origin and martial prowess as necessary qualities of a successful emperor. In 1088 he wrote a panegyric of Alexios I, even though his sympathies lay with Maria, Michael VII's widow, rather than with the Komnenoi. His letters from Ohrid are a valuable source for the economic, social, and political history of Bulgaria as well as Byz. prosopography. They are filled with conventional complaints concerning Theophylaktos's "barbarian" surroundings, whereas in fact he was deeply involved in local cultural development, producing an *enkomion* of 15 martyrs of Tiberioupolis and a vita of KLIMENT OF OHRID. His exegetic production was prolific: Theophylaktos commented on the Psalms, Prophets, Gospels, epistles of St. Paul, and others. His polemical works against the Latins are relatively tolerant; although he rejected the FILIOQUE, Theophylaktos opposed the idea of schism and defended the Latins from slanderous accusations.

ED. PG 123–26. *Discours, traités, poésies et lettres*, ed. P. Gautier, 2 vols. (Thessalonike 1980–86).

LIT. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 1:134–49. R. Katičić, "Biographika peri Theophylaktou archiepiskopou Achridos," *EEBS* 30 (1960–61) 364–85. S. Maslev, *FGHBulg* 9 (Sofia 1974). –A.K.

THEORETRON (*θεώρετρον*), a wedding gift of a husband to his wife that supplemented the DONATIO PROPTER NUPTIAS or the HYPOBOLON. This gift is mentioned for the first time in a novel of Constantine VII (*Reg* 1, no.677). The *theoretron* was basically granted only in a first marriage (cf., however, SYNOPSIS MINOR *θ* 10) and had consequently the character of a *pretium virginitatis* ("reward for virginity"). The *theoretron* had to amount to at least a twelfth of the DOWRY. The wife administered the *theoretron* and could dispose of it freely. In contrast to the *hypobolon* it remained her property after the termination of the marriage, even if there were children and even if she remarried (*Peira* 25.47,62). The wife's unlimited rights to the *theoretron* were comparable to her rights to the so-called *exoproika*, which she herself contributed.

LIT. Simon, "Ehegüterrecht" 223f. S. Perentides, "Posmia synetheia mporei na exelichthei se thesmo; he periptose tou 'theoretrou,' " in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 2:476–85. –M.Th.F.

THEORIANOS, diplomat and polemicist of the second half of 12th C. MANUEL I sent Theorianos in the fall of 1169 and in the fall of 1171 to the *katholikos* of Armenia, NERSES ŠNORHALI; the negotiations took place at Hromklay on the Euphrates. Theorianos tried to persuade the Armenians (as well as the Syrian Jacobites) to accept the creed of the Council of CHALCEDON by explaining that the differences resulted primarily from linguistic misunderstandings. Theorianos seems to have also negotiated with Enrico, patriarch of Grado (1131–86); according to Loenertz (*infra* 47f), this probably occurred in 1177, when an embassy of Manuel went to Venice. Theorianos also wrote a letter "To the priests of Oriane," dedicated to the discrepancies in ritual between the Byz. and Latin churches. The addressee of this letter was, according to Beck (*Kirche* 628), the community of Beth-Zachariah in Palestine; according to Loenertz (*infra* 49f), that of Oria in Apuleia. The letter was partially translated into Latin in the 13th C. and attributed to JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

ED. PG 133:113–298. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr I* 55–66.

LIT. Tekeyan, *Controverses* 21–33. B. Zekiyan, "Un dialogue oecuménique au XII[e] siècle," 15 *CEB* 4 (Athens 1980) 420–41. –A.K.

THEOSIS (*θέωσις*), or deification in the Byz. tradition, is the goal of man to which he is naturally destined and which is realized through the grace of God. In a Christian context primarily concerned with SALVATION the ethical ideal of Plato survives, "To become like God insofar as that is possible for man" (*Theaetetus* 176b), although this does not mean that the soul is of divine essence.

"*Theosis* consists of being as much as possible like and in union (*henosis*) with God" (pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, PG 3:376A). It is the "exaltation of nature, not its destruction or alteration" (Anastasios of Sinai, ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux*, 2.7.8–9), and "participation through grace in that which surrounds the nature of God" (John of Damascus, *Exp. fidei* 88.18, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:203). Its highest realization is in the deification of Christ's human nature. As elaborated by MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, "nature" is understood as the essence of man as originally established in CREATION, but which is darkened by its existential condition (*tropos tes hyparxeos*) subsequent to Adam's sin; or, to use a different metaphor, it is corroded "like a mirror" composed of metal, not "damaged," as it was described in the anti-Pelagian tradition of the West under the influence of Augustine.

Theosis preserves and saves the created order of human nature, which remains incommensurable to God; it is maintained without commingling and unseparated as in Christ. The initial development of this doctrine is found in Athanasios of Alexandria's theory of the "deification of man through the incarnation of God." "He became man that we might become divine" (*Oratio de incarnatione Verbi* 54.3, ed. C. Kannengieser, 458). For him, the HOMOOUSIOS of the First Council of Nicaea by itself ensures this participation in deification (*theopoiesis*). In the refutation of the PNEUMATOMACHOI by BASIL THE GREAT, deification of man as sanctification is rooted in the work of the Holy Spirit who is God; otherwise, man would be neither sanctified nor deified. This tradition culminates in CYRIL of Alexandria, for whom the deification of man is determined by the indwelling of the TRINITY. In all these statements concerning the "being" of divinized man, the difference, or, in the language of Gregory of Nyssa, the infinite gap between the prototype and the image is constantly stressed.

In HESYCHASM one sees in the light of Mt. Tabor the revelation of *theosis*, which in the theory of PALAMISM is attributed to the activity of the divine energies. The extent to which Sinaitic mysticism, with its emphasis on incommensurability, survived

at this late date in its most essential features, without having been submitted to the "Messalian logic" (I. Hausherr, *OrChrP* 1 [1935] 328–60) with its overemphasis on sensation and its conviction that grace can and must be a perceptible experience (*aisthesis*), is a disputed question.

LIT. J. Gross, *La divinisation du chrétien d'après les Pères grecs* (Paris 1938). M. Lot-Borodine, "La doctrine de la déification dans l'église grecque jusqu'au XI^{e} siècle," *RHR* 105 (1932) 5–43; 106 (1932) 525–74; 107 (1933) 8–55. M.-J. Congar, "La déification dans la tradition spirituelle de l'Orient," *La Vie Spirituelle*, supp. 43 (1935) 91–107. B. Sartorius, *La doctrine de la déification de l'homme d'après les Pères grecs* (Geneva 1965). –K.-H.U.

THEOTOKION (*θεοτοκίον*), a HYMN addressing and invoking the THEOTOKOS. *Theotokia* are sung mainly at the end of vespers, at *orthros* before the KATHISMATA, as the final TROPARION in the odes of most KANONS, and after the Great DOXOLOGY. In a collection known as the *Theotokarion*, *theotokia* are arranged according to the eight MODES. A variant form is the *staurotheotokion*, a hymn that describes Mary's grief as she stood at the foot of the Cross (*stauros*).

LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 242f. –D.E.C.

THEOTOKOS (Θεοτόκος, lit. "God-bearing"), Mother of God, an epithet of the VIRGIN MARY. This title, which referred earlier to the ancient Egyptian goddess Isis, appears for the first time as far as we know in a *troparion* of the 3rd C. and in a text of Hippolytus of Rome (H. Rahner, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 59 [1935] 73–81). Already ATHANASIOS of Alexandria used it in his *Discourses against the Arians*, and Gregory of Nazianzos (PG 37:177C–180A) considers use of the title as one of the foundations of the Christian faith: "If anyone does not confess that the Virgin Mary is Theotokos, he is found to be far from God. Whoever maintains that Christ passed through the Virgin as through a channel and was not fashioned in her in a manner at the same time divine and human—in a divine manner because [the conception occurred] without a man, in a human manner because Christ developed in her according to the principles of nature—is likewise godless. Whoever maintains that the human being was formed first, and later God descended upon him, is to be condemned." This passage reveals the Christological implications of Mary's title.

The opponents of this expression, who belonged to the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, were willing to grant only the title "birth-giver of man." NESTORIOS argued that the term Theotokos is neither scriptural nor sanctified by the church fathers; that Mary, as a created being, could not bear God; and that the title implies that Mary is a goddess. He looked, however, for a compromise, suggesting alternative epithets such as Christotokos or Theodochos, and reluctantly agreed that the term Theotokos might be accepted. CYRIL of Alexandria undertook the defense of the title and was solemnly endorsed both by a Roman Synod under Pope Celestine I and by the Council of EPHESUS (431).

LIT. G. Jouassard, "Marie à travers la patristique. Maternité divine, virginité sainteté," in H. du Manoir, *Maria*, vol. 1 (Paris 1949) 69–157. G.A. Wellen, *Theotokos, Eine ikonographische Abhandlung über das Gottesmutterbild in frühchristlicher Zeit* (Utrecht 1960). G. Giamberardini, "'Sub tuum praesidium' e il titolo 'Theotokos' nella tradizione egiziana," *Marianum* 31 (1969) 324–62. Av. Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople," *JThSt* 29 (1978) 79–108. E. Benz, "Die heilige Höhle in der alten Christenheit und in der östlich-orthodoxen Kirche," in *Eranos Jahrbuch* 22 (1953) 365–432. G. Podskalsky, "Nestorius," in M. Greschat, *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte, 2: Alte Kirche II* (Stuttgart 1984) 215–25. –G.P.

THERMON. See ZEON.

THESEID, anonymous and faithful translation into Greek political verse (unrhymed except for the Prologue and the synopsis to each book) of Boccaccio's *Teseida*. Translated probably late in the 15th C., the *Theseid* survives in two MSS, one used as the printer's copy for the 1529 Venice edition.

ED. *Il Teseida neogreco: Libro I: Saggio di edizione*, ed. E. Follieri (Rome-Athens 1959).
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 139f. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

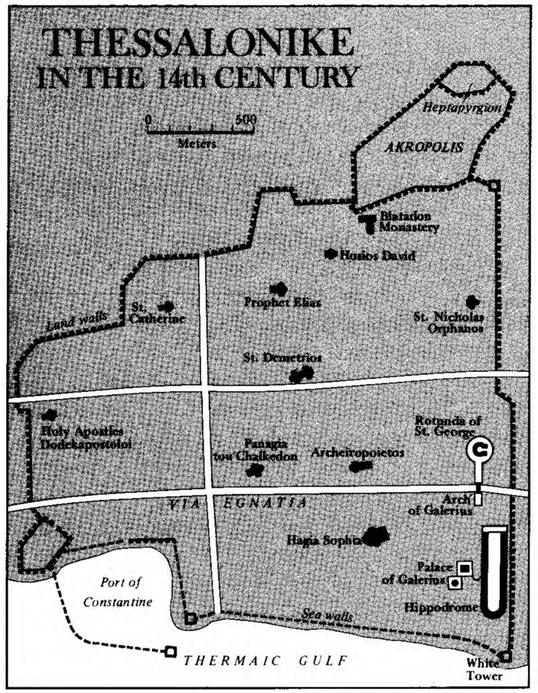
THESEUS, son of Aegeus, a legendary king of Athens; in Malalas, however, he appears as a ruler of Thessaly. Of the great number of stories connected with Theseus, Malalas chose two—his victory over the Minotaur with the help of ARIADNE and the tragic fate of HIPPOLYTOS and Phaedra (Malal. 87–90). Both NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS (*Dionysiaka* 47:269–71) and Malalas stressed negative features of Theseus's behavior, such as his abandonment of Ariadne. TZETZES knew other legends about Theseus, for example, his attempt to rescue PERSEPHONE from the underworld (*Hist.* 2:744–61). The attempt failed and Theseus was imprisoned. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 150.49–53) praises Theseus for the punishment he had imposed on robbers and compares Manuel I to him.

A MS of pseudo-Oppian in Venice (Marc. gr. 479) shows Theseus at Troizen finding the weapons his father had hidden under a rock (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.159). In the miniature, however, the wrong figure is labeled Theseus.

LIT. Weitzmann, *Gr.Myth.* 131–33. –A.K., A.M.T.

THESSALONIKE (Θεσσαλονίκη), ancient city located at the head of the Thermaic Gulf near the mouth of the VARDAR and on the Via EGNATIA. Its importance from the end of the 3rd C. derived from its strategic location with regard to both barbarian invasions across the Danube and East-West confrontation. The residence of Emp. GALERIUS in Thessalonike was accompanied by burgeoning building activity (a palace, the triumphal ARCH OF GALERIUS); in 298/9 a mint was opened there, gradually replacing that of SERDICA (P. Bruun, *Opuscula romana* 15 [1985] 7–16). During Constantine I's war against Licinius, Thessalonike was, for a while, the headquarters of Constantine, but after his victory he demoted the city, making it the place of Licinius's exile. From the mid-5th C. Thessalonike was the capital of the prefecture of ILLYRICUM and an important episcopal center, created according to tradition by St. Paul; the bishopric (later archbishopric) was under the jurisdiction of Rome, and in the beginning of the 5th C. Bishop Rufus was the papal *vicarius* of Illyricum; from the second half of the 6th C. Constantinople strengthened its grip on Thessalonike, and ca.733 the archbishopric was transferred to the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople; within its hierarchy it was soon demoted to the 16th rank, with only five suffragans. In the 7th–9th C., Thessalonike was administered by an eparch, later by a *doux*.

In 390 Emp. Theodosios I massacred thousands of citizens in the hippodrome at Thessalonike as punishment for the murder of one of his barbarian generals. The Germanic invasions of the 4th and 5th C. bypassed Thessalonike; in the 6th C., however, Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.3.29) spoke of the city as "easily assailable by barbarians." In 479, when the news of an imminent Ostrogothic attack



spread in Thessalonike, the inhabitants expressed no confidence in the eparch (praetorian prefect) and took the keys to the gate away from him, entrusting them to the bishop (Malchos, fr. 20, ed. Blockley, *Historians* 2:436.17–19). More dangerous were the Slavic sieges of Thessalonike from the end of the 6th C. onward, repelled according to contemporary legend only by the supernatural intervention of St. DEMETRIOS. Thessalonike remained in Byz. hands, although most of its hinterland was overwhelmed by Slavic settlers.

Little is known about the economic life of Thessalonike in the 7th and 8th C. Some construction work continued in the city, some churches were decorated, and a salt-pan functioned, but the mint evidently ceased production and resumed operation only in the 9th C. with extensive issues of bronze folleis of Basil I (D.M. Metcalf, *BalkSt* 4 [1963] 277–86). At the end of the 9th C. the administration attempted to transfer the center of trade with the Bulgarians from Constantinople to Thessalonike, but this failed because of Bulgarian mistrust. Symeon of Bulgaria's invasions of Macedonia did not affect Thessalonike, but in 904 LEO OF TRIPOLI captured and sacked the city. The peace with Bulgaria and its subsequent con-

quest by Basil II tranformed Thessalonike into the major center of economic and cultural interchange in the southern Balkans: K. Dieterich (*BZ* 31 [1931] 37–57, 334–49) outlines two routes of Byz. trade with Bulgaria—one from Constantinople and another to the west from Thessalonike. According to the TIMARION, Thessalonike in the 12th C. was a trade center that attracted merchants from Scythia, Italy, Iberia, Lusitania, and the Transalpine "Celtic" lands. Italian merchants began to organize colonies there, and in 1185 the Normans temporarily occupied the city.

After the Fourth Crusade BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT became king of Thessalonike, with territory in Macedonia and western Thrace and interests as distant as the Peloponnesos. After the battle of Adrianople in 1205 KALOJAN besieged Thessalonike, but the city withstood the attack; in Dec. 1224 THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros captured Thessalonike and it remained part of the despotate of Epiros until it fell to John III Vatatzes in 1246. In the spring of 1308 the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY unsuccessfully besieged Thessalonike, and beginning in 1320 the city was a focus of contention between Andronikos II and Andronikos III. In 1334 the walls of Thessalonike stopped the advance of STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, but the Serbs attacked again in 1341. In the 1340s Thessalonike fell temporarily under the control of the ZEALOTS. The Ottomans attacked Thessalonike in autumn 1383 and the city fell in April 1387. It returned briefly to Byz. hands but was taken by Bayezid I on 12 April 1394. In the aftermath of the battle of Ankara in 1402 Byz. regained Thessalonike and a despotate was established there. In 1423, however, the *despotes* Andronikos surrendered the city to Venice, which agreed to respect the rights and privileges of the inhabitants. Murad II took the city on 29 March 1430 after a brief siege.

Close contacts with Westerners (merchants, churchmen, and warriors) created a cosmopolitan atmosphere in Thessalonike: the KYDONES brothers and their associates were esp. active in propagating Latin theology in a Greek milieu (D.M. Nicol in *He Thessalonike metaxy Anatoles kai Dyseos* [Thessalonike 1982] 121–31).

Thessalonike preserves many Byz. monuments, including the northern sections of the land walls (see below). A large building identified as a Byz. palace was discovered in the center of the city, and a Byz. bath has been identified in the northern area.

The churches of St. Catherine (late 13th C.), the Prophet Elijah, St. Panteleemon, and the Taxiarchs (all 14th C.) are notable for their lively architecture; all have fresco remains. (For the churches of the ACHEIROPOIETOS, St. DEMETRIOS, St. GEORGE, HAGIA SOPHIA, the HOLY APOSTLES, HOSIOS DAVID, St. NICHOLAS ORPHANOS, and the PANAGIA TON CHALKEON, and the monasteries of AKAPNIOU, BLATADON and NEA MONE, see independent entries.)

LIT. A. Vacalopoulos, *History of Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike 1963). J. -M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IV^e au VI^e siècle* (Paris 1984). G.T. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382–1387* (Rome 1960). E. Oberhummer, *RE* 2.R. 6 (1937) 143–63. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:324–47. F. Dölger, "Zur Frage des jüdischen Anteils an der Bevölkerung Thessalonikes im XIV. Jahrhundert," in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (New York 1953) 129–33. H. Lowry, "Portrait of a City: The Population and Topography of Ottoman Selânik (Thessaloniki) in the Year 1478," *Diptycha* 2 (Athens 1980–81) 254–93. Janin, *Églises centres* 341–419. –T.E.G.

Walls. The fortifications of Thessalonike can be divided into two sections: the city walls and the citadel. The walls of the lower city form a rough rectangle, wider at the east than at the west: the sea wall (to the south) has completely disappeared except for the so-called White Tower, which may have been constructed under the Venetians (J.P. Braun, *ByzF* 11 [1987] 269f); the east wall runs upward nearly directly from the sea, while the west wall takes an undulating course to the north and east. The citadel occupies a height at the northeastern corner of the city. From the fortification walls a total of more than 20 gateways and 100 towers are preserved, most of the latter originally triangular or rectangular in shape; also surviving are a number of inscriptions, such as those of the *strategos* of the city Leo Chitzilakes (ca.904), Anna of Savoy (1355/6), and the *doux* George Apokaukos, who served under the *despotes* Manuel Palaiologos, the future emperor, when he governed Thessalonike between 1369 and 1373 (J. Spieser, *TM* 5 [1973] 176f).

Since the Hellenistic walls had fallen into disrepair, the city refortified in the mid-3rd C. in response to barbarian invasions. This was followed by a major reconstruction that essentially determined the course the fortifications were to take throughout the Byz. era. The date of this has been hotly debated, with estimates ranging from 380 to 448–50, but the latter is probably preferable. In 512 repairs were made to the west wall, but after that there is no evidence of restoration until the third quarter of the 12th C. During that time, however, the walls repeatedly protected the city against attacks from Slavs and Bulgars; the poor condition of the fortifications may help to explain the capture of the city by Leo of Tripoli in 904; JOHN KAMINIATES (9.28–35) described the land walls as strong and high, whereas the sea wall was completely useless for defense. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE (Eust. Thess., *Capture* 74.17–19), writing in the 12th C., emphasized that the sea walls were built "nonprofessionally" and were allowed to fall into disrepair by the governor. Repairs are attested in the 12th C. and again under Manuel II, probably between 1369 and 1373.

LIT. G. Gounaris, *The Walls of Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike 1982). Spieser, *Thessalonique* 25–80. M. Vickers, "The Byzantine Sea Walls of Thessaloniki," *BalkSt* 11 (1970) 261–80. Ch. Bakirtzes, "He thalassia ochyrose tes Thessalonikes," *Byzantina* 7 (1975) 291–341. B. Croke, "Hormisdas and the Late Roman Walls of Thessalonike," *GRBS* 19 (1978) 251–58. –T.E.G.

THESSALONIKE, THEME OF. The letter of Emp. Michael II to Louis the Pious in 824 mentions *partes* of Thrace, Macedonia, Thessalonike, and neighboring Sclavenia (MGH *Leges. III. Concilia* 2.2:476), evidence used by some scholars (e.g. Oikonomides, *Listes* 353) to argue that the theme existed at that time. The *strategos* of Thessalonike is first mentioned ca.836. He was replaced by a *doux* mentioned in the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escurial*, and according to an act of 995 the *doux* John Chaldos held command of Armeniakon, Boukellarion, and Thessalonike (*Ivir.*, no.8.1–2). In the 11th C. the *doukaton* of Thessalonike was usually granted to relatives of the emperor because of its strategic importance (Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 223). The theme survived through the 15th C.; a *praktikon* of 1420 defines it as "the theme of the divinely protected and famous city of Thessalonike" (*Lavra* 3, no.165.9–10); in the early 15th C. the district was probably limited to the city itself. –T.E.G., A.K.

THESSALY (Θεσσαλία), region of central Greece south of MACEDONIA, north of HELLAS, and on the west separated from EPIROS by the PINDOS Mountains. Thessaly is characterized by a large central plain formed by the Peneios River and surrounded on all sides by high mountains. The main city was always LARISSA, other important centers being TRIKKALA and STAGOI in the west, LAMIA and NEOPATRAS in the south, and DEMETRIAS and NEA ANCHIALOS on the sea to the east. The major north-south road ran from Thermopylai north to Larissa, continuing to Macedonia, either through SERVIA or along the coast to Thessalonike; the main east-west road ran to Trikkala and thence either north to Grevena and KASTORIA or west to the pass of Porta, or, in the summer months, over the pass of Metsovo. In late antiquity the province of Thessaly possessed 16 cities, including the islands of Skiathos, Skopelos, and Peparisthos (Hierokl. 642.1–13, 643.1–5). In the 6th–8th C. Slavs settled in the north and northwest, and VLACHS were established in large numbers by the 11th C., forming a separate administrative subdivision, the Megale VLACHIA.

According to Abramea (*infra* 119–84), five Thessalian cities disappeared from the sources after the 7th C., seven (Larissa, Trikkala, Demetrias, etc.) continued to exist, and at least nine were built from the 9th C. onward (Halmyros, Stagoi, etc.). In fact, however, the continuity of urban life in Thessaly is less evident (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantina* 11 [1982] 433–35). In the 12th C. trade seems to have been important in Thessaly, and the Treaty of 1198 gave the Venetians trading privileges in many places. There were Jewish communities at Gardiki, Halmyros, Lamia, and Besaina. The area was subjected to hostile invasions; esp. serious were those of the Bulgarians in the 10th C. and the Normans in 1082.

After 1204 the Latins controlled the eastern cities while the west seems to have been independent. The area was contested by the Epirots and Nicaeans, but JOHN I DOUKAS (1267/8?–89?), assuming the title *sebastokrator*, established an independent principality in Thessaly with a capital in Neopatras; he expanded his territory to the east, thus becoming involved in conflict with Michael VIII; with the help of CHARLES I OF ANJOU and the Latin dukes of Athens he managed to repel Byz. attacks. John II (1303–18) was also Western-oriented and sought the support of the Venetians, who were importing agricultural produce from Thessaly. The invasion of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in 1309 was detrimental for Thessaly;

after John II's death the Company occupied the south of the country, including Neopatras and Lamia. Stephen GABRIELOPOULOS preserved the independence of Thessaly until 1332/3, but thereafter it fell to John II Orsini of Epiros and in 1335 to Constantinople. Large landholding developed in Thessaly, acquiring a semifeudal character, and Thessalian seigneurs supported John VI Kantakouzenos in his struggle for power. A. Soloviev (*BS* 4 [1932] 159–74) hypothesized that these feudal forces allowed Thessaly to resist the attacks of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan. In 1348, however, the Thessalian seigneurs acknowledged Serbian sovereignty while retaining their traditional privileges. After Dušan's death Thessaly formed the center of the domain of the "emperor" SYMEON UROŠ; this Serbian ruler encouraged the (at least external) hellenization of the country. When his son and heir John Uroš retired to a monastery in 1373, power was seized by the caesar Alexios Angelos Philanthropenos, who governed Thessaly as a vassal of John V. In 1393 the Ottomans conquered Thessaly.

In ecclesiastical terminology the name *Thessalia* and derivations were applied (esp. in the 12th C.) to Thessalonike, and its metropolitans were called "of the Thessalians" (e.g., Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 459, 461).

Byz. fortifications can be found at several places in Thessaly (e.g., Trikkala, Larissa, and Lamia), and there are important churches at Porta Panagia (founded in 1283 by John I Doukas: A. Orlandos, *ABME* 1 [1935] 5–40) and Stagoi; Nea Anchialos and Demetrias preserve the ruins of many Early Christian buildings, while the monasteries at METEORA and the ruined, largely 14th-C. city at Phanarion are esp. noteworthy. Architecturally, the churches of Thessaly were influenced by currents from Macedonia, although in the 13th–14th C. there were also borrowings from Epiros.

LIT. J. Koder, F. Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia* [= *TIB* 1] (Vienna 1976). A.P. Abramea, *He Byzantine Thessalia mechri tou 1204* (Athens 1974). B. Ferjančić, *Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku* (Belgrade 1974). N. Nikonanos, *Byzantinoi naoi tes Thessalias* (Athens 1979). –T.E.G.

THEURGY (*θεουργία*) originally signified activity undertaken with the help of the gods, that is, coercion exerted on the gods by performing magical rites. Theurgy appears chiefly in religious Neoplatonism (particularly in IAMBLICHOS, unlike the more cautious PORPHYRY) and is applied in the discipline of a religious philosophy of nature.

Rites of theurgy were performed for three different purposes: (1) in order to bring divine power into the soul of the celebrant, the "theurge," who thereby obtains salvation; (2) in order to "animate" statues of the gods with divine reality so that the initiate may perceive the Godhead; or (3) in order to conjure up the divinity itself—esp. the goddess HEKATE—through a medium induced into trance by the "theurge."

However, when PRAYER is introduced as an element of theurgy, it no longer has the sense of coercion exerted on the deity through MAGIC. The philosophical basis of prayer, at least in PROKLOS, shows that prayer is the way to union with the deity corresponding to religious contemplation: "It is fitting that we men should pray for our return to our true fathers, the gods" (Proklos, *In Platonis Timaeum*, ed. Diehl, 1:208.13–14).

Because of his dependence on Proklos it is not surprising that pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE applied theurgic terminology in a Christian context to explain the works of God as well as the performance of the sacraments. Nevertheless, this does not become dominant in the theological terminology of Byz. In the 11th C., owing to the greater awareness of Neoplatonic sources as well as the Chaldean oracles, the phenomenon of theurgic ritual holds no more than literary interest and, in Christian understanding, belongs to magic and incantation.

LIT. S. Eitrem, "La théurgie chez les néo-platoniciens et dans les papyrus magiques," *Symbolae Osloenses* 22 (1942) 49–79. E.R. Dodds, "Theurgy and its Relationship to Neoplatonism," *JRS* 37 (1947) 55–69. P. Boyancé, "Théurgie et télestique néo-platoniciennes," *RHR* 147 (1955) 189–209. H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire* (rev. ed. Paris 1978). J. Bidez, "Proclus, Peri tes hieratikes technes," *AIPHOS* 4 (1936) 85–100. A.A. Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts," in *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford 1963) 100–125. –K.-H.U.

THEVESTE (Τεβέστη; mod. Tebessa, in southeastern Algeria). The history of the city from Diocletian to the Byz. reconquest of Africa (533) is not well known. Some fragmentary inscriptions attest to repairs or restoration of the theater, arch of Caracalla, public baths, and amphitheater as well as to the construction of certain unidentified public works. In the early 5th C., a great basilican complex dedicated to Christ was erected north of the town, including gardens, martyrion, baptistery, stables, and lodgings; a smaller basilica was added in the 6th C. The complex probably served as a sort of martyrs' shrine for pilgrims and, to a lesser degree, as a monastery. Vandal occupation of the city is attested by funeral epitaphs. The recent discovery of two cemeteries belonging to the 4th–6th C. indicates the continuity of urban life at Theveste despite the claim of the Justinianic general SOLOMON that he rebuilt Theveste *a fundamentis*. Solomon's effort primarily involved enclosing the old urban center with a wall measuring 290 × 260 m. There is some archaeological evidence for 6th-C. habitation in the Roman amphitheater and at least one church appears to have been constructed within the enceinte. Theveste is mentioned by the 7th-C. geographer GEORGE OF CYPRUS, but between then and the 11th C., when it was described as a thriving town by Arab geographers, its history is unknown. The ALBERTINI TABLETS, deeds of sale dating from the Vandal period, were found in the hills to the east of Theveste.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 238f. J. Christern, *Das frühchristliche Pilgerheiligtum von Tebessa* (Wiesbaden 1976). S. Lancel, "Une nécropole chrétienne à Tebessa," *Libyca* 4 (1956) 319–31. P.-A. Février, "Nouvelles recherches dans la salle tréflée de la basilique de Tebessa," *Bulletin archéologique algérienne* 111 (1968) 167–91. K.F. Kadra, "Nécropoles tardives de l'antique Theveste: Mosaïques funéraires et *mensae*," *L'Africa-Romana* 6 (1989) 265–82. –R.B.H.

THINGS, CORPOREAL AND INCORPOREAL. Roman jurisprudence classified all things as corporeal and incorporeal. According to a definition of the jurist Gaius (2nd C.), corporeal things are those that "a person can touch," whereas incorporeal things are rights such as "inheritance" (even when this consists of individual corporeal things), USUFRUCT, and (contractual) claims. This classification was taken over from the *Digest* (1.8.1.1) into the *Basilika* (46.3.1). It had just as little practical significance in Byz. law as in Roman law. –M.Th.F.

Incorporeal Donations. Ahrweiler (*infra*) defines the donation of incorporeal things (*asomata dikaia*) as a kind of "conditioned grant" conferred upon the beneficiary primarily by the state. The grant was usually attributed to the emperor's generosity. Incorporeal donations consisted of fiscal revenues (SOLEMNION, ROGA, etc.), rights to monastic institutions and *sekreta* (CHARISTIKION), or an endowment of a fictitious possession (PRONOIA) that gave the beneficiary the right to collect state taxes (or a portion of them) from a group of *paroikoi*. At the beginning strictly limited with regard to the number of dependent peasants (ARITHMOS) or amount of "rent" (POSOTES), the incorporeal donation had a tendency to be transformed into OWNERSHIP.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.1 (1964), 103–14. –A.K.

THINGS, MOVABLE AND IMMOVABLE. The classification of things into movable and immovable acquired significance in various ways: in the ACQUISITION of OWNERSHIP by occupation, for example, the time limit for movable things was significantly shorter than for immovable things (see LONGI TEMPORIS PRAESCRIPTIO). Immovable things, that is, land and the buildings erected on it, were more affected by limitations on their free disposal than were movable things. There is evidence for four types of restricted disposal: (1) the landed property of the church or a monastery could be given in lease and in EMPHYTEUSIS but in principle could not be alienated (*Nov.Just.* 7 and 120 = *Basil.* 5.2.1–7 and 9–13); (2) parcels of land which were a part of a DOWRY could be sold or pledged by the husband or the wife only under certain conditions (*Cod.Just.* V 13.1.15 = *Basil.* 29.1.119.15); (3) STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA were—at least from the 10th C. onward—basically excluded from salable property; (4) finally, the agrarian legislation of the 10th C. (see PROTIMESIS; DYNATOI) considerably limited the uncontrolled transfer of land by excluding certain groups of people from the ranks of potential buyers. Movable things were less frequently affected by such limitations. The so-called *res sacra*, *religiosa*, and *sancta* (THEOPHILOS, *Institutes* 2.1.7–10) were completely removed from private ownership and hence from disposal. Accordingly the movable property of the church could not be alienated, except in case of emergency, as happened under Herakleios or Alexios I Komnenos. –M.Th.F.

THIRD ECUMENICAL COUNCIL. See EPHESUS, COUNCILS OF: Council of 431.

THOMAIS OF LESBOS, saint; born Lesbos 10th C. (?), died Constantinople at age 38 on 1 Jan. Thomais (Θωμαΐς) was the daughter of a prosperous couple who had long remained childless. From Lesbos the family moved to the shores of the Bosporos. Despite her desire to remain virgin, Thomais was married at 24 to a certain Stephen. He proved to be a cruel husband who beat her and discouraged her charitable activities. Thomais's anonymous Life, preserved only in a 14th-C. MS, contains an invocation addressed to a *porphyrogennetos* ruler named Romanos (241E). If the term PORPHYROGENNETOS is a true epithet and not mere flattery, the emperor in question should be ROMANOS II, although the notice that the monastery of the HODEGON is now called Hodegetria (238B) seems to indicate a later origin of the vita. The author is well informed about Constantinople and mentions several of its monuments (Church of St. Michael tes Oxeias, convent of *ta Mikra Romaiou*), but in general the vita is poor in data. It consists of two sections: a very conventional biography of Thomais and a description of her posthumous miracles. The vita resembles that of MARY THE YOUNGER in that it recounts the fate of a simple woman married to a brute; the hagiographer stresses that Thomais was not only virtuous but also beautiful. Secondary personages such as a licentious woman and a prostitute are introduced to contrast with Thomais. An *enkomion* of Thomais by Constantine AKROPOLITES also survives.

SOURCES. *AASS* Nov. 4:234–46.
LIT. *BHG* 2454–57. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP," *Byzantion* 25–27 (1955–57) 836–39. Patlagean, *Structure* pt.XI (1976), 620–22. –A.K.

THOMAS (Θωμᾶς), apostle and saint; feastday in Constantinople 6 Oct. In the Gospel of John, "doubting Thomas" is presented as having a confused understanding of Christ's mission. Thomas's name is connected with a Gnostic Gospel from NAG HAMMADI, consisting primarily of Christ's sayings, and with the Gnostic or Manichaean *Acts* that relates how Thomas was bought by a merchant and taken to the kingdom of Goundaphoros in India, where he worked many miracles, evangelized the country, and died as a martyr. General consensus has it that the *Acts of Thomas* was written in Syriac and eventually translated into Greek. Another apocryphal *Gospel of Thomas* describes Christ's infancy and miracles performed by him; it is possible that the author experienced some Buddhist influence. The *Apocalypse of Thomas* was rejected by the *Decretum Gelasianum*; its Greek original is lost, but Latin versions survive. The *Acts* and the *Infancy Gospel* are known in many languages, including Armenian (G. Garitte, *Muséon* 84 [1971] 151–95), Ethiopic, Old Slavonic, and so forth.

At least three churches dedicated to Thomas are known in Constantinople (Janin, *Églises CP* 248–52). A lection (Jn 20:19–31) for the first Sunday after Easter recalls Thomas's doubt. As one of the "lesser" apostles, he is usually found represented in the same collegial contexts as ANDREW, although from the 9th C. onward Thomas's incredulity toward the risen Christ was the subject of mosaics (e.g., Daphni), ivories, and MS illustration.

ED. A.J.F. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas* (Leiden 1962). *Les actes apocryphes de Jean et Thomas,* tr. A.J. Festugière (Geneva 1983). J. Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Thomas* (Leiden 1975).
LIT. S. Gero, "The Infancy Gospel in Thomas," *Novum Testamentum* 13 (1971) 46–80. G. Huxley, "Geography of the *Acts of Thomas*," *GRBS* 24 (1983) 71–80. *BHG* 1800–1844b. –J.I., A.K., A.C.

THOMAS AQUINAS. See AQUINAS, THOMAS.

THOMAS MAGISTROS, philologist and writer; monastic name Theodoulos; born Thessalonike ca.1275?, died Thessalonike soon after 1347. Thomas spent his entire career in Thessalonike. Among his students were divergent personalities such as PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, Demetrios TRIKLINIOS, and Gregory AKINDYNOS. Sometime between 1314 and 1318 he went to Constantinople on an embassy to Andronikos II. His letter describing his trip (ed. M. Treu in *Jahrbuch für classische Philologie*, supp., vol. 27 [1902] 5–30) provides useful information on travel by sea and trade. The purpose of his mission was to deliver an oration on behalf of the general Chandrenos, who had valiantly defended Thessalonike against the "Italoi" (Catalans), "Persai" (Turks), and "Triballoi" (Serbs) but was falsely accused of treason.

Despite continuing eye problems that eventually led to blindness, Thomas was a productive scholar. He compiled a *Selection (Ekloge) of Attic Names and Words* with explanations and references to ancient authors; he produced scholia on Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Synesios. It remains questionable whether he also issued a "Thoman recension" of emended texts of these authors (O.L. Smith, *GRBS* 17 [1976] 75–80; E.C. Kopff, *TAPA* 106 [1976] 241–66). Ten of his letters are preserved.

His rhetorical writings are often devoted to the past, both Christian (panegyric of Gregory of Nazianzos) and classical (the battle of Marathon); even his works on contemporary subjects are often imitative or teeming with classical allusions and citations. In fact, as F.W. Lenz has shown (*AJPh* 63 [1942] 154–73), two of his orations, the so-called "Leptinean Declamations," were erroneously attributed to Ailios ARISTEIDES. Some of them are dry *enkomia,* such as the speech to the *megas domestikos* (John Kantakouzenos?). Others, like his defense of Chandrenos, contain vague descriptions of political events; in a letter to a *megas logothetes,* full of references to figures such as Aeschylus, Demosthenes, and Lykourgos, Thomas describes the civil war in Thessalonike (PG 145:408f). One of his two surviving political treatises, *On the Political Structure*, expresses sympathy not for poor people, good-for-nothings "worth-three-obols," but for the owners of houses, fields, and ancestral graves (521B). The other, a MIRROR OF PRINCES entitled *On the Imperial Office*, alongside traditional clichés, proposes that the emperor should be a "lover of war" (*philopolemos*) in order to have peace (457C). Thomas also recommends moderate taxation and "marvelous *eleutheria* (freedom)" for the subjects (465D).

ED. PG 145:215–548. *Ecloga vocum Atticarum,* ed. F. Ritschl (Halle 1832; rp. Hildesheim–New York 1970). *Fünf Reden,* ed. F.W. Lenz (Leiden 1963). Partial Germ. tr. W. Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel* (Stuttgart 1981) 49–53, 99–193.
LIT. *PLP,* no.16045. Wilson, *Scholars* 247–49. K. Skalistes, *Thomas Magistros: Ho bios kai to ergo tou* (Thessalonike 1984). –A.K., A.M.T.

THOMAS MOROSINI, first Latin patriarch of Constantinople (from the end of 1204); born between 1170 and 1175?, died Thessalonike June/July 1211. A member of a distinguished Venetian family, he was a subdeacon of Pope INNOCENT III studying in Ravenna when unexpectedly the all-Venetian cathedral chapter of Hagia Sophia elected him patriarch after the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and the establishment of the LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Although Innocent proclaimed the election uncanonical, nonetheless he received Thomas in Rome, rapidly promoted him to deacon, priest, bishop, and archbishop, and confirmed his election in March 1205. Upon arrival in Constantinople in mid-summer of 1205 Thomas encountered serious problems: the resistance of the Greek clergy, the refusal of the French Crusaders to acknowledge his position, the hostile attitude of the Latin emperor, and the greed of the Venetians. The ill-tempered Thomas only exacerbated the situation. He failed to achieve reconciliation with the Greeks and temporarily stopped Greek services in Constantinople when the Orthodox priests omitted his name from their prayers; most Greek bishops refused obedience to him. The pope tried to use Thomas in the interests of the papacy, playing him against all the parties, granting him various superficial privileges and at the same time belittling him.

The most heated dispute centered on Thomas's oath to admit only Venetian canons into the cathedral chapter and to promote only Venetians as archbishops; the pope made him renounce his pledge on 15 Dec. 1208. Thomas also quarreled with the Venetian podesta over the possession of the Hodegetria icon (R.L. Wolff, *Traditio* 6 [1948] 319–23). The patriarch was accused by the French of appropriating enormous sums (100,000 marks) from the treasury of Hagia Sophia; he acknowledged taking 18,000 marks. He quarreled with the French and Emp. Henry about jurisdiction over conventual churches. His policy contributed to the decline in respect for the Latin church in the conquered empire. A contemporary historian portrayed him as a very fat clean-shaven man, dressed in a tight-fitting garment (Nik.Chon. 623.73–79, 647.8–14).

LIT. G. Fedalto, *La chiesa latina in Oriente,* vol. 1 (Verona 1973) 181–211. L. Santifaller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Lateinischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel (1204–1261)* (Weimar 1938) 25–28. R.L. Wolff, "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople," *DOP* 8 (1954) 227–46. Idem, *HC* 2:195–99. B.A. Pančenko, *Latinskij Konstantinopol' i papa Innokentij III* (Odessa 1914) 12–44. C. Frazee, "The Catholic Church in Constantinople, 1204–1453," *BalkSt* 19 (1978) 34f. –A.K.

THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of Morea (1428/30–1460); born Constantinople 1409, died Rome 12 May 1465. He shared power with his brothers THEODORE II and CONSTANTINE (XI) from 1428 to 1443, with Constantine from 1443 to

1449, and with DEMETRIOS from 1449 to 1460. Youngest son of Manuel II, Thomas was sent to the MOREA in 1418, probably in training as a future *despotes*. In 1430, Thomas married Caterina, daughter of Centurione ZACCARIA, and by 1432 controlled all Zaccaria's territory in Achaia and Arkadia. The same year Thomas handed over his capital at KALAVRYTA to Constantine in exchange for CHLEMOUTSI. When Theodore II left for Selymbria in 1443, Constantine and Thomas divided the Morea; Thomas received the less important appanage and probably resided at Leontarion. The final years of his despotate were marked by conflicts with his brother Demetrios. Unlike the pro-Turkish Demetrios, Thomas was a Latinophile who sought alliances with the papacy and the Italian states. During the campaign of MEHMED II that resulted in the Ottoman conquest of the Morea, Thomas fled to Kerkyra (July 1460) and then to Rome (1461), where he lived until his death, supported by a pension from Pope Pius II (1458–64). His lineage continued in Russia through the marriage of his daughter Zoe (SOPHIA PALAIOLOGINA) to Ivan III in 1472.

LIT. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:119f, 184, 204–97, 351–58. Papadopulos, *Genealogie,* no.98. *PLP,* no.21470. –A.M.T.

THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ, also called Thomas Komnenos Preljub (Πρεάλιμπος in *Lavra* 3, no.146.4) and Thomas Komnenos Palaiologos, Serbian *despotes* of Ioannina (from 1366/7); died Ioannina 23 Dec. 1384. Son of the caesar Gregory Preljub, who served Stefan Uroš IV Dušan as governor of Thessaly, he married Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina (Polemis, *Doukai* 100, no.59), a daughter of SYMEON UROŠ. In 1366/7 he entered IOANNINA with Serbian forces to protect the local populace against Albanian attacks. He then took control of northern Epiros, while the southern part of the region remained in the hands of the Albanian rulers Ghin Bua Spata and Peter Ljoša. Thomas eventually won the war against the Albanians with the help of the Ottomans. He calls himself *despotes* in an act of 1375; in 1382 the title was confirmed by the Byz. emperor.

The 15th-C. CHRONICLE OF IOANNINA, which is hostile toward Thomas, but favorable to his wife, depicts him as a greedy tyrant, who persecuted local ecclesiastical authorities, confiscated their lands, and heavily taxed the nobility, who responded with a series of revolts. According to the *Chronicle,* he was assassinated by members of his bodyguard under suspicious circumstances. His wife remarried almost immediately, in Jan. 1385, taking as her second husband Esau Buondelmonti, a nobleman of Florentine origin and a relative of the ACCIAJUOLI, who succeeded Thomas as *despotes* until ca.1408–11. The *"basilissa"* Maria died on 28 Dec. 1394, probably in Ioannina.

A reliquary-diptych in the Spanish cathedral of Cuenca bears images of Christ, the Virgin, and 28 saints (Beckwith, *ECBA,* pl.287). The figures of the two *ktetors* have virtually disappeared, but inscriptions preserve their names—the *basilissa* Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina and the *despotes* Thomas Komnenos Palaiologos. According to Beckwith (ibid., 152) the diptych reproduced another diptych (of which only one leaf survives) presented by Maria to the monastery of the Transfiguration at METEORA, the second *ktetor* of which had been her brother, John-Ioasaph Uroš. The same monastery contains an icon of the Incredulity of Thomas, which likewise bears portraits of Thomas Preljubović and Maria.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros II* 143–57. S. Cirac Estopañan, *Bizancio y España: El legado de la basilissa María y de los déspotas Thomas y Esaú de Joannina,* 2 vols. (Barcelona 1943). Th. Papazotos, "Ho Thomas Prelioumpobitz kai he Maria Palaiologina," *Kleronomia* 13 (1981) 509–16. A. Xyngopoulos, "Neai prosopographiai tes Marias Palaiologinas kai tou Thoma Prelioumpobitz," *DChAE*[4] 4 (1964–65) 53–70. Soulis, *Dušan* 123–28. Fine, *Late Balkans* 351–55. –J.S.A., A.C.

THOMAS THE ARCHDEACON, Dalmatian chronicler; born Split ca.1200, died 8 May 1268. After studying law and theology in Bologna, Thomas became a notary and canon in SPLIT in 1227, and from 1230 archdeacon. A prominent figure in the political and ecclesiastical leadership, he defended the autonomy of the city against the Hungarian monarchy and Croatian feudal magnates and the right of the clergy to elect their bishop without lay participation. His *Historia Salonitana,* in Latin, recounts the history of SALONA and neighboring Split from Roman times to 1266. For the earlier period it draws on lost Croatian sources as well as on legendary material; for the later years Thomas is an eyewitness and often a participant in the events which he narrates. A variant recension, the *Historia Salonitana Major,* may be either a reworking by a later editor or an earlier draft by the author.

ED. *Historia Salonitana,* ed. F. Rački (Zagreb 1894). *Historia Salonitana Maior,* ed. N. Klaić (Belgrade 1967).

LIT. K. Šegvić, *Toma Splićanin, državnik i pisac* (Zagreb 1927). –R.B.

THOMAS THE SLAV, leader of a rebellion; born ca.760, died Arkadiopolis Oct. 823. He was called "the Slav" because he came from a "Scythian" family dwelling in Pontos near Gaziura (M. Rajković, *ZRVI* 2 [1953] 33–38). J.B. Bury (*ERE* 84) speculates that he came to Constantinople and worked for a *patrikios* but fled to the Arabs ca.788 because of some scandal involving his master's wife. Yet in 803 Thomas was serving in the Anatolikon theme under BARDANES TOURKOS, and he fled to the Arabs only after the rebellion of Bardanes failed. Leo V recalled him in 813 and made him *tourmarches* of the *foederati* in the Anatolikon. In winter 820/1 Thomas rebelled. Some scholars accept the testimony of GENESIOS, THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, and a letter from Michael II to Louis the Pious and believe that Thomas revolted against Leo V (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 30 [1969] 279f). Others follow the chronology of SYMEON LOGOTHETE and assert that Thomas rebelled only after Michael II assassinated Leo in Dec. 820 (W. Treadgold, *DOP* 33 [1979] 167).

Posing as the late Constantine VI and entrusting command of his army to a man he adopted and named Constantius, Thomas rallied supporters from all the Asian themes except Opsikion and Armeniakon. He made an alliance with Caliph MA'MŪN, who recognized him as emperor and allowed the Melchite patriarchy Job of Antioch (813/4–844/5) to crown him *basileus* in return for Thomas's promise to surrender certain territory and pay tribute to the caliph. Thomas marched on Constantinople and, aided by the Aegean and Kibyrrhaiotai themes, besieged it from Dec. 821 to spring 823, when an assault by the Bulgarian khan OMURTAG forced him to retreat (P. Tivčev, *IstPreg* 25.5 [1969] 68–76). A subsequent attack by Michael II compelled Thomas to seek refuge in Arkadiopolis, where in mid-Oct. he was handed over to the emperor and executed. The last of the great thematic rebellions, Thomas's revolt has been variously attributed to a reaction against ICONOCLASM, a social revolution and popular uprising, a revolt by the empire's non-Greek ethnic groups, Thomas's personal ambitions, and his desire to avenge Leo V. The entire episode is given unusually rich treatment in the illustrated Madrid SKYLITZES MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès,* nos. 56–78).

LIT. P. Lemerle, "Thomas le Slave," *TM* 1 (1965) 255–97. H. Köpstein, *Thomas, Rebell und Gegenkaiser in Byzanz* (Berlin 1986). Lipšic, *Očerki* 212–28. F. Barišić, "Dve versije u izvorima o ustaniku Tomi," *ZRVI* 6 (1960) 145–69. Bury, *ERE* 84–110. –P.A.H., A.C.

THORAKION. See LOROS.

THOROS I. See RUBENIDS.

THRACE (Θράκη), in late antiquity a region bordered by the Balkan Mountains, the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara, and the Nestos River. In the 4th–7th C. the term designated (1) the traditional Thracian territory, (2) the province of Thracia, and (3) the diocese of Thraciae (plural), embracing the provinces of Europa, Thracia, Haemimontus, Rhodope, Moesia II, and Scythia. HIEROKLES listed five major cities in Thrace proper: PHILIPPOPOLIS (capital), Augusta Trajana, Diokletianopolis, Sebastopolis, and Diospolis. The supreme military commander in the diocese of Thrace was the *magister militum* for Thrace. In the 6th C., after the construction of the LONG WALL in Thrace to protect Constantinople from barbarian invasions, the office of the *vicarius* of the Long Wall was created. In the 4th through 7th C. the diocese of Thrace was invaded by Goths, Huns, Slavs, and other peoples; finally the Slavs and Bulgars settled in the area, almost all the cities were deserted, and the Thracian population retreated to the mountains. The metropolitan see of Thrace was located in Philippopolis.

By the end of the 7th C. the administration of Thrace changed. In 680/1 the *patrikios* Theodore was *komes* of Opsikion and *hypostrategos* of Thrace (Mansi 11:209A); it is unclear whether this combined title indicates that Theodore held command of the two themes, Opsikion and Thrace, or whether the district of Thrace was joined to neighboring Opsikion. No clearer is the evidence of a seal of the early 8th C., with the name of Barasbakourios, *komes* of Opsikion and *strategos* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.3081); that he was *strategos* of the theme of Thrace is a sheer guess, unsupported by any source. In 740 a certain Nikephoros was a commander of Thrace (Theoph. 415.13–14)—probably of the theme of Thrace. Seals of

8th-C. *strategoi* of Thrace are known (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1744, 2486, 2671), and Thrace is in the lists of themes (between Paphlagonia and Macedonia) in the 9th-C. *Taktikon of Uspenskij*; in the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escurial* it is combined with Ioannoupolis. From the 11th C. Thrace as an administrative unit usually appears combined with Macedonia under the command of the same *strategos*. Thrace seems to have later disappeared from official administrative nomenclature, but the term was broadly used by some antiquarian writers such as Kantakouzenos and Kritoboulos.

LIT. C. Asdracha, Ch. Bakirtzis, "Inscriptions byzantines de Thrace," *ArchDelt* 35 (1980) A 241–82. C. Asdracha, "La Thrace orientale et la Mer Noire," in *Géographie Historique du monde méditerranéen* (Paris 1988) 221–309. V. Velkov, *Gradŭt v Trakija i Dakija pres kŭsnata antičnost* (Sofia 1959). R.J. Lilie, " 'Thrakien' und 'Thrakesion,' " *JÖB* 26 (1976) 7–47. H. Ditten, "Die Veränderungen auf dem Balkan in der Zeit vom 6. bis zum 10. Jh. im Spiegel der veränderten Bedeutung von 'Thrakien,' " *BBulg* 7 (1981) 157–79. –T.E.G.

THRACIANS (Θρᾷκες), the autochthonous population of the northern Balkan peninsula, residing between Mt. Haimos and the Lower Danube; their neighbors to the west were Illyrians, to the northwest DACO-GETANS. This people consisted of many tribes, of which the Bessoi (or at least their name) survived through the late Roman Empire. Conquered by the Romans, the Thracians were romanized and in part hellenized, but rural inhabitants preserved their original language (still in the 6th C. called "the language of the Bessoi") and up to the 5th C. their religion. In the 4th–5th C. the area underwent many hostile invasions and the settlement of various FOEDERATI; intermarriages with Germanic, Alan, Sarmatian, and other settlers made the ethnic pattern of the region even more complex. The free peasantry played an essential role among the Thracians; Justinian I in novel 34 speaks of Thracian *coloni* as owners of their land. Thracians actively participated in the political life of the empire in the 5th–6th C. (V. Beševliev, *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 1–2 [1951] 217–34)—Theophanes explicitly calls the emperors Leo I, Justin II, and Tiberios I "Thracian by birth." The ethnic name *Thracian* (often linked to that of Illyrians) was used in Byz. texts through the early 7th C.—later only as an archaism (V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, *Thracia* 1 [1972] 223–30); it was preserved, however, in administrative nomenclature as THRACE (Thracia) and THRAKESION. The Thracian substratum participated in the formation of the Bulgarian and Rumanian peoples.

LIT. D. Angelov, *Obrazuvane na bŭlgarskata narodnost* (Sofia 1971) 74–99. N. Miteva, "On the Ethno-Cultural Aspect of the Thracians in Late Antiquity," *Thracia* 5 (1980) 255–64. –A.K.

THRAKESION (Θρακησίων), theme of western Asia Minor, apparently named from a body of Thracian troops settled there. The name first appears in reference to Pope Conon (686–87), who was descended "patre Thracesio" (*Lib.Pont.* 1:368). A *tourmarches* of Thrakesion is mentioned in 711, a *strategos* in 741. Thrakesion has generally been regarded as a creation of the early 8th C., having formerly been a *tourma* of the ANATOLIKON theme; recent theories, however, make it one of the original themes of Anatolia. It comprised the rich Aegean territories of Ionia and Lydia, with parts of Phrygia and Caria. It contained 20 cities, of which the largest was EPHESUS; its capital may have been at CHONAI. The *strategos* of Thrakesion commanded 10,000 troops and drew a salary of 40 pounds of gold. In the 12th–13th C. a *doux* administered the province, which included the region of Smyrna, Ephesus, and the Hermos valley, from his headquarters at PHILADELPHIA (C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* [Cambridge, Mass., 1976] 164, n.45). As the empire shrank, the importance of the theme as a bulwark against the Turks grew. It survived as long as Byz. rule in the area; its last *doux*, of the early 14th C., controlled only the district around Smyrna.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 124–26. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 137–54. R. Lilie, " 'Thrakien' und 'Thrakesion,' " *JÖB* 26 (1977) 7–47. –C.F.

THREE CHAPTERS, AFFAIR OF THE, controversy concerning the person and the work of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, and IBAS OF EDESSA. Although representatives of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, these 4th- and 5th-C. theologians were tolerated by the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and died at peace with the church. In the 6th C., however, they came to be vehemently opposed by the Monophysites (see MONOPHYSITISM) as tainted with NESTORIANISM; condemnation of the Three Chapters (i.e., the writings of the three theologians) was seen as a means to sidestep the decisions of Chalcedon.

Convinced that condemnation of the Three Chapters might bring about reunion with the Monophysites, Justinian I composed a theological treatise to this effect and issued it, on his own authority, as an imperial edict between 543 and 545. The edict was generally well received in the East, but there was great agitation in the West, with Pope VIGILIUS first condemning, then accepting the imperial decree. At the Second Council of Constantinople in 553 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) the Three Chapters, as well as ORIGEN, were again condemned and Vigilius once more expressed his reservations. The pope ultimately accepted the decisions of the council, but there was never full agreement in the West. In the East the condemnation of the Three Chapters had little effect, as the Monophysites remained unmoved.

LIT. H.M. Diepeu, *Les trois chapitres au Concile de Chalcédoine* (Oosterhout 1953). C. Moeller in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon* 1:637–720. E. Amann, *DTC* 15 (1950) 1868–1924. F. Carcione, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva della seconda controversia origenista (543–553)," *Studi e ricerche sull'Oriente cristiano* 9 (1986) 131–47. –T.E.G.

THREE HEBREWS, or Holy Children, Ananias, Mishael, and Azarias, whom their Assyrian captors named Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, respectively. The three were condemned to the furnace by Nebuchadnezzar for refusing to worship his golden statue, but were providentially rescued (Dan 3). The story of the Three Hebrews was popular in patristic and Byz. literature beginning with the commentary of Hippolytos on the book of Daniel, and the boys were proclaimed saints (feastday 17 Dec.). They were praised by many authors, including ROMANOS THE MELODE (*Hymn* 8, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons 1:360–403), Kosmas the Hymnographer, and Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust.Thess., *Opuscula* 49–53). Exegetes saw them as a PREFIGURATION of Christ, since their bodies were not harmed in the flames, just as the womb of the Virgin was not burned by the divine fire of the Only Begotten (Theodore PRODROMOS in the *Commentary on Kosmas*). On the other hand, they also typified Christian martyrs, and their encomiasts stressed their defiance of the tyrant. The seventh and eighth liturgical ODES, used in the ORTHROS, are, respectively, the Prayer of Azarias and the Hymn of the Three Hebrews; as odes, they came to be included in the PSALTER.

Both Latin and Slavic sources (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 329) report that the bodies of the Three Hebrews were in the monastery of St. Romanos in Constantinople, along with those of Daniel and Habakkuk. At the joint commemoration of the Three Hebrews and DANIEL in Constantinople, the liturgical drama of *The Three Holy Children* was performed. BERTRANDON DE LA BROQUIÈRE (*Le voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière* [Paris 1892; rp. Farnborough 1972] 154–56) mentions seeing such a play there in 1432 or 1433; Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:113D) describes a similar play (S. Baud-Bovy, *Hellenika* 28 [1975] 333f). The four extant MSS of such a play date to the 15th–17th C. (M.M. Velimirović, *DOP* 16 [1962] 353–55).

Representation in Art. The scene of the three ORANT figures, usually in Persian garb and often accompanied by the angel, was already popular in decorations of the catacombs and sarcophagi, partly because of its role in the COMMENDATIO ANIMAE. Later it was rarely used except as one of the standard Ode illustrations. The saint unscathed in a fiery furnace is a hagiographic topos (F. Halkin, *AB* 70 [1952] 251) that frequently recalls the language and details of the Septuagint account (see, e.g., Symeon Metaphrastes' accounts of Sts. Eustratios, Barbara, Plato). MS illustrators also patterned such fiery torments on the experience of the Three Hebrews (e.g., St. Eustratios—K. Weitzmann, *DOP* 33 [1979] 105, pl.27).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:668–76. Seeliger, "Drei Jünglinge." A.T. Walton, "The Three Hebrew Children in the Fiery Furnace: A Study of Changes in Christian Iconography," in *The Medieval Mediterranean: Crosscultural Contacts*, ed. M.J. Chiat, K.L. Reyerson (St. Cloud, Minn., 1988) 57–66. –C.B.T., J.H.L., A.C.

THRENOS (θρῆνος, "lament"), a term usually applied to vernacular poems in POLITICAL VERSE mourning the fate that befell Byz. at the hands of the Turks and lamenting lost glories (a prose lament in learned language would be termed a MONODY). The *threnoi* that refer to Constantinople include *The Conquest of Constantinople* (*Halosis Konstantinopoleos*), calling for aid from the European nations and perhaps written in 1453, and the *Anakalema tes Konstantinopoleos*, also from the 15th C., a dialogue between two ships bringing news of the sack of the city and perhaps based on a TRAGOUDI. In dialogue form are the *Lament of the*

Four Patriarchates (*Threnos ton Tessaron Patriarcheion*), in which the patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria compete with tales of suffering and a lament between Venice and Byz.; the destruction of Athens in 1456 is mourned by the city itself in a short *threnos*. The *Lament for Tamerlaine* emphasizes the savagery of the Mongol invasions of 1402. Similar laments survive for the fall of Adrianople (1362) and of Trebizond (1461). All anonymous and most surviving in several differing versions, the *threnoi* (esp. those on Constantinople) are reflected in *tragoudia* collected in the 19th C., showing the profound effect of these events on popular consciousness.

ED. G.T. Zoras, *Byzantine Poiesis* (Athens 1956). E. Kriaras, *Anakalema tes Konstantinopoles*[2] (Thessalonike 1965).
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 161–66. –E.M.J.

THRESHING. After being reaped, sheaves of GRAIN were carried to the threshing floor (*halon*). The GEOPONIKA (bk.2.26.1) recommends building the threshing floor in a high place exposed to the wind. The Byz. did not beat the grain with flails but used cattle (predominantly oxen) to trample the sheaves; the threshing sled (*doukane*) was also used. *Halonia* are often mentioned in *praktika* and other documents as reference points to indicate the location of a nearby field or house; thus, a charter of 1081 of Paul, the *protos* of Mt. Athos, mentions an old threshing floor on the Oxys hill (*Xerop.*, no.6.39–40).

Images connected with threshing often appeared in Christian metaphors. The biblical saying (Dt 25:4), "You shall not muzzle an ox when it treads out the grain," was commonly quoted (e.g., V. Vasil'evskij, *ŽMNP* 238 [1885] 236f). The metaphor of the separation of grain and chaff was even more common; thus Isidore of Pelousion (PG 78:225A) called the community of the universal church a threshing floor, where we are cleansed of chaff. EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (*Panarion* 2:305.5–6) called Christ "the primary offering of the threshing floor."

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:263–68. M. Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade 1973) 124–31. L. Cheetham, "Threshing and Winnowing—An Ethnographic Study," *Antiquity* 56 (1982) 127–30. –A.K., J.W.N.

THRONE (*θρόνος*, also *καθέδρα*, *σέντζος*), the official seat of the emperor, as distinct from his ordinary seat, *skamnon* (*De cer.* 178.4–5). It was often equipped with a FOOTSTOOL. The tradition of the throne as a divine and imperial symbol was firmly established in pagan antiquity and inherited by Constantine I and his successors; it merged with the Jewish tradition of the throne of SOLOMON, which was allegedly restored by Emp. Theophilos. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos records (*De cer.* 521.8–13) that on weekdays the emperor would sit in a golden chair (*sellion*) at the eastern (or right) side (?) of the throne in the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS to receive his courtiers; on Sundays and during the reception of foreign envoys, the *sellion* that he occupied was covered with silk and placed at the left side (?) of the throne. The perception of the throne as a divine attribute was esp. stressed during the celebration of Palm Sunday at the palace, when a deacon placed a Gospel book on the throne while the emperor stood in front of his seat (*De cer.* 175.15–16). Above the throne was a baldachin similar to a CIBORIUM.

The term *thronos* was also employed for chairs of bishops and officials that were made of precious materials and richly ornamented (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:79). The bishop's throne was placed in the center of the priests' seats at the east end of the church; it was considered the teacher's seat, and the bishop preached from it.

The throne held a place of honor in Christian metaphor. Christ was conceived as the Father's throne, and in this capacity was typified by the BEMA and the holy ALTAR (*trapeza*). On the other hand, Christ shared the throne with the Father, thus symbolizing their equal dignity. The HETOIMASIA, the throne prepared for Christ's Second Coming, was a frequent image in Byz. art. The plural form, *thronoi*, could denote the highest order of ANGELS. The throne was a symbol of episcopal jurisdiction, Jerusalem and esp. Rome being called apostolic thrones; Rome was also the throne of the *koryphaios*, or chief of the apostles, that is, Peter (cf. Theodore of Stoudios, PG 99:1289D).

Representation in Art and Surviving Examples. The *sella curulis* is a distinct type of folding chair widely employed, esp. by consuls; their DIPTYCHS often depict this throne adorned with lion's legs and heads. The so-called "lyre-backed" throne appears from the 5th C. onward, esp. in the monumental painting and coinage of the Macedonian dynasty (R. Cormack, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 31 [1977] 241–43). This form may derive from a mosaic in the Chrysotriklinos of the Great Palace that shows Christ enthroned (Grierson, *DOC* 3:778–80). Tenth-century descriptions of the imperial "throne of Solomon" imply that it was accompanied by AUTOMATA, lions that roared and struck the ground with their tails. Other imperial thrones recorded in the *De Ceremoniis* include those of Constantine I, Arkadios, and Theophilos. This implies that thrones of different dates continued to be employed in the MAGNAURA long after their construction.

Author portraits in Gospel book illumination depict thrones that can be classified into five groups, already known in Roman furniture: those with rectangular legs (*Athens Cat.*, pl.315); those with turned legs, often decorated with arcades, rows of balusters, and knobs (ibid., pls. 307, 314); thrones with crossed legs deriving from the *sella curulis* (H. Buchthal, H. Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople* [Washington, D.C., 1978] pl.26); solid thrones with a rounded back, particularly in 13th- through 14th-C. MS illumination (*Athens Cat.*, pl.329); and "basket" thrones of plaited wicker (*Treasures*, pl.99).

The episcopal throne (CATHEDRA) originally crowned the SYNTHRONON (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:492) and was sometimes equipped with an axial staircase. This practice appears to have survived well into the 11th/12th C. (*ABME* 5 [1939–40] 161). Some Western sources refer to movable thrones placed between the altar and the bema doors. Episcopal thrones were often carved in wood; others, like the cathedra of MAXIMIAN in Ravenna, consist entirely of ivory and were probably more symbolic than functional. A dominant type with trapezoidal flanks is attested from at least the 7th C. onward. Most medieval examples, with the exception of the throne of Melegob (H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* [Leipzig 1908] 285f, 294), survive in fragments. The association of numerous trapezoidal slabs of marble with such thrones has recently been disputed (Sodini-Kolokotsas, *Aliki II* 106).

LIT. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 32–34, 56f, 133–35. O. Wanscher, *Sella Curulis* (Copenhagen 1980). Cutler, *Transfigurations* 5–52. H. Leclerq, *DACL* 3.1:19–75. J.D. Breckenridge, "Christ on the Lyre-Backed Throne," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 247–60. –A.K., L.Ph.B.

THUCYDIDES, Greek historian of the Peloponnesian war; born Athens ca.460 B.C., died Athens ca.400. Highbrow Byz. historians from PRISKOS of Panion to KRITOBOULOS were acquainted with Thucydides. They imitated his introductory remarks, his annalistic arrangement of history, his technique of introducing formal speeches into the narrative, and above all his phraseology whenever they chronicled similar events (e.g., a siege, an outbreak of an epidemic, or a civil war). In such cases, however, the imitation was confined to literary technique and involved neither a distortion of contemporary facts nor the acceptance of the historical outlook of Thucydides. Among his imitators were PROKOPIOS and JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS.

Although Thucydides was highly regarded as a writer of the Attic dialect (cf. Gregory PARDOS, ed. Schäfer, 7), his obscure and involved style drew mixed comments from Byz. critics. PSELLOS (Mayer, "Psellos' Rede" 57.338–41) found his funeral orations inferior to those of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS but admired Thucydides as a master of stylistic obscurity and condensation (ed. J.F. Boissonade in *De operatione daemonum* [Nuremberg 1838; rp. Amsterdam 1964] 50f). John TZETZES, on the other hand, declared Thucydides worthy of "being thrown into the pit" because his style lacked clarity, persuasiveness, and charm (cf. B. Baldwin, *BZ* 75 [1982] 313–16). The *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis* (pt.2, ed. A.G. Roos, 33–45) draws on Thucydides. The *Souda* includes his biography, and his earliest MS dates from the early 10th C. Possibly excepting Maximos PLANOUDES, no Palaiologan scholar is known to have engaged in textual criticism of Thucydides. The number of extant MSS indicates that Thucydides was more widely read than HERODOTUS.

ED. *Scholia in Thucydidem*, ed. K. Hude (Leipzig 1927).
LIT. A. Kleinlogel, *Geschichte des Thukydidestextes im Mittelalter* (Berlin 1965). O. Luschnat, "Die Thukydidesscholien," *Philologus* 98 (1954) 14–58. H. Hunger, "Thukydides bei Johannes Kantakuzenos. Beobachtungen zur Mimesis," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 181–93. B. Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide* (Paris 1955). M. Cagnetta, "Per una edizione critica della Vita di Tucidide di Marcellino," *BollClass*[3] 7 (1986) 59–80. –A.C.H.

THŪGHUR. See ʿAWĀSIM AND THŪGHUR.

THURIBLE. See CENSER.

TIARA. See CROWN.

TIBERIOS I (*Τιβέριος*), also known as Tiberios II; emperor (from 26 Sept. 578); born Thrace mid-6th C., died Constantinople 14 Aug. 582.

Justin II's notary, handsome and young, Tiberios was promoted by SOPHIA, raised to caesar on 7 Dec. 574, and renamed Tiberios Constantine (or new Constantine). As Justin's co-ruler he remained under the strict supervision of Sophia but acquired a freer hand after being proclaimed augustus. He behaved as the master of a great empire, showed generosity in taxation, ordered construction works (notably, according to John of Ephesus, in the GREAT PALACE at Constantinople), and intervened in internal policy in Gaul and Spain. It remains questionable, however, whether Frankish agrarian legislation was influenced, as E. Stein (*Klio* 16 [1919] 72–74) thought, by the abolition of the EPIBOLE allegedly ordered by Tiberios. Personally tolerant, Tiberios still had to put up with persecutions of pagans and Monophysites. His major problems were wars against the Persians and Avars. After the success of his general JUSTINIAN at Melitene, the Byz. were routed in Armenia and the future Emp. Maurice, commanding in the East, was unable to curb the invasion of CHOSROES I. In the Balkans, Avar and Slav raids created a permanent tension, esp. when BAIAN took Sirmium. Tiberios kept Sophia's intrigues at bay and remained faithful to his wife Anastasia (whose pre-baptismal name was Ino); one of his daughters, Constantina, married Maurice. Although popular and well-intentioned, Tiberios had no long-range plan for the empire.

LIT. Stein, *Studien* 56–116. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 2:377–418. W. Goffart, "Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice," *Traditio* 13 (1957) 73–105.
–W.E.K.

TIBERIOS II, emperor (698–705); baptismal name Apsimar; died Constantinople 15 Feb. (?) 706. He is not to be confused with TIBERIOS I, who is sometimes called Tiberios II. A noble of Gothic, Iranian, or possibly Armenian origins, Apsimar was *droungarios* of the Kibyrrhaiotai in 697 when he accompanied JOHN PATRIKIOS and a fleet sent by Leontios to recapture North Africa. Upon John's murder in 698, Apsimar was proclaimed emperor as Tiberios. After a lengthy siege Tiberios took Constantinople with the help of the Green FACTION and was crowned by Patr. Kallinikos (694–706). The little that is known of Tiberios's rule indicates that he worked to strengthen the empire militarily. He repaired Constantinople's sea walls (Preger, *Scriptores* 2:208.18–19). In 698 he repatriated Cypriots captured by the caliph ʿABD AL-MALIK to Cyprus (R. Jenkins in *De adm. imp.* 2:181) and reorganized its administration and defenses. He appointed his brother Herakleios *monostrategos* of an army that invaded Syria in 700, but Arab counterattacks subdued Armenia by 703/4. In Aug. 705 Tiberios fled Constantinople at Justinian II's advance but was soon arrested. After several months Tiberios, Herakleios, and Leontios were paraded through Constantinople and executed. Justinian spared Tiberios's son Theodosios, who later became bishop of Ephesus; some scholars believe he ruled as THEODOSIOS III.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:84–126. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:279–84.
–P.A.H.

TILES (κεραμίδια) were the usual ceramic coverings for ROOFS. Most tiles were of the simple curved type: some nearly semicircular, some only slightly curved. Byz. tiles did not preserve the ancient distinction between pan and cover tiles; one tile placed with its convex surface upward was set over the joint between two tiles placed with their concave surface upward. Flat tiles, little different from BRICKS, were regularly used in masonry, fitted between courses of stones and occasionally arranged in decorative patterns; cut tiles were used in pseudo-Kufic designs and in dentil patterns and various geometric forms (see BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES). Most tiles were locally made. No detailed study of them has yet been made.

Tiles with glazed polychrome decoration were used as CERAMIC ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION, on icon frames, and, at one site, as pavement. Finds in the Baths of ZEUXIPPOS in Constantinople suggest their use in secular buildings. Figurative tiles have been unearthed at many sites in Constantinople, and at PRESLAV and Patleina in Bulgaria (see BULGARIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE). Their decoration includes mixtures of floral and geometric designs and sometimes birds. Depictions of the Virgin, saints, or apostles appear on square tiles as busts, full figures, or in medallions. Several tiles could be used to form a single representation (K. Miatev, *Monumenta Artis Bulgariae* 4 [1936], pl.XIX). Inscriptions identifying the figures are in Greek or, on some Bulgarian tiles, in Slavonic or faulty Greek. Stratigraphic data and textual sources place these tiles in the 9th to 11th C. Evidence of workshops has been found at Preslav, Patleina, Nicaea, and Nikomedeia. A document of 1202, describing a church in Constantinople given to the Genoese (MM 3:55.13–14), refers to piers decorated with "tiles (*tanstria*) of Nikomedeia."

LIT. P. Verdier, "Tiles of Nicomedia," in *Okeanos* 632–36. E.S. Ettinghausen, "Byzantine Tiles from the Basilica in the Topkapu Sarayı and Saint John of Studios," *CahArch* 7 (1954) 79–88. A. Grabar, *Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique* (Paris 1928) 42–51. D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* (Oxford 1930) 13–19, 97.
–T.E.G., S.M.C.

TIMARION, an anonymous satirical dialogue of the first half of the 12th C. Its authorship has been variously attributed to PRODROMOS (H. Hunger), KALLIKLES (E. Lipšic, R. Romano), and MICHAEL ITALIKOS (B. Baldwin). An imitation of LUCIAN, Timarion describes a journey to the netherworld by a certain Timarion who was mistaken for a corpse. The picture of the underworld is devoid of the tragical perception of the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER and mildly derisive of the habits and persons Timarion saw in the realm of the dead. Among the figures satirized are Greek mythological personages, ancient writers on medical subjects, and several Byz., such as Emp. THEOPHILOS and Michael PSELLOS; the contemporary predilection for medical studies and current jurisprudence is ridiculed. The dialogue begins with a detailed description of the FAIR in Thessalonike—important evidence for Byz. trade—and with an elaborate eulogy of a member of the PALAIOLOGOS family which has been interpreted by M. Alexiou as a piece of irony in disguise (*BMGS* 8 [1982–83] 29–45). Constantine AKROPOLITES severely censured Timarion (M. Treu, *BZ* 1 [1892] 361–65) for its allegedly anti-Christian attitude.

ED. R. Romano, *Pseudo-Luciano, Timarione* (Naples 1974). Eng. tr. B. Baldwin, *Timarion* (Detroit 1984). Russ. tr. S. Poljakova, I. Felenkovskaja (introd. E. Lipšic), *VizVrem* 6 (1953) 357–86.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:151–54. B. Baldwin, "The Authorship of the *Timarion*," *BZ* 77 (1984) 233–37.
–A.K.

TIME (χρόνος). OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA (PG 93:508A) defined *chronos* as the interval during which something occurs and *kairos*, another term for time, as the period necessary for a certain action. *Kairos* was sometimes used as a synonym for *chronos*, sometimes contrasted with it, so that *kairos* acquired a more concrete and practical character. The measurement of time in Byz. was based on natural phenomena, such as the alternation between night and day or the change of seasons; this dependence of *chronos* on the movement of the sun, the moon, and other celestial bodies was stressed by the Eunomians, according to Basil the Great (PG 29:557C).

The major units of time—the DAY, MONTH, SEASONS, and year—were derived from the observation of natural phenomena; the smaller divisions of the day—HOURS and watches (*vigiliae*)—corresponded to the needs of convenience. The week was determined by authority or tradition: the seven-day week was based on the Bible and on ancient astrology with its list of seven celestial bodies; even Christians could speak of the day of Aphrodite or the day of Helios (as reflected in Egyptian inscriptions); later, the Byz. preferred the numerical designation of days of the week—the second (Monday), the third (Tuesday), etc., up to Paraskeve (Friday), Sabbath (Saturday), and the Lord's or the first day (Sunday). Passage of the hours of the day was measured by a SUNDIAL or HOROLOGION, the passage of the days and months by a calendar.

Historical time was calculated in Byz. from the Creation and not from Christ's birth, as in the West. The number of elapsed years between the Creation and the Incarnation was variously calculated, but the predominant figure for the BYZANTINE ERA came to be 5508. Christ's Second Coming or PAROUSIA signified the end of time (sometimes measured at 7,000 or 8,000 years from the Creation), so that the history of mankind was conceived as developing within a limited framework of time with both beginning and end (see ESCHATOLOGY). Even though the notion that cyclical historical time was predominant in antiquity has been questioned (A. Momigliano, *History and Theory* 5 [1966] 3–23), it was only in the Middle Ages that the linear perception of time became ubiquitous: the time of Byz. chronicles was open at one end and could be extended without difficulty by the simple addition of subsequent events. The time of historians was "material," and CHRONOLOGY in itself conferred sense upon events, creating logical links between chronologically coinciding facts (J. Beaucamp et al., *TM* 7 [1979] 225f)—at least in works such as the CHRONICON

PASCHALE and the *Chronographia* of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR.

The principle of the plain continuum of time (the narrative in Theophanes is organized by years) was not accepted by many historians, hagiographers, and the authors of romances or epics. "Narrative time" or "artistic time" often does not accord with chronological sequence of events: some historians destroyed the plain continuum by structuring the narrative not on the basis of chronology but of subject matter; storytellers were introduced to relate events that took place in the distant past, and some visions could reveal the future up to the Last Judgment; the literary device of iteration (artistic repetition) permitted returning to the same episode two or three times.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 161–235. A. Sharf, "The Eighth Day of the Week," in *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* (Camberley, Surrey, 1988) 27–50. –A.K.

Philosophical and Theological Terminology of Time. According to the categories of Aristotle, time as an accident is itself unmoved, but it presupposes movement that in turn involves number, hence, a numerical entity. This philosophical definition, also common in Byz.—as in the 9th-C. Zacharias of Chalcedon (K. Oehler, *Antike Philosophie und byzantinisches Mittelalter* [Munich 1969] 300–08)—is extended by Gregory of Nyssa in the sense that man moves to perfection in an unending assimilation to the good that, in the final analysis, eliminates the distinction so important to Greek philosophy between rest and movement (*Vita Moysis*, 2.243, 1; ed. J. Daniélou [Paris 1968] 110). At the same time, the other apparently unresolved conflict between a linear and cyclical conception of time is overcome in Christian thought. The tension between creation and recapitulation, between beginning (*arche*) and end (*telos*) was united in both models of thought. For Byz. historiography the periodization of world history into four major kingdoms and a thousand-year reign of peace, which is rooted in various biblical interpretations (e.g., Dan 2 and 7; Rev 20, etc.), proved equally important.

The involvement of mankind in a world epoch corresponded, for the individual, to the division of his life into different periods. The church incorporated these views into the liturgical year (see YEAR, LITURGICAL), with its times of fasting and feasting, its times of baptism and commemoration of the dead. Monks and ascetics limited their concern for the body to a minimum in order to establish through fixed hours of prayer a maximum amount of meditation on the divine or the salvation of the soul. Brief episodes of participation in the life of God (MYSTICISM) and above all the blessed hour of DEATH as the moment of birth into eternal life became for the mystically inclined monk the significant "heavenly time" of his life, which constitutes a continuous spiritual renewal.

Theologically, time was contrasted both with the *aion* that Maximos the Confessor (PG 91:1164BC) defines as *chronos* without movement, and with ETERNITY, or divine timelessness. Time is a creature, and the Trinity is both before and beyond *chronos* and the *aion* (i.e., *hyperchronios* and *hyperaionios*); the Trinity is the creative cause (*aitia poietike*) of time which—by definition—is connected with such categories as "birth" and destruction (cf. Michael Psellos in L.G. Benakis, *Philosophia* 10/11 [1980–81] 398–421, and NICHOLAS OF METHONE, ed. Angelou, 7.20–22, 9.14).

LIT. I. Escribaño-Alberca, "Zum zyklischen Zeitbegriff der alexandrinischen und kappadokischen Theologie," *StP* 11 (1972) 42–51. *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge, IIIe–XIIIe siècle* (Paris 1984). *Liturgical Time*, ed. W. Vos, G. Wainwright [= *Studia liturgica* 14.2–4] (Rotterdam 1982). R. Sorabji, *Time, Creation and Continuum* (Ithaca 1983). G. Podskalsky, "Zur Symbolik des achten Tages in der griechisch-byzantinischen Theologie," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz* (Munich 1990) 157–66, 216–19. –G.P.

TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS (Αἴλουρος, lit. "cat" or "weasel"), Monophysite bishop of Alexandria (457–458/60, 476–77); a saint in the Coptic church; died Alexandria 31 July 477. His nickname was given him either because of his small stature or because he prowled the streets and monasteries spreading dissension. A priest under DIOSKOROS, Timotheos participated in the "Robber" Council of Ephesus in 449 and maintained his allegiance to Dioskoros after the Council of Chalcedon (451). Together with PETER MONGOS, Timotheos organized the Monophysite opposition in Egypt. He had the support of the mob that killed his Orthodox rival Proterios, thus allowing him to become bishop. As a result of pressure from the Chalcedonians and esp. Pope LEO I, Emp. Leo I exiled Ailouros to Gangra sometime between 458 and 460 and to Cherson ca.464/5. The usurper BASILISKOS recalled him from exile in 475, but Patr. AKAKIOS remained his enemy. Having returned to Alexandria, Ailouros died before he could again be banished as the result of another reversal of policy under Emp. Zeno.

More politician than theologian, Ailouros tried to maintain a middle ground between the dyophysites and the followers of EUTYCHES. He rejected the concept of two natures in Christ but assumed that through his flesh Christ was related to mankind and that the Logos suffered on the cross as a result of the Incarnation. His writings, both letters (R.Y. Ebied, L.R. Wickham, *JThSt* 21 [1970] 321–69) and polemical works against the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tomus* of Pope Leo, have survived in Syriac and Armenian fragments. Ailouros is a rare polemicist who quoted his adversaries extensively before refuting them. A 9th-C. historian (Theoph. 111.9–11) accused him of falsifying unpublished works of Cyril of Alexandria—probably an attempt to exonerate the latter of pro-Monophysite sympathies.

ED. Armenian version—*Widerlegung der auf der Synode zu Chalcedon festgesetzten Lehre*, ed. K. Ter-Mekerrtschian, E. Ter-Minassiantz (Leipzig 1908). Syriac version—*Against the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon*, ed. R.Y. Ebied, L.R. Wickham, in *After Chalcedon* (Louvain 1985) 115–66, with Eng. tr. *CPG*, vol. 3, nos. 5475–5491.

LIT. J. Lebon, "La christologie de Timothée Aelure," *RHE* 9 (1908) 677–702. F. Nau, "Sur la christologie de Timothée Aelure," *ROC* 14 (1909) 99–103. H.P. Opitz, *RE* 2.R. 12 (1937) 1355–57. M. Simonetti, *DPAC* 2:3452f. –T.E.G.

TIMOTHEOS OF GAZA, *grammatikos* (*Souda*, ed. Adler, 4:557.9) and armchair zoologist; fl. ca.491–518. A student of the Egyptian philosopher Horapollo, Timotheos reflected the approach to learning of the 5th-C. school of GAZA. He wrote a poem in four books on exotic ANIMALS, variously called *Indian Animals* or *Quadrupeds and Their Innately Wonderful Qualities* or *Stories about Animals*. He drew from several earlier sources, including Aristotle, Plutarch, Oppian, Aelian, and Philostratos, with passages culled from Nikander of Colophon, Pliny the Elder, Galen, and an early version of the PHYSIOLOGOS. The work survives only in a mid-11th-C. prose summary, dated by the scribe's mention (ch.24) of the zoo of Constantine IX Monomachos. The work is a fine mélange of ZOOLOGY and legend (e.g., ch.9, "The Tiger and the Griffin"). The chapter on "The Giraffe" gives valuable details on the transport of ELEPHANTS and giraffes in the reign of Anastasios I, yet states that the giraffe is "produced by the intercourse of different animals" (24.1). John TZETZES remarks that Timotheos, along with Aelian and Oppian, represents the best zoology (*Historiae* 4.166–69); apparently the prose summary of the *Animals* was widely used as a schoolbook and was enormously popular.

ED. M. Haupt, ed., "Excerpta ex Timothei Gazaei libris de animalibus," *Hermes* 3 (1869) 1–30. *Timotheus of Gaza on Animals*, tr. F.S. Bodenheimer, A. Rabinowitz (Paris-Leiden 1949).

LIT. M. Wellmann, "Timotheos von Gaza," *Hermes* 62 (1927) 179–204. A. Steier, *RE* 6 A 2 (1937) 1339–41. R.A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language* (Berkeley 1988) 368–70. –J.S.

TIMOTHEOS SALOPHAKIALOS (Σαλοφακίαλος), Orthodox patriarch of Alexandria (spring 460–Feb. 482). His name reportedly meant "white cap" or more probably "wobble cap." Initially a Pachomian monk at Canopus, Timotheos was consecrated patriarch after the exile of the Monophysite patriarch TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS. Although a strict Chalcedonian in doctrine, he acted with forbearance toward MONOPHYSITISM. Still, his conciliatory nature did not please everyone. When he restored the name of DIOSKOROS to the diptychs, Rome protested. On Ailouros's return from exile (475), Timotheos retired to his own monastery. When Ailouros died (31 July 477), he was reinstated. ZENO and Patr. AKAKIOS of Constantinople continued to support him, although the Monophysites had in the meantime elected PETER MONGOS as Ailouros's successor. Since Timotheos wanted to have an Orthodox succeed to the see on his death, he sent John Talaia to Constantinople to speak with Zeno. The mission failed. In fact, Talaia had to agree not to seek the throne himself. As a consequence, on Timotheos's death, his rival Mongos, having promised to support the emperor's HENOTIKON, was recognized, while Talaia, who had himself elected by the Orthodox despite his pledge, was forced to flee to Rome. Mongos eventually struck Timotheos's name from the diptychs, disinterred his body, and cast it outside the city walls.

LIT. F. Hofmann in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon* 2:33–40. –A.P.

TIMUR (Τεμήρης, etc.), or Tamerlane, founder of a vast Turco-Mongol empire in Central and western Asia; born Kesh (near Samarkand) 1336, died Otrar (on the Sīr Daryā River) 18 Feb. 1405. From ca.1370 Timur ruled the decaying Chagatay khanate, and by 1399 his dominion extended from eastern Turkestan and northern India to Mesopotamia and the frontiers of Ottoman Anatolia. In these years Timur's impact on Byz. affairs was minimal, although tales of his might had reached Constantinople. His clash with the Ottoman sultan BAYEZID I, coinciding with the latter's siege of Constantinople, instantly brought Timur into the mainstream of Palaiologan politics. In 1399, when Bayezid expanded deep into eastern Anatolia, Timur replied by sacking Sivas. Although he then campaigned in northern Syria and Iraq, by summer 1401 he was again planning a major assault on the Ottomans. He then concluded agreements with JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS and the Genoese, the latter promising to acknowledge his sovereignty and to provide financial and naval support in his war on Bayezid. His invasion of Anatolia in spring 1402 culminated in Bayezid's defeat and capture at the battle of ANKARA on 28 July. Shortly thereafter the Turks abandoned the siege of Constantinople and peace was concluded between John VII and Bayezid's son, SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI. Timur remained in Anatolia until spring 1403, assaulting Smyrna in Dec. 1402 and otherwise reconstituting the traditional Turkish beyliks. During these months, John VII evidently acknowledged Timur's suzerainty, but the khan did not attempt to secure direct control of Constantinople. Timur's dismantling of Ottoman Anatolia and the accompanying succession strife among Bayezid's sons (1402–13) allowed Byz. some political and military recovery in Thrace and Macedonia.

The contemporary Greeks perceived Timur as the tool of either God or the Virgin, dispatched to Asia Minor for the purpose of liquidating Bayezid and thereby ending his attack on Constantinople. Later historians such as DOUKAS and CHALKOKONDYLES likewise tend to develop Timur, in secular terms, as an essentially just antagonist of Bayezid. Their political viewpoint parallels that of the *begs*, who regarded Bayezid's imperial ambitions as unjustified and deserving of chastisement.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 216–51. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)*[2] (London 1977). G. Dennis, "Three Reports from Crete on the Situation in Romania, 1401–1402," *StVen* 12 (1970) 243–65. Idem, "The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403," *OrChrP* 33 (1967) 72–88. Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken* 2:367–78.
–S.W.R.

TIPOUKEITOS (Τιπούκειτος, "what is to be found where"), an "index" to the BASILIKA produced probably toward the end of the 11th C. A judge by the name of Patzes is assumed to be the author. To his table of contents he added countless references with precise indication of their sources and, in the case of individual chapters, the actual *incipit*, thereby producing an aid to the *Basilika* that, in contrast to the SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM, could not be employed independently. Individual scholia to the *Basilika* are used in the form of terse comments and observations; moreover, there are occasional references to Eustathios RHOMAIOS and recent imperial legislation.

ED. *M. Kritou tou Patze Tipoukeitos*, 5 vols., ed. C. Ferrini, I. Mercati (bks. 1–12—Rome 1914), F. Dölger (bks. 13–23—Rome 1929), St. Hoermann, E. Seidl (bks. 24–60—Rome 1943–57).
–L.B.

TIRIDATES THE GREAT. See TRDAT THE GREAT.

TITHE (δεκατεία, δέκατον, lit. "tenth"). Three different tithes are known in Byz.

1. There was the tithe on trade, that is, the KOMMERKION, and a more specific tithe collected on wine transported by sea to Constantinople (*dekateia oinaron*).

2. The tithe on land was basically the rent that the landowner collected from his tenants: 1/10 of the gross product (MORTE); or a rent collected for the pasture of animals—in reality paid by those who possessed such animals (ENNOMION and more specifically *probatoennomion, choiroennomion, melissoennomion*: rent paid by those who possessed sheep, pigs, or beehives).

3. In the 15th C., under Ottoman influence, a new *dekaton* (on wheat and on wine) appears in eastern Macedonia: a Byz. adaptation of the Muslim *uşr* (10 percent or 7 percent of the produce, N. Oikonomides, *SüdostF* 45 [1986] 7–9).

LIT. H.F. Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," *JÖB* 6 (1957) 47–110. N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:169–71. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 102–04. P. Lemerle, "Notes sur l'administration byzantine à la veille de la IVe croisade d'après deux documents inédits des archives de Lavra," *REB* 19 (1961) 271.
–N.O.

TITLES. See DIGNITIES AND TITLES.

TITLES, PURCHASE OF. Some honorific titles as well as active offices were bestowed by the emperor on individuals who had to pay a certain amount of cash in return. Not necessarily simple purchases, these were certainly not seen as signs of CORRUPTION. There were three main forms of purchase. (1) Farming out of offices, esp. those related to fiscal or economic activities (tax collection, trade monopolies such as those of the KOMMERKIARIOI), was a perennial practice, usually following a public auction. (2) Lifelong positions in the civil administration, such as those of NOTARIES or CHARTOULARIOI, positions in the palace service or in public institutions, and many others were considered STRATEIAI that could be acquired directly from their actual holder and transmitted in other ways (donation, exchange, dowry, etc.). (3) From the 8th to 11th C., several honorific titles (such as SPATHARIOS) were normally given by the emperor to individuals who paid in advance a large and variable amount of money and received in return the title accompanied by a yearly lifelong salary (ROGA) corresponding to 2.31 to 3.47 percent of the invested capital (the purchase of increases of the yearly salary was possible at much more profitable rates). The purchase of ecclesiastical titles was censured as SIMONY.

LIT. G. Kolias, *Ämter- und Würdenkauf im früh- und mittelbyzantinischen Reich* (Athens 1939). Guilland, *Institutions* 1:73–83. P. Lemerle, " 'Roga' et rente d'état aux Xe–XIe siècles," *REB* 25 (1967) 77–100.
–N.O.

TITULAR CHURCHES. The term TITULUS was applied to certain churches of Rome (*titulus Anastasiae, titulus Pudentis*), probably originally to indicate the owner of the property that came to house the church. Although titular churches are first mentioned only in the 4th C., some of the structures so designated are believed to have had roots in the pre-Constantinian period, and thus to constitute the oldest official Christian meeting places of the city, as archaeological evidence suggests (SS. Giovanni e Paolo; S. Martino ai Monti). Two synodal lists (499, 595), however, demonstrate that the number and identity of the titular churches changed in the course of time.

LIT. J.P. Kirsch, *Die römischen Titelkirchen im Altertum* (Paderborn 1918).
–W.T.

TITULUS (Gr. τίτλος), term of Roman law that originally designated a dedicatory or honorific inscription on a temple, gravestone, or building, then a notice, label, or title; in a technical sense, it could mean the item of taxation and esp. the title of ownership (e.g., J.O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens*, vol. 2 [Stockholm 1982] no.31.I.7, a.540). The term is conventionally used by art historians (1) to describe explanatory legends that accompany narrative or symbolic representations and (2) to indicate the title of a TITULAR CHURCH.

LIT. H. Heumann, E. Seckel, *Handlexikon zu den Quellen des römischen Rechts* (Jena 1907; rp. Graz 1958) 586f. A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadelphia 1953) 737f. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 2:604.
–A.K., W.T., A.C.

TITUS (Τίτος), bishop of Bostra in Arabia; died before 378. Titus was bishop under Emp. JULIAN, who attacked him in a letter (ep.41, ed. Wright) of 1 Aug. 362 concerning civic disturbances in Bostra; he continued his post as bishop under Jovian. In 363 he took part in a synod at Antioch at which he signed a letter accepting the HOMOOUSION. His major work was a polemic in four books against MANICHAEANISM, written after Julian's death. It is wholly extant in a Syriac translation; the first half survives also in Greek. Titus argues that God's justice is not incompatible with the existence of evil, the latter being not a substance but the product of human weakness and free will. Manichaean notions of conflict between the Dark and the Light and of matter and evil are combatted with ideas of divine providence and creation. Titus defends the divine inspiration of the Old Testament, while exposing in detail Manichaean interpretations of the Old Testament and interpolations into the New Testament. Valuable for its quotations and paraphrases of MANI, Titus's book was much exploited in Byzantium. Byz. *catenae* also preserve fragments of his commentary on Luke; his sermon on Epiphany survives in Syriac fragments. The *Oration on Palm Sunday* attributed to Titus is spurious.

ED. *Contra Manichaeos libri quatuor syriace*, ed. P.A. de Lagarde (Berlin 1859; rp. Hannover 1924). *Titi Bostreni quae ex opere contra Manichaeos . . . servata sunt graece*, ed. idem (Berlin 1859).

LIT. J. Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien* (Leipzig 1901). R.P. Casey, "The Text of the Anti-Manichaean Writings of Titus of Bostra and Serapion of Thmuis," *HThR* 21 (1928) 97–111. P. Nagel, "Neues griechisches Material zu Titus von Bostra (Adversus Manichaeos III 7–29)," *Studia Byzantina*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1973) 285–350. –B.B.

TMUTOROKAN (τὰ Μάτραχα), also Tmutarakan, city on the east side of the Crimean strait of Kerč, succeeding the ancient Greek colony of Hermonassa. Located apart from the main barbarian routes in the 4th C., Hermonassa suffered less than Tanais or the cities of the Crimea. Based on archaeological data, S.A. Pletneva (in *Keramika, infra* 63) divides the history of medieval Tmutorokan into six periods: post-Hunnic (5th–7th C.), Khazar (8th–mid-10th C.), Rus' (mid-10th–11th C.), Cuman (12th–mid-13th C.), Tatar (mid-13th–beginning of 14th C.), and Genoese (14th–15th C.). The city flourished under Khazar rule when SALTOVO ware dominated Tmutorokan ceramics. The city was governed by a municipal system, the head of which—*balikči* (lit. "fisherman")—was appointed by the Khazars (V. Minorsky, *WZKM* 56 [1960] 131).

Raided by the Rus' ca.925 (N. Golb, O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents* [Ithaca, N.Y., 1982] 139–42), Tmutorokan became a part of the Kievan realm after 965. At that time ceramic imports decreased and dozens of Saltovo workshops were destroyed. A Greek element was active in 11th-C. Tmutorokan (E. Skržinskaja, *VizVrem* 18 [1961] 74–84), and "Cuman Tmutorokan" was under Byz. administrative control. By the treaties of 1169 and 1192, Byz. forbade the Genoese to use the Tmutorokan harbor. The seal of Michael, "*archon* of ZICHIA, Tmutorokan, and Khazaria" probably belonged to a Byz. governor of the Azov Sea region rather than to Oleg-Michael, the prince of Chernigov, as A. Soloviev (in 11 *CEB* [Munich 1960] 572f) suggested. Byz.'s special interest in Tmutorokan can be explained (G. Litavrin, *Voprosy istorii*, no.7 [1972] 39) by the oil wells in the area that provided Byz. with the raw materials for GREEK FIRE.

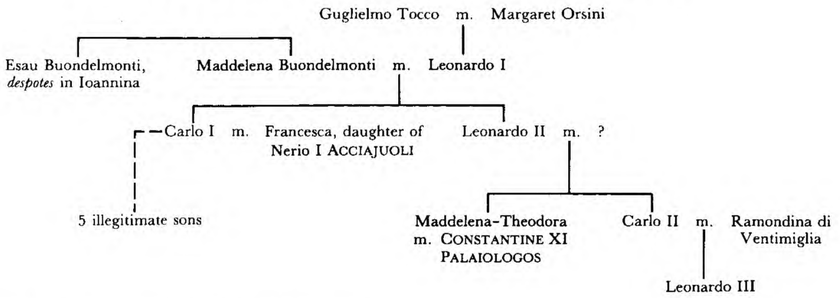
From the end of the 10th C. onward, the autocephalous archbishopric of Tmutorokan and Zichia is recorded (*Notitiae CP*, no.8.120–21), and as late as the 1230s the Hungarian missionary Julian observed in Tmutorokan a population that "had Greek books and priests" (L. Bendefy, *Fontes authentici itinera [1235–1238] Fr. Iuliani illustrantes* [Budapest 1937] 22.6–9). In 1482 Tmutorokan was taken by the Ottomans.

LIT. G. Litavrin, "À propos de Tmutorokan," *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 221–34. A. Kazhdan, "Some Little Known or Misinterpreted Evidence about Kievan Rus' in Twelfth-Century Greek Sources," in *Okeanos* 341–53. V. Mošin, "Nikolaj, episkop Tmutorokanskij," *SemKond* 5 (1932) 47–62. *Keramika i steklo drevnej Tmutarakani* (Moscow 1963). –O.P.

TOCCO (Τόκκοι), an Italian family, originally from Benevento, which played a prominent role in the Ionian islands and despotate of EPIROS in the 14th and 15th C. The first member of the family to settle in Greece was Guglielmo Tocco (died 1335), who served as governor of Kerkyra for the Angevin PHILIP I OF TARANTO in the 1330s. In 1357 Robert of Taranto made Guglielmo's son Leonardo I (died 1375/6) count of Cephalonia (KEPHALENIA) and Zante (ZAKYNTHOS). Leonardo extended his control to Leukas (1362) and Ithake. Leonardo's two sons, Carlo I (died 1429) and Leonardo II (died 1418/19), are the heroes of the CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO. Carlo, who was married to Francesca ACCIAJUOLI, daughter of Nerio I Acciajuoli, expanded his territory to the mainland by seizing Corinth and Megara in 1395 after his father-in-law's death (J. Chrysostomides, *Byzantina* 7 [1975] 81–110). By 1408 he had conquered Akarnania from the Albanians. After the death of his uncle Esau Buondelmonti (see EPIROS) in 1411, Carlo succeeded him as *despotes* of Ioannina and in 1416 acquired Arta as well. Until his death he ruled as the last true *despotes* of Epiros, the rank Manuel II conferred on him in 1415. After 1429 the despotate, a subject of dispute between the illegitimate sons of Carlo I and his nephew Carlo II, fell apart again. Carlo II surrendered Ioannina to the Turks in 1430 but remained lord of Arta until he died in 1448. Arta fell in 1449. By ca.1460 Carlo's son Leonardo III (died 1494) retreated to the Ionian islands, the last remaining Christian territory in Greece, until they were in turn captured by the Ottomans in 1479. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros II* 165–215. G. Schirò, "Manuele II Paleologo incorona Carlo Tocco despota di Gianina," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 209–30. –A.M.T.

THE TOCCO FAMILY IN THE IONIAN ISLANDS AND EPIROS
IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES



Based on Nicol, *Epiros II* 256, and Bon, *Morée franque* 707.

TOGA, Roman outer garment, draped around the body in such a way that the right arm remained free. The distinguishing mark of a Roman citizen, it did not long survive the imperial administration's move from Rome to Constantinople. Ordinary people had come to prefer the HIMATION already by the 2nd C., and wearing of the toga was gradually restricted to specific officials (among them senators, consuls, and the emperor, and their wives and mothers) on ceremonial occasions. Silk replaced the original wool fabric. The color of the toga was usually white, but other colors could indicate the higher rank of the wearer: a *trabea* was purple or gold, while the highest form of toga, the *toga picta* or *trabea triumphalis*, was embroidered with gold rosettes and even scenes, or encrusted with jewels, and had an elaborate border. The *trabea triumphalis* was the standard costume for consuls opening the games and is hence frequently depicted on the ivory consular DIPTYCHS. The use of the toga decreased with the decline of the consulship, but its border was retained as a separate imperial vestment, already referred to in the 6th C. as a LOROS (C. Albizzati, *Rivista italiana di numismatica* 35 [1922] 69–92).

LIT. L.M. Wilson, *The Roman Toga* (Baltimore 1924). Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen* 43–58. E. Piltz, *RBK* 3:428–35. –N.P.S.

TOKALI KILISE. See GÖREME.

TOKENS (σφραγίδια, "little sealings"; Lat. *tesserae*) were given to the poor and exchanged by them for food and other necessities of life. Such tokens served as counters, in the same manner that Roman tokens allowed an official to keep track of and verify goods that he disbursed; unlike Roman practice, however, Byz. tokens were not used for advertising. They were issued in lead and copper and resemble lead SEALS both in size (somewhat smaller) and decoration; the planchet, however, exhibits no perforation for cording and suspensions. The great majority of tokens date from the 11th C., although there are earlier references in literature. For example, in 436, according to a decree in the *Theodosian Code* (XIV 26.2), 110 *modii* of grain were to be added to the grain supply of Alexandria, and bread tickets (tesserae) were to be marked and validated by the imperial name. *Sphragidia* were distributed by imperial command on various holidays, such as 22 July, a commemorative ceremony of Leo VI, when tokens were given to the poor and later exchanged at a rate of 1 1/3 nomisma per token (Oikonomides, *Listes* 217.33–219.3). Typically the obverse and reverse of lead tokens are decorated with an inscription quoting Proverbs 19:17: "He who is generous to the poor lends to the Lord." The same inscription appears on copper tokens, but often on the reverse alone, leaving the obverse field to be filled with an effigy of the Virgin, Christ, or a saint.

LIT. J. Nesbitt, "Byzantine Copper Tokens," in *Byz. Sigillography* 67–75. –J.W.N.

TOKENS, PILGRIM. See PILGRIM TOKENS.

TOMB (*τάφος*). The Byz. vocabulary for tomb varied: Niketas Choniates, besides *taphos*, used such terms as *theke, mneme, sema,* and *soros*. Legal texts (e.g., *Basil.* 59.1.2) distinguished between *taphos* and *mneme;* according to the *Synopsis Basilicorum* (Zepos, *Jus* 5:559, note b), *taphos* was the grave for the BURIAL of the corpse while *mneme* was the "building" (*ktisma*) over it. The *Basilika* (59.1.5) preserved also the ancient distinction between *familiarioi* tombs (for the individual and his whole *familia*) and *kleronomiaioi* tombs (for the individual and his descendants).

A tomb could take the form of a grave faced with a slab or surmounted by a stele or a CIBORIUM, a niche with an ARCOSOLIUM and room for a SARCOPHAGUS, a funerary CHAPEL, or MAUSOLEUM. Early Byz. tombs are found singly or communally in underground CEMETERIES and CATACOMBS or in the open air, often in the context of a MARTYRION (Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 51f). A grave might be surrounded by a barrier of stone or metal; its stone plaque might bear an inscription; lamps and icons might be set on it. CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (ed. E. Kurtz, no.16) mentions the tomb of a *patrikios* Melios ornamented with images of his secular and monastic life. Luxurious tombs could have small columns adorned with silver (Psellos, *Chron.* 2:61, par.183.6–7), probably supporting a roof over the grave. The Holy SEPULCHRE of Christ in Jerusalem attracted special veneration. Particular care was given to the tombs of patron saints such as LOUKAS THE YOUNGER, MELETIOS THE YOUNGER, and ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, and church founders such as Isaac KOMNENOS and Theodore METOCHITES (Ø. Hjort, *DOP* 33 [1979] 249f). In Christian metaphor the tomb was a symbol of death, of sinful life, of the body imprisoning the soul; pagan shrines were also called tombs.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:198–203. Pazaras, *Anaglyphes sarkophagoi.* –A.K., L.Ph.B.

TOMIS (Τόμις), ancient city on the west coast of the Black Sea, near Constanţa. A flourishing city in the 4th–6th C., Tomis preserved its ancient town plan (A. Rădulescu et al., *Pontica* 6 [1973] 350). The tomb of a *vicarius* of Odessos, dating from ca.500, implies that at that time Tomis belonged to the bishopric of Odessos (I. Barnea, *SCIV* 8 [1957] 347–52). In late antiquity Tomis was the civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of the province of SCYTHIA MINOR (*Cod.Just.* I 3.35.2). Two large basilicas of the 5th–6th C. have been discovered. Justinian I rebuilt the fortifications, and the city withstood a siege by the Avars in 599. Thereafter its history is obscure for some centuries. By the 10th C. it appears, with the name Konstantia, as a station on the route of ships of Rus' to Constantinople (*De adm. imp.* 9.99) and was probably then in Bulgarian hands. The identification of Konstantia with both late antique Constantiana and Konstanteia, a stronghold on the Danube (Skyl. 301.2–3), remains questionable (E. Popescu, *BZ* 66 [1973] 359–82; I. Barnea, *SCIV* 25 [1974] 427–29). In 971 Konstantia surrendered to John I Tzimiskes. In 1201/2 it was captured by KALOJAN and by the mid-15th C. was under Ottoman rule. In antiquity Tomis was noted for the export of grain, but by the 14th–15th C. VICINA and CHILIA filled this role. Rock-cut chapels at Basarabi, 15 miles west of Tomis, contain graffiti of the 10th–11th C. in runic characters as well as in Glagolitic, Cyrillic, Greek, and possibly Arabic script.

LIT. I. Barnea, Ş. Ştefănescu, *Bizantini, Români şi Bulgari la Dunărea de jos* (Bucharest 1971). I. Barnea, "Byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Rumänien," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 298–300. –R.B., A.K.

TOMISLAV, 10th-C. prince of Croatia. According to D. Farlati (*Illyricum sacrum* [Venice 1751] 3:84), Tomislav reigned 20 years, until ca.940; F. Šišić (*Povijest Hrvata* [Zagreb 1925] 401f) prefers the dates 910–28. Tomislav enlarged the borders of Croatia, uniting Pannonian and Dalmatian Croatia, and ca.925 accepted the title of king. CONSTANTINE VII described a Croatian army that was able to muster 60,000 horses, 100,000 foot soldiers, and about 180 ships (*De adm. imp.*, 31.71–74), probably referring to the time of Tomislav's reign. Along with MICHAEL VIŠEVIĆ of Zachlumia, Tomislav sought and received papal support at the Council of Spalato (SPLIT) in 924. When the Byz.-Serbian alliance was routed by SYMEON OF BULGARIA ca.924, the Bulgarian threat hung over Croatia; the Bulgarian invasion ca.926 was repulsed, however. Zlatarski (*infra*) suggests that this success accounted for a broad anti-Bulgarian coalition of Croatia, Zachlumia, and Serbia under Byz. control and that Tomislav was granted the title of *anthypatos*. In any case the peace treaty with Bulgaria was signed, with the help of Pope JOHN X, before Symeon's death. After Tomislav died the role of Croatia declined, and Serbia under ČASLAV assumed the leading role in the area.

Goldstein (*infra*), who has critically reconsidered the scanty data about Tomislav's reign, has tried to show that there is no reason to call Tomislav the first king of Croatia and that the word *rex* in John X's epistle was not an official title but only a polite expression.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:477–79. R. Jenkins in *De adm. imp.* 2:99f. I. Goldstein, "O Tomislavu i njegovom dobu," *Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest* 18 (1985) 23–55. –A.K.

TOMOS (*τόμος*, from *τέμνω*, "to cut"), term that designated in antiquity a "page" (J. Schmidt, *RhM* 47 [1892] 326) or a section of a ROLL. Photios used it often for a division (chapter) of a book, as a synonym for *logos* or *biblos*. The word is employed in the same sense for headings in MS editions, e.g., "The third *tomos* of the reign of Isaac Angelos" in the history of Niketas Choniates. The term could also be used for codex-books and esp. for documents (register, decree, chrysobull), frequently of ecclesiastical character, e.g., the TOMOS OF UNION of 920. Circa 1339–40 the monks of Athos issued the *Tomos hagioreitikos* in defense of the hesychasts; the Council of 1351 also formulated its decision in a *tomos*. Metaphorically the word denotes the Virgin, as, for example, "the *tomos* of a new mystery" in the second homily on the Nativity of the Virgin (PG 96:692B) that is ascribed to John of Damascus, but probably was written by Theodore of Stoudios (C. van de Vorst, *BZ* 23 [1914–20] 128–32).

LIT. B. Atsalos, *La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l'époque byzantine* (Thessalonike 1971) 150–61. –A.K.

TOMOS OF UNION (*τόμος ἑνώσεως*), a document that formulated the decision of the local council of Constantinople of 920, convened to settle the conflict between the partisans of Patr. EUTHYMIOS and NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Solemnly proclaimed on 9 July 920, the Tomos attempted to terminate the long dispute over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI by completely banning a fourth marriage and restricting the third marriage (with the penalty of four to five years' deprivation of communion). The statement satisfied the Euthymians, and later ARETHAS OF CAESAREA claimed to have coauthored the Tomos with ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS (*Scripta minora* 1:229–30). By 920, since Leo VI had been dead for eight years, the core of the conflict was no longer the fourth marriage but the validity of episcopal appointments—whether the nominees of Euthymios or of Nicholas were rightfully entitled to their sees. The latter question was not mentioned in the Tomos, but since Euthymios had died in 917 and Nicholas, after a short period of disfavor, gained the support of the *basileopator* Romanos, his partisans evidently had the upper hand. Absent from the first preserved version of the Tomos, dated ca.930, Euthymios's name appears only in a later version, ca.1000. The Tomos signified not only the unification of the Byz. church, very important for a government that was at war with Bulgaria, but also the restoration of the alliance with Rome, since the papal representatives approved of the Council of 920.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.669. L. Westerink in *Nicholas I, Letters* (Washington, D.C., 1973) xxiv–vi. –A.K.

TONDRAKITES (Arm. T'ondrakec'i), Armenian sect taking its name from the district of T'ondrak north of Lake Van. The founder of the sect, Smbat of Zarehawan, lived in the mid-9th C. The sect spread rapidly to Hark' and VASPURAKAN and other districts, penetrating all levels of society. The Tondrakite communities were generally destroyed by the end of the 11th C., though isolated groups may have survived as late as the 19th.

The extreme Iconoclasm characterizing the Tondrakites and their rejection of ecclesiastical authority and the sacraments suggest the influence of the later Byz. (Neo-)PAULICIANS with whom GREGORY MAGISTROS (*Letters*, p.161) explicitly identified them. Nevertheless, the ADOPTIANIST Christology set out in their manual, the *Key of Truth*, and their worship of their leaders as "Christs" links them rather to primitive Armenian Paulicianism.

LIT. F.C. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth* (Oxford 1898). Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, esp. 98–102, 152–67. Eadem, "L'abjuration du moine Nil de Calabre," *BS* 35 (1974) 12–27. –N.G.G.

TONSURE (*κουρά*), the ritual of cutting the hair by which a lay person was admitted to the monastic or clerical state. Although the custom was

not prescribed by any canon, it was practiced as early as the 4th C. in the PACHOMIAN MONASTERIES, where it was prohibited to cut off hair without the permission of a superior. In the same century it is attested as a preliminary act to the admission to clerical status: St. Euthymios the Great is said (by a later author, Cyril of Skythopolis) to have been tonsured when he was ordained *anagnostes* in Melitene ca.379. In the 5th C. tonsuring regularly accompanied the taking of monastic vows, for example, in the case of the eparch Kyros in 441. A Justinianic novel of 535 (nov.5.2.1) ordered that a layman receive "the tonsure and the habit (*stole*)" after a three-year novitiate (see NOVICE). Canon 33 of the Council in Trullo forbade those who had not been tonsured to preach from the ambo.

The actual procedure of tonsuring varied. Pseudo-Sophronios (PG 87:3985D) prescribes a circular shaving of the hair in imitation of Christ's crown; hair might also be cut so as to form the sign of the cross. Another form, the so-called *tonsura more Orientalium S. Pauli* (cf. Bede, PL 95:172) consisted of a complete shaving of the head in imitation of St. Paul's baldness. The term *apokarsis* was also used: according to pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite (PG 3:536A) the *apokarsis* indicated "a pure life." Another term for the tonsure was *epikouris*, but the difference between *epikouris* and *apokarsis* is obscure.

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 15:2430–35. A.S. Alivisatos, "He koura ton klerikon kai monachon kata to kanonikon dikaion tes Orthodoxou ekklesias," *EEBS* 23 (1953) 233–39. Konidares, *Nomike theorese* 108–11. Panagiotakos, *Dikaion* 49f, 79–88. –A.M.T., A.K.

TOOLS AND HOUSEHOLD FITTINGS of the Byz. period continued the forms and functions of Roman examples but are less well known as a body. Many tools for stoneworking, METALWORK, and woodworking, as well as AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS, were made of IRON, although some were of BRONZE. Sets of agricultural and carpentry tools—containing spades, hoes, axes, punches, chisels, and files—were found in the 7th-C. shipwreck at Yassi Ada off Asia Minor. Excavations at, for example, Corinth and Sardis have yielded others as well as domestic tools for kitchen use and spinning. Lists of surgical instruments (see SURGERY) survive from the 6th to 11th C., but few extant examples have been identified.

Excavations have produced varied examples of household fittings from the 4th to 13th C. Bronze and iron furnishings include LIGHTING fixtures, iron stool frames, feet, knobs, handles, and other attachments esp. for chests, LOCKS, and KEYS. Solid silver and bronze tripod tables survive from the 4th to 7th C. Written texts refer to (solid) bronze fountains with animal figures in the Great Palace, Constantinople, in the 9th C. (*TheophCont* 141.20–21; 327.4–5). A set of bronze kitchen UTENSILS with caldrons, pitcher, baking pan, and jug was found in the Yassi Ada shipwreck, and many loose bronze casseroles, kettles, ladles, and ewers have been found in Egypt. Large numbers of household utensils were excavated at Sardis in the Byz. shops where they had been on sale when the city was destroyed in the early 7th C. Archaeologists have unearthed a set of three bronze kettles (one inscribed) and jug of the 10th–11th C. at Corinth in addition to other metal vessels. Household utensils and PLATE were also made of silver, CERAMIC, and GLASS.

LIT. G.F. Bass, F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., *Yassi Ada: A Seventh-Century Byzantine Shipwreck,* vol. 1 (College Station, Tex., 1982) 231–73. G.R. Davidson, *Corinth XII. The Minor Objects* (Princeton 1952). J.C. Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983). J.S. Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990). J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst* (Vienna 1904) 253–303, 307–12. A. Guillou, "Outils et travail dans les Balkans du XIIIe au XIXe siècle," *RESEE* 19 (1981) 443–49. –M.M.M.

TOPARCHA GOTHICUS, conventional title of an anonymous work, three fragments of which C.B. Hase published in 1819. The fragments describe journeys of a (possibly Byz.) commander in the Dnieper and Danube regions and his confrontations with barbarians; among others is mentioned "the ruler to the north of the Istros [Danube]," in whom many scholars have seen the prince of Kiev. The text is obscure and incoherent; neither its topographical and chronological data nor its astronomical observations permit a convincing solution concerning the place and date of its composition. Ševčenko (*infra*) put forth serious arguments demonstrating that *Toparcha Gothicus* was a forgery by Hase, but the majority of East European scholars have not accepted his hypothesis.

ED. *Die Fragmente des Toparcha Goticus (Anonymus Tauricus) aus dem 10. Jahrhundert,* ed. F. Westberg (St. Petersburg 1901; rp. Leipzig 1975).

LIT. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 2.1:136–212. I. Ševčenko, "The Date and Author of the So-called Fragments of Toparcha Gothicus," *DOP* 25 (1971) 115–88. I. Božilov, "Hase's Anonym and Ihor Ševčenko's Hypothesis," *BBulg* 5 (1978) 245–59. A.N. Sacharov, "Vostočnyj pochod Svjatoslava i 'Zapiska grečeskogo toparcha,'" *Istorija SSSR* (1982) no.3, 86–103. –A.K.

TOPARCHES (*τοπάρχης*), term that in Hellenistic and Roman texts designated a medium-ranked official administering a district (E. Kiessling, *RE* 2.R. 6 [1937] 1716). Justinian I, in novel 128.21, understood *toparchai* as local magistrates in a broad sense, including both military and civil authorities. The term was eventually equated with king: a 6th-C. historian (Malal. 231.9) speaks of a *toparches* of the Jews; Prokopios (*Wars* 2.12.8) calls Abgar *toparches* of Edessa. The term reappeared in the 10th–13th C. as a nontechnical word designating independent rulers (of Sicily, Crete, Bulgaria, etc.) as well as Byz. governors, who normally enjoyed relative independence. Kekaumenos dwells at length on the relations between a Byz. general and the neighboring *toparches*. Cheynet (*infra*) assumes that by the 12th C. some TOPOTERETAI were identified as *toparchai*, that is, they became more independent; he interprets this as a sign of administrative disintegration. The attribution of the title of *toparches* to the author of the so-called TOPARCHA GOTHICUS is arbitrary, since the term is not employed in the text (M. Nystazopoulou, *BCH* 86 [1962] 321–26).

LIT. J.-C. Cheynet, "Toparque et topotérètes à la fin du 11e siècle," *REB* 42 (1984) 215–24. –A.K.

TOPONYMICS, the study of place names, encompassing inhabited and uninhabited sites as well as rivers, mountains, valleys, islands, etc. The etymology of toponyms can reflect social and economic relations (Ph. Malingoudis, *EtBalk* 21 [1985] no.1, 87–91) but has been primarily used to demonstrate continuity or change in ethnic substrata: the most obvious examples are the penetration into Greek place names of Frankish roots (O. Markl, *Ortsnamen Griechenlands in "fränkischer" Zeit* [Graz-Cologne 1966]) and esp. roots of Slavic origin—some of the latter appear as far east as Bithynia (Ph. Malingoudis, *Hellenika* 31 [1979] 494–96). Other problems in toponymics include the spread of Greek and Latin place names beyond the frontiers of the empire and the occurrence of Greek toponyms in southern Italy. Thus the Byz. gave the name Hagia Agathe to an *oppidum* (fortress) in the *tourma* of Salines (Calabria) when they founded a town and bishopric there (A. Guillou, *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathè* [*Oppido*] [Vatican 1972] 18f). Such renamings are evidently linked to ethnic movements, although they can rarely define the degree of assimilation. Less evident are those changes not caused by the settlement of newcomers. In the transition from late Roman to Byz. society, changes occurred in local nomenclature; sometimes these shifts had political causes (conferring an emperor's name upon a city, as in the cases of Justiniana Prima and Constantinople) or religious explanations (renaming a city in honor of a saint). In other cases, changes of name (e.g., from Kolossai to Chonai) lack an obvious rationale. Names of rivers and mountains seem to be less subject to change than those of cities or villages and may often be derived from pre-Roman nomenclature.

LIT. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen* (Heidelberg 1984). D. Georgacas, *The Names for the Asia Minor Peninsula* (Heidelberg 1971). O. Kronsteiner, "Rückläufiges Verzeichnis der slawischen Ortsnamen in Griechenland," *Österreichische Namenforschung* 7 (1979) 3–24. J. Zaimov, *Zaselvane na bŭlgarskite slavjane na Balkanskija poluostrov* (Sofia 1967). A. Bryer, "The Treatment of Byzantine Place-Names," *BMGS* 9 (1984–85) 209–14. M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland* (Berlin 1941; rp. Leipzig 1970). –A.K.

TOPOTERETES (*τοποτηρητής*). In 5th–6th-C. Egypt, the *topoteretes* was a deputy of the DOUX. The term seems to have fallen into disuse thereafter, but appears again in the TAKTIKA of the 9th–10th C., in the *De ceremoniis*, and on seals; at that time it designated a lieutenant of the commanders of TAGMATA, THEMES, or the navy. His functions were military: in theory he commanded a unit of 15 BANDA (Dennis, *Military Treatises* 252.136). In an enigmatic passage of Kekaumenos (Kek. 188.1–2) *topoteretes* is contrasted with STRATEGOS, but his functions are not defined. Circa 1100, *topoteretai* were in charge of small districts and fortresses; J.-C. Cheynet (*REB* 42 [1984] 222–24) suggests that *topoteretai* acquired some independence when the administrative system of the empire was disorganized. In the 15th C. *topoteretai* were patriarchal representatives in metropolitan sees outside the empire (Cyprus, Ankyra, Nikomedeia, etc.).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 52f. G. Litavrin in Kek. 453f. C. Kunderewicz, "Les topotérètes dans les novelles de Justinien et dans l'Egypte byzantine," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 14 (1962) 33–50. –A.K.

TORCELLO. On this island in the Venetian lagoon are two adjoining churches, the cathedral of S. Maria Assunta and S. Fosca. S. Fosca is a Byz. building type: a modified Greek-cross octagon, with a plan that accommodates the Western liturgy. S. Maria Assunta is a Latin basilica, decorated with mosaics closely related to some in S. Marco in VENICE. Preserved images include the Virgin Hodegetria and standing apostles in the main apse, a seated PANTOKRATOR with angels and saints in the right minor apse, and a LAST JUDGMENT on the inner west wall. Stylistic analysis reveals at least two medieval phases (mid- or late 11th and 12th C.) and the participation of Byz. craftsmen. More precise attributions are disputed. Andreescu, for one, attributes the Hodegetria to a Byz. mosaicist working around 1185. On the lower wall of the main apse are fragmentary frescoes, also ascribed to a Byz. master, dated to the late 10th or early 11th C.

LIT. I. Andreescu, "Torcello," *DOP* 26 (1972) 183–223; 30 (1976) 245–341 [title varies]. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 405f. R. Polacco, *La Cattedrale di Torcello* (Venice 1984). –D.K.

TORNESE (It., also tornesello, from Fr. *tournois*), the name given to the deniers of base silver struck by the abbey of St. Martin of Tours prior to the annexation of Touraine by Philip Augustus in 1206. Subsequently deniers tournois, with their characteristic type of a "castle" (châtel tournois), became one of the chief coinages of the French crown and the basis of the main French system of account. Imitations of them were issued on a vast scale by several of the Frankish states in Greece between the mid-13th and mid-14th C., so that the name came by extension to be applied to several denominations of low-grade billon coins of much the same value minted at Venice, in the Aegean area, and at Constantinople itself, though the Greek name for them is unknown. At Constantinople in the 1330s 8 tornesi were reckoned to the BASILIKON and 96 to the HYPERPYRON; and a century later the account book of BADOER (1436–40) shows the STAURATON, the standard silver coin then in use, as worth 96 tornesi.

LIT. G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* (Paris 1878; rp. Graz 1954) 308–11, 321. Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 279–81, 298, 317f. Hendy, *Economy* 534f. –Ph.G.

TORNIKIOS (Τορνίκιος, also Τορνίκης, fem. Τορνικίνα), a noble family of Armenian or Georgian origin. According to Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 43.55–60), Abu Ghanim (Apoganem), brother of a prince of TARŌN, was brought to Byz. and granted the title of *protospatharios* in the early 10th C.; Abu Ghanim's son Tornikios came to Constantinople later and received the rank of *patrikios*. A marginal note on Paris, B.N. gr. 2009, explains that he was Nicholas Tornikios's father; Nicholas can perhaps be identified with the Nicholas Tornikios who, with Leo Tornikios, supported Constantine VII in 945. Their relationship with John Tornikios is unclear: John, a vassal of DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO, settled eventually as a monk on Athos but later served Basil II as diplomat and general; in 979 he won the decisive victory over Bardas SKLEROS. John mastered both Armenian and Georgian: he erected a stone cross with an Armenian inscription near Karin (THEODOSIOUPOLIS) (Adontz, *Études* 309) and promoted the copying of Georgian MSS (P. Peeters, *AB* 50 [1932] 358–71). John's relatives served Byz. as military commanders; some took the name of John's brother Varazvače. In the Hermitage is a seal of the *strategos* Tornikios Varazvače; a certain Varazvače, whom Skylitzes (Skyl. 403.33) called *Iberos* (Georgian?), was governor of Edessa ca.1038; Kontoleon Tornikios served as *katepano* of Italy in 1017; J.-C. Cheynet (*BS* 42 [1981] 197–202) suggested that Leo Tornikios was *domestikos* of the West as well (see TORNIKIOS, LEO).

From the 12th C. onward the Tornikioi were predominantly civil functionaries: Demetrios, *logothetes tou dromou* in the late 12th C.; his son Constantine, *logothetes* after his father's death (ca.1201). Constantine's son Demetrios (died ca.1252) was *mesazon* in Nicaea, and his son Constantine *sebastokrator*; John Tornikios, governor of the Thrakesian theme in 1258, may have been the brother of the *sebastokrator* Constantine. The Tornikioi intermarried with many noble families including the PALAIOLOGOI and played important roles in the 14th C.: Demetrios Tornikios Palaiologos was *megas droungarios tes viglas*; Andronikos (monastic name Antonios) Tornikios Palaiologos was *parakoimomenos*; Michael Tornikios was *megas konostaulos*. B. Schmalzbauer's hypothesis that a Slavicized branch of the family existed ca.1356 (allegedly Tornikios Rodosthlabos was *kephale* of Serres) is based on a misreading of the name (*Esphig.* 159). The family produced several 12th-C. literati: Euthymios Tornikios and two named George (see TORNIKIOS, EUTHYMIOS and TORNIKIOS, GEORGE). Maria Tornikina Komnene Akropolitissa, possibly the *sebastokrator* Constantine's niece, is represented on the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria in the Tret'jakov Gallery (Moscow).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 47–57. G. Schmalzbauer, "Die Tornikioi in der Palaiologenzeit," *JÖB* 18 (1969) 115–35. –A.K.

TORNIKIOS, EUTHYMIOS, ecclesiastical official and writer; died Epiros after 1222. Son of the *logothetes tou dromou* Demetrios TORNIKIOS, he served as deacon in 1191. His preserved works are dated predominantly in 1200–05, although they include a poem dedicated to ISAAC II (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petr.* 188f). Tornikios's rhetorical works are very conventional, esp. his panegyric of ALEXIOS III, which describes the revolt of John KOMNENOS the Fat. Tornikios mentions an expedition of Alexios against the Bulgarians, but the data are too vague to identify it. Tornikios's monody for his father is more personal, describing both family characteristics and, tenderly, Demetrios's death. His monodies for Demetrios and for Euthymios MALAKES are full of respect for the eloquence of the deceased, but this respect is expressed by clichés: the honey-dripping tongue of Malakes (p.78.21–22), the fire-breathing tongue of Demetrios (p.94.23–24).

ED. J. Darrouzès, "Les discours d'Euthyme Tornikès," *REB* 26 (1968) 53–117.
LIT. Darrouzès, "Notes" 149–55. –A.K.

TORNIKIOS, GEORGE, writer; according to Darrouzès, born between 1110 and 1120, died 1156/7 (according to Browning, died in 1166/7). Tornikios's mother was apparently the niece of THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid. Tornikios made a career in Constantinople as *didaskalos* of the Psalms and Gospels; in 1153–55 he occupied the post of *hypomnematographos* (second to the *chartophylax*) in the patriarchal chancellery; in 1155 he was elected metropolitan of Ephesus. His letters addressed to various secular and ecclesiastical administrators are important primarily for prosopographical information, because their content is conventional (e.g., ep.21 complains about the people of Ephesus who are wilder than leopards and more treacherous than foxes). Tornikios's eulogy of Anna KOMNENE presents a portrait of the princess and her desire for education. In a letter to the pope (written at the command of Manuel I), he defended the idea of a UNION OF THE CHURCHES to be achieved on the basis of the primacy of Constantinople. Unlike MICHAEL ITALIKOS, Tornikios was first and foremost a theologian; in his system of imagery, biblical borrowings are much more abundant than classical references.

ED. J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès, Lettres et discours* (Paris 1970).
LIT. Browning, "Patriarchal School" 34–37. –A.K.

TORNIKIOS, GEORGE, *magistros ton rhetoron* in the 1190s. He has been confused by some scholars with his mid-12th-C. homonym; also his speech to Isaac II was wrongly dated to the end of 1186 (approximately at the same time as the discourses of John SYROPOULOS and Sergios KOLYBAS). Because these speeches provide unique information about the Byz. relationship with Bulgaria and Serbia, several events have consequently been misdated (the conflict between PETER OF BULGARIA and ASEN I, the marriage of STEFAN THE FIRST-CROWNED to Eudokia, daughter of Alexios III). The date of ca.1193 suggested by M. Bachmann (*Die Rede des Johannes Syropoulos an den Kaiser Isaak II. Angelos* [Munich 1935] 96, n.4) for the speech has been confirmed by later investigation. Tornikios's speech of 1192 to Patr. George II Xiphilinos (1191–98) is still unpublished.

ED. Regel, *Fontes* 254–80.
LIT. Browning, "Patriarchal School" 37f. Darrouzès, "Notes" 163–67. A. Kazhdan, "La date de la rupture entre Pierre et Asen (vers 1193)," *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 167–74. J.L. van Dieten, "Das genaue Datum der Rede des Georgios Tornikes an Isaak II. Angelos," *ByzF* 3 (1968) 114–16. –A.K.

TORNIKIOS, LEO, nephew of CONSTANTINE IX; born Adrianople, died after 1047. He was *patrikios* and *strategos* of Melitene according to Attaleiates, governor of IBERIA according to Psellos. The latter describes Tornikios as short, crafty, proud, and ambitious. Initially honored by Constantine, he became devoted to the emperor's sister Eupre-

pia, who opposed her brother. During Tornikios's governorship, his Macedonian supporters attempted a revolt in his name. Recalled to Constantinople, he was made a monk, but allowed personal freedom. On 14 Sept. 1047 he fled to Adrianople, where his Macedonian supporters (including John VATATZES, a man of heroic strength, says Psellos) rallied around appeals against Constantine's misgovernment. When Tornikios's forces reached Constantinople, a motley force attempted to defend a moat outside the city wall; after they were driven within the gates, panic spread among the defenders. With the walls and gates abandoned, Tornikios might have taken the city, but lacked resolution. That night, Constantine reinforced the defenses; Tornikios's men, repelled, began to desert. Tornikios was forced to lift the siege and withdraw westward. An attack on Rhaidestos proved vain, and many of his supporters abandoned him. Drawn from his refuge in a church at Boulgarophygon, he was blinded in Constantinople at Christmas 1047, along with Vatatzes.

LIT. Adontz, *Études* 251–56. J. Lefort, "Rhétorique et politique: Trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047," *TM* 6 (1976) 280–82. –C.M.B.

T'OROS I. See RUBENIDS.

T'OROS II (Θεόδωρος), prince of Armenian CILICIA (1145?–68). Youngest son of Prince Leo I, T'oros was taken prisoner with his entire family by Emp. John II Komnenos in 1138 and educated at Constantinople. He escaped and returned to Cilicia in mysterious circumstances ca.1145. He rallied the local Armenian nobles, retook the RUBENID seat of ANAZARBOS, and collaborated with the Latin principalities of Edessa and Antioch. T'oros routed the Byz. army sent against him in 1152 as well as the Seljuks allied with the empire, and he raided as far as Cappadocia in 1154. In 1158, however, he was overcome by the campaign led by Manuel I Komnenos in person, was forced to recognize Manuel as his overlord, and received from him the title of *sebastos*. Despite his submission and occasional friction with Byz. authorities in the region, T'oros continued to play an active political role until his death. It was he who successfully consolidated the control of the Rubenids in Cilicia.

The Armenian historian Vahram of Edessa (13th C.) relates that in Constantinople T'oros married a "Greek princess." This evidence is questionable. He was later married to Isabella, daughter of Joscelin II, Count of Edessa; their daughter (the name is unknown) married Isaac, the *basileus* of Cyprus.

LIT. Der Nersessian, "Cilician Armenia" 637–42. –N.G.G.

TORQUE (*μανιάκιον*, *στρεπτός*), a form of neck ring or collar. Probably of Scandinavian origin, it may first have served to shield the neck and could be made of bronze, silver, or gold. In the Byz. era *maniakia* were worn by slaves (PG 65:104A, 86:444B) and kings (e.g., the king of India; Malal. 457.13–20) alike. It was also a sign of military rank; in Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 91.7, 93.4, 127.19) it is an insigne awarded to the *kandidatos*, *spatharokandidatos*, and *protospatharios*. The torque is depicted in the ROSSANO GOSPELS (fol.8v) where it is worn by the officers flanking Pilate. It is also represented in images of certain military saints, for example, Sergios and Bakchos on a 7th-C. (?) icon (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, no.B9); these torques are gold set with cabochon gems. According to their vita, their gold *maniakia* were removed when the saints were deprived of military rank (*AB* 14 [1895] 380.24–25). A member of the imperial bodyguard wears one in the Justinian mosaic at S. Vitale, RAVENNA. After the 6th C. the form consists of a loose necklace joined at the front by a medallion. The shape may have influenced gold NECKLACES, the chief ornament of which consisted of coins or medallions. From the time of Julian onward several usurpers were proclaimed emperors by setting a *maniakion* on their head as a form of crown. This custom seems to have disappeared after the 6th C.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:417–20, 473. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 20–22. *DOC* 3.1:122f. O.M. Dalton, "A Byzantine Silver Treasure from the District of Kerynia, Cyprus, now Preserved in the British Museum," *Archaeologia* 57 (1900) 159–62. –S.D.C., N.P.Š.

TORTURE, the intentional infliction of severe pain, was applied in Byz. as corporal punishment (see PENALTIES), to elicit confession or testimony, to extort the payment of taxes, and to take vengeance on an enemy, and as a means of trial by

ORDEAL. In the early Christian centuries MARTYRS were often tortured in a vain attempt to force them to recant their faith. The ECLOGA speaks often of flogging (*typtein*) as punishment, although less frequently than MUTILATION. Torture, sometimes combined with EXILE, was imposed for THEFT, sexual crimes, or misdemeanors. The FARMER'S LAW prescribes flogging (sometimes 12, 30, or even 100 blows) primarily for stealing livestock or grain and for arson, but also for using false measures of grain and wine (par.70). Disobeying the rules governing commercial transactions also was punished by scourging, according to the *Book of the Eparch*.

Another reason for torture was the refusal to pay taxes or a fine. A 4th-C. historian (Amm.Marc. 22:16.23) reports that Egyptians were proud of the scars they bore for not paying taxes, and NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON described how on Cyprus the peasants in arrears were bound together with hungry dogs in order to extort their payments (F. Dölger, *BZ* 35 [1935] 14). A detailed description of torture is found in the vita of St. ANTONY THE YOUNGER: when he did not return money to the treasury, the *epi ton deeseon* Stephen gave him 50 heavy blows with a whip; the punishment took place in Stephen's house. The government also applied torture to religious dissidents: hagiographers present frequent cases, and a 14th-C. historian states that the opponents of UNION OF THE CHURCHES suffered from confiscation, exile, imprisonment, blinding, mutilation, and flogging (Greg. 1:127.15–17). –A.K.

TOTILA (Τουτίλας; on coins, Baduila), Ostrogothic king (from autumn 541); born after 511, died near BUSTA GALLORUM June/July 552. Offspring of a Gothic aristocratic family, the young Totila commanded the garrison in Trevisium, in northern Italy, when Ostrogothic affairs were in disarray following the capture of VITIGES. Totila was ready to negotiate with the Byz., but the Goths elected him king "so that he might gain power over the Italiotai" (Prokopios, *Wars* 7:1.26). Totila acted with great efficiency and readily attracted *coloni* and slaves to his army; many estates of Roman landowners were confiscated and conferred on Goths; the hatred of Totila expressed by churchmen, including Pope Gregory I, suggests that Totila was hostile toward the Roman church. Wolfram (*infra*) distinguishes three phases of the war:

1. *First Phase (541–43).* Totila established Gothic power in the north with the victory at Faenza and moved to the south, occupying Naples, where anti-imperial sentiments were strong.

2. *Second Phase (543–50).* After assuring the neutrality of the Franks, Totila besieged and took Rome (17 Dec. 546). He left the city when it turned out that its possession was no guarantee of success in negotiations with Constantinople, then—after BELISARIOS retreated—again besieged and captured it on 16 Jan. 550; in May he even encroached upon Sicily.

3. *Third Phase (550–52).* GERMANOS and then NARSES led an expedition to Italy. Totila's attempts to wage war outside Italy (Kerkyra, Epiros, Sardinia, and Corsica) failed. At Busta Gallorum Totila was defeated; wounded, he died near the battlefield.

LIT. Wolfram, *Goths* 353–61. Burns, *Ostro-Goths* 210–14. Z. Udal'cova, *Italija i Vizantija v VI veke* (Moscow 1959) 334–414. Stein, *Histoire* 2:567–602. –W.E.K., A.K.

TOULDOS (*τοῦλδος* or *τοῦλδον*, from late Lat. *tuldum*), a term first used in the 6th C. to denote the army's supply train. In the *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat. Maurik.*, bk.5) the *touldos*, under a separate commander, includes the army's nonmilitary personnel, pack animals, reserve horses, and frugal provisions for food and shelter. Similar notes on the composition of the *touldos* are found in the 10th-C. STRATEGIKA. They too emphasize frugality for the sake of the army's mobility, since most daily needs, food, fodder, or wood, could be collected by foraging parties. Specially assigned units guarded the *touldos* while the army marched or fought, and it was kept well inside the CAMP at night.

Imperial expeditions took lavish supplies (*De cer.* 455–81), but experienced soldiers warned of the disorganization and danger brought on by an overly large supply train, such as befell Manuel I Komnenos at MYRIOKEPHALON in 1176. A special transport corps, the OPTIMATOI, was created in the 8th C. to attend to the supply train and look after the imperial baggage if the emperor were on campaign (Haldon, *Praetorians* 223–27).

LIT. A. Dain, "'Touldos' et 'Touldon' dans les traités militaires," *AIPHOS* 10 [= *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* 2] (1950)

161–69. Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 186–89. Hendy, *Economy* 272–75, 304–15. –E.M.

TOUPHA (*τοῦφα*, also *τουφίον*), tuft of hair from exotic animals used to decorate the helmets of cavalrymen and imperial crowns. The *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat.Maurik.* 1.2.10, 12B.4) refers to small *touphai* atop helmets; the passage is repeated in the *Taktika of Leo VI* (6.2). According to Kosmas Indikopleustes (Kosm. Ind. 11.5), officers ornamented their horses and standards with the so-called *touphai* made from the tail hairs of the Indian yak (*agriobous*); this *toupha* remained stiff and did not bend.

The crown (or helmet?) on the equestrian statue of Justinian I in the Augustaion (P. Lehmann, *ArtB* 41 [1959] 39.57; cf. C. Mango, ibid. 351–58) was surmounted by a *toupha*; when it fell off in the 9th C., it was replaced by a daring master roofer (*skalotes*) who from the roof of Hagia Sophia shot a cord attached to an arrow and then walked along the tightrope to reach the statue; Emp. Theophilos rewarded him with 100 nomismata (Leo Gramm. 227.3–11). CLAVIJO (ed. Lopez Estrada 44.19–20) described the *toupha* on this statue as so big it resembled a peacock's tail.

The term was subsequently extended to denote the headgear itself: thus Constantine VII (*De cer.* 188.10) equated *touphai* with tiaras, as did TZETZES (*Hist.* 8.297–301), adding that this kind of *typha* surmounted the equestrian statue of Justinian. A 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:566.16–567.2) says that *toupha* was a vernacular word for tiara; he derives it from the verb *typhoomai,* meaning "to be filled with insane arrogance."

LIT. Piltz, *Kamelaukion* 49, 57. Janin, *CP byz.* 74. *DOC* 3.1: 129f. –A.K.

TOURKOI (*Τοῦρκοι*), Greek rendering of the name of the nomadic people Tür⟨ü⟩k. Chinese sources designate this people as *Tukiu*; thanks to the contemporary Byz. term *Tourkoi*, it becomes clear that they were the TURKS who founded a vast empire extending between the Chinese and the Persian frontier in the 6th C. Later the Byz. gave the name Tourkoi to several peoples originating primarily from Central Asia such as the KHAZARS, the HUNGARIANS and their offshoot, the VARDARIOTAI, etc. From the late 11th C. onward the Byz. used the term for the SELJUKS, for the Anatolian emirates, and finally for the OTTOMANS. In the last three cases the term is used alternatively with the archaic *Persai.*

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:320–27. –E.A.Z.

TOURKOPOULOI (*Τουρκόπουλοι*, lit. "sons of Turks"), a body of Turkish soldiers in Byz. service, or, later, any body of lightly armed horsemen. The term passed into Latin sources as a loanword, *turcupler*. This kind of light cavalry existed in some Latin states of the Levant, such as Rhodes, Cyprus, and the kingdom of Jerusalem (cf. J.L. Lamonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100 to 1291* [Cambridge, Mass., 1932] 136, 160–63).

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:327f. P. Wittek, "Yazijioghlu ʿAlī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja," *BSOAS* 14 (1952) 639–68. –E.A.Z.

TOURMA (*τούρμα* or *τοῦρμα*), term for a military detachment, in use (along with DROUNGOS) from the beginning of the 8th C., replacing the *meros* and *moira* listed in the *Strategikon of Maurice*. According to the *Taktika of Leo VI*, the *tourma* consisted of 3,000 men and three *tourmai* made up a THEME, but reality differed from these standardized figures. According to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, each theme consisted of two to four *tourmai* (Ahrweiler, "Administration" 80, n.5), while that of OPTIMATON was not divided into *tourmai* or *droungoi*. As part of a theme, *tourma* acquired the meaning of an administrative unit. The commander of a *tourma* was a TOURMARCHES; the *tourma* could be administered by an EK PROSOPOU (*Ivir.* 1, no.10.13, 29 [a.996]). As the designation of a district, the word was still used in an act of 1193 (MM 6:125.2).

LIT. Haldon, *Praetorians* 210–12. –A.K.

TOURMARCHES (*τουρμάρχης*), a military commander, described in the 10th-C. military tract *On Skirmishing* (DE VELITATIONE) as the first assistant of the STRATEGOS. In the writings of a 9th-C. historian (Theoph. 378.28–29), Christopher, the *tourmarches* of Thrakesion, acts independently; he was reportedly sent with 300 soldiers to Cherson by Justinian II in 711/12. On seals the *tourmarches* has the title of SPATHAROKANDIDATOS, KANDIDATOS, or SPATHARIOS (Laurent, *Méd. Vat.*, nos. 149–51). It is generally accepted that the *tourmarches* commanded a TOURMA and held fiscal and judicial authority over the population in his region. The term is not mentioned in the latest of the TAKTIKA, that of Escurial in 971–75, but it appears in the table of contents of the work of a mid-11th-C. military writer (Kek. 656, par. 86), and there were *tourmarchai* in South Italy in the first half of the 11th C. It is unclear whether it was used after the 11th C. The term also designated commanders of naval units and of littoral districts.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 41f. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 83–85. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 117–20. –A.K.

TOURNAMENT. See SPORTS.

TOYS AND GAMES. Toys (*ἀθύρματα*) were simple and predominantly made by children themselves; as the vita of Nikephoros of Medikion reports (F. Halkin, *AB* 78 [1960] 401, par.1.1–2), infants "compose" (a hapax is used—*kompostolousin*) their toys of "unshaped matter." Sand, clay, bones, sticks, and rags provided necessary materials: insects and plants were also employed as toys. A floor mosaic in the Great Palace (*Great Palace, 1st Report,* pl.29) shows children aping circus games, wheeling spoked disks around simulated *metae*. They also wrestled, played leapfrog, and pushed each other on swings (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* 165–70). Board games, dice—esp. knucklebones (*astragaloi*)—and balls (*sphairai*) were popular with boys; dice were played for money, not only by children. Girls, who stayed mostly indoors, preferred dolls, *ninia* (*TheophCont* 90.23). Some children's games imitated important events or ceremonies, such as the liturgy (T. Nissen *BZ* 38 [1938] 361f; PG 25:ccxxiv AB), exorcisms (PG 82:1384CD), horse races, or battles. In popular perception, *athyrma* was a symbol of instability and of frivolous conduct, and hagiographers stressed that their heroes avoided playful BEHAVIOR. (See also GAMES, BOARD.)

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.1:161–84. M. Kuryłowicz, "Das Glückspiel im römischen Reich," *ZSavRom* 102 (1985) 197–200. L.Y. Rahmani, "Finds from a Sixth to Seventh Centuries Site near Gaza: I, The Toys," *IEJ* 31 (1981) 72–80. –A.K., A.C.

TRABEA TRIUMPHALIS. See TOGA.

TRACHY (*νόμισμα τραχύ*, pl. trachea), Greek term for the type of concave Byz. coin (struck 11th–14th C.) that numismatists formerly and incorrectly described as SCYPHATE. Because another standard name existed for the gold coins (HYPERPYRA), the term *trachy* was normally limited to coins of electrum and billon (later copper), with either the context or some further descriptive term indicating which was meant in any particular case. The word means basically "rough" or "uneven" and was apparently applied to the concave coins in the sense of "not flat."

LIT. Hendy, *Coinage* 29–31. –Ph.G.

TRACTATUS DE CREDITIS, a legal treatise probably written in the middle of the 11th C. Perhaps occasioned by an actual legal case, its aim was the demonstration that creditors not safeguarded by a PIGNUS are equal to each other (i.e., have the same position). Other questions regarding LOANS and, in an extended sense, claims are handled in textbook form, esp. the order of precedence of competing creditors who have each received a *pignus*. The *Basilika* with its scholia as well perhaps as the paraphrase of the *Institutes* by the 6th-C. jurist THEOPHILOS (3.14) and the *Peira* (6.2) are used as sources. Michael PSELLOS made the *Tractatus de creditis* the basis of verses 890–920 of his *Synopsis legum*. Zachariä doubted, probably incorrectly, that a section that follows the *Tractatus* (both in the independent transmission and in the 24th *paratitlon* of the PROCHIRON AUCTUM), which concerns exceptions to the rule "unus testis nullus testis" that are valid in cases of donations, belongs to the same treatise.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 7:346–54. –L.B.

TRADE. See COMMERCE AND TRADE.

TRADE TREATIES. Trade clauses in TREATIES between Byz. and other states normally regulated the place and terms of the exchange of merchandise, often gave privileges (such as duty exemptions) to the merchants, and sometimes gave the MERCHANTS of other states quarters in Constantinople or other cities. Such commercial clauses were sometimes inserted in general treaties. The peace treaty with Persia, in 562, stated that all exchange of merchandise should take place at

specific trade stations (probably NISIBIS, KALLINIKOS, and Doubios [DUIN]), and that Saracen and other merchants should also trade only in Nisibis and Dara. The treaty of 907 with Rus' (see TREATIES, RUSSO-BYZANTINE) stipulated that Rus' merchants in Constantinople would stay in St. Mamas, receive supplies for six months, and trade without paying duties. In 969, a treaty with the emirate of Aleppo included a clause that regulated the payment of duties at the frontier and the movement of caravans of merchants. Krum's peace embassy in 812 included clauses regulating commerce (Theoph. 497.24–26). There was also a trade treaty between Michael VIII Palaiologos and the Egyptian sultan Kalāwūn, as part of a peace agreement (M. Canard, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 669–80).

The most famous commercial treaties are those the Byz. concluded with Italian maritime cities, starting with the treaty of 992 with Venice, and continuing with the treaties and privileges granted by the Komnenian emperors after 1082, and then by the Angeloi and the Palaiologoi to Venice, Pisa, and Genoa. The treaties gave the merchants of these cities free access to various Byz. markets, reduced or abolished the KOMMERKION on the transactions of their merchants, and granted their merchants residential quarters and extraterritorial rights. These were full-fledged trade treaties, in the sense that their primary focus was on commerce.

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, "The Second Russian Attack on Constantinople," *DOP* 6 (1951) 219–23. M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des H'amdanides de Jazīra et de Syrie*, vol. 1 (Paris 1951) 835f. R.-J. Lilie, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi* (Amsterdam 1984). –A.L.

TRADITIO LEGIS (Lat. "transmission of the law"), the modern title for a group of 4th–13th-C. compositions, predominantly Roman, showing Christ holding a scroll and flanked by PETER and/or PAUL. The *Traditio legis* emerges just after the edict of toleration of Christians in the early 4th C., and draws heavily on imperial imagery. The earliest version, found on "Passion" sarcophagi, shows Christ on the mount of PARADISE, his right arm raised in a gesture of address and his left holding an open scroll, as Peter approaches from his right and Paul acclaims him on his left. This version, chosen ca.370 for the apses of St. Peter's (Buddensieg, *infra*, fig.13) and S. Costanza in ROME, was revered later in the Middle Ages as an image of Peter's primacy. Its initial meaning was probably apolitical, conflating Christ's eschatological appearance as a lawgiver with his post-Passion appearances (see APPEARANCES OF CHRIST AFTER THE PASSION) as victor over death. A similar interpretation can be assigned to the variant version on the Junius Bassus sarcophagus (Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, fig.42) showing Christ enthroned like a lawgiving emperor above a personification of the Heavens. A third image, with Christ seated in a neutral setting giving a closed scroll to Paul, survives on SARCOPHAGI in Ravenna. Sometimes interpreted as an anti-Roman variant of the compositions described above, it is regarded by Schumacher (*infra*) as an independent, probably Constantinopolitan, image showing the transmission of the Gospels to the Gentiles.

LIT. T. Buddensieg, "Le coffret en ivoire de Pola, Saint-Pierre et la Lateran," *CahArch* 10 (1959) 157–200. W.N. Schumacher, " 'Dominus Legem Dat,' " *RQ* 54 (1959) 1–39. –A.W.C.

TRAGEDY shared the fate of the THEATER and DRAMA, which declined in imperial Rome. Tragedy was no longer produced as a theatrical performance; rather the author or an actor read the entire text to an assembled audience. This procedure was familiar to Ambrose and Augustine, who stressed that the actor (*hypokrites*) sang or declaimed tragedies on the stage (H.A. Kelly, *Traditio* 35 [1979] 35, 42). Classical tragedies were still known in the 4th–6th C., and quotations from them have been found in provincial inscriptions, such as one from 6th-C. Apollonia, Epiros (Al. Cameron, *ClRev* 81 [1967] 134). Tragedies continued to be written, and the *Souda* mentions a "*tragodia*" by a certain Timotheos of Gaza addressed to Emp. Anastasios I; it was devoted, however, to the theme of the CHRYSARGYRON, which makes it questionable that the work was a genuine play. The Byz. of the 7th–10th C. lost interest in tragedy; sporadic quotations appear in certain authors, e.g., IGNATIOS THE DEACON (R. Browning, *REGr* 81 [1968] 401–10), but Photios, for example, ignored the great classical tragedians in his *Bibliotheca*. Interest revived in the 11th C. when Psellos produced a comparison of EURIPIDES and GEORGE OF PISIDIA; probably in the 11th or 12th C. was written an anonymous treatise on tragedy that has survived in MS Oxford, Bodl., Barocci 131. Simultaneously began the transmission of the plays of AESCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, and Euripides, which culminated in the work of Demetrios TRIKLINIOS, who prepared the corpus of extant ancient tragedies. The word "tragedy," however, lost its classical meaning; the vernacular *tragoudi* and its derivatives denoted popular songs without any connection to the theater.

LIT. Christ, *Literatur* 2.2:958f. R. Browning, "A Byzantine Treatise on Tragedy," in *Geras: Studies Presented to George Thomson* (Prague 1963), with add. by J. Gluckner, *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 267–72. –A.K.

TRAGOS (lit. "he-goat"), *typikon* for Mt. ATHOS drafted by the Stoudite monk Euthymios and signed by JOHN I TZIMISKES between 970 and 972. Its name derives from the thick goatskin parchment on which the original document is written. It bears the signatures of the PROTOS of Athos and 56 monks and is still preserved in the Protaton archives at Karyes. This first rule for Athonite monks was composed at a time of tension between independent groups of anchorites and the new KOINOBIA on the Holy Mountain, as exemplified in the recently founded Great Lavra of Athanasios (963). The *typikon* confirmed the rights of *hegoumenoi*, thus ensuring the future predominance of cenobitic monasticism on Athos but, at the same time, protected the interests of hermits living in small groups or as solitaries. The number of annual assemblies at the Protaton was reduced from three to one, and the *protos* was forbidden to make any decision without the consent of the *hegoumenoi*.

ED. *Prot.* 95–102, 202–215.
LIT. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 215–24. –A.M.T.

TRAGOUDI (*τραγοῦδι*), a song; though applicable to any type of song (e.g., love songs, which can exist either independently, as in the EROTOPAIGNIA, or embedded in a longer work, as in the romance LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE), the term is conventionally applied to short narrative poems (such as the *Song of Armouris* [see ARMOURES] or the *Song of Porphyris*) in the popular language, usually in POLITICAL VERSE and ostensibly with historical allusions. Origins in the ancient and Byz. world have been claimed for many of the *tragoudia* collected orally or rediscovered in MS form in Greek-speaking lands during the 19th C. It has thus been argued that the *Song of Armouris* refers to the capture of Amorion in 838, the *Son of Andronikos* to Andronikos Doukas or Andronikos I Komnenos, while the AKRITIC SONGS in general would refer to the wars of the 9th and 10th C. However, many of the motifs of these *tragoudia* (e.g., abducted brides, valiant younger brothers, precocious heroes) have the timeless nature of folk tale and cannot be tied to a precise Byz. context; nevertheless the 15th-C. MS of the *Song of Armouris* and THRENOI like the *Battle of Varna* (which could be defined as a *tragoudi*) indicate that some *tragoudia* were certainly composed in late Byz., while there are signs (e.g., in DIGENES AKRITAS or the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA) that short *tragoudia* were stitched together to form longer narratives. The length of this tradition, given the ephemeral nature of oral POETRY, is hard to assess.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 48–63, 110f, 161–67. –E.M.J.

TRAJAN'S GATE, a narrow pass between Ikhtiman and Pazardčik, scene of a defeat of BASIL II by SAMUEL OF BULGARIA, 16/17 Aug. 986. Basil had attacked SERDICA, but after 20 days was compelled to retreat. At Trajan's Gate the Bulgarians attacked Basil's forces from the mountainsides. Much of the army perished; the imperial tent and regalia fell into Samuel's hands. Basil's defeat encouraged Bardas SKLEROS to revolt once more and allowed Samuel to expand his state. Basil, however, was never again trapped in a mountain pass.

LIT. P. Mutafčiev, *Izbrani proizvedenija* 2 (Sofia 1973) 478–606. –C.M.B.

TRALLES (*Τράλλεις*), now Aydın, city of Lydia on the north side of the Meander valley. The skins and cushions produced there were valuable enough to be included in the price edict of Diocletian, and its monumental aqueduct of the mid-4th C. was the subject of commemorative inscriptions. Tralles was a bishopric throughout the Byz. period, but its history is obscure. Under Justinian I, JOHN OF EPHESUS based his missionary activity there and converted thousands of pagans in the neighboring mountains. In its final role as a bul-

wark against the Turks, Tralles, then desolate, was rebuilt by Andronikos II in 1280 and renamed Andronikopolis and Palaiologopolis. It contained, according to Pachymeres (ed. Bekker 1:470.12) 36,000 inhabitants. Because of its planners' failure to provide a water supply, the project was aborted and the Turks of MENTESHE took Tralles in 1284.

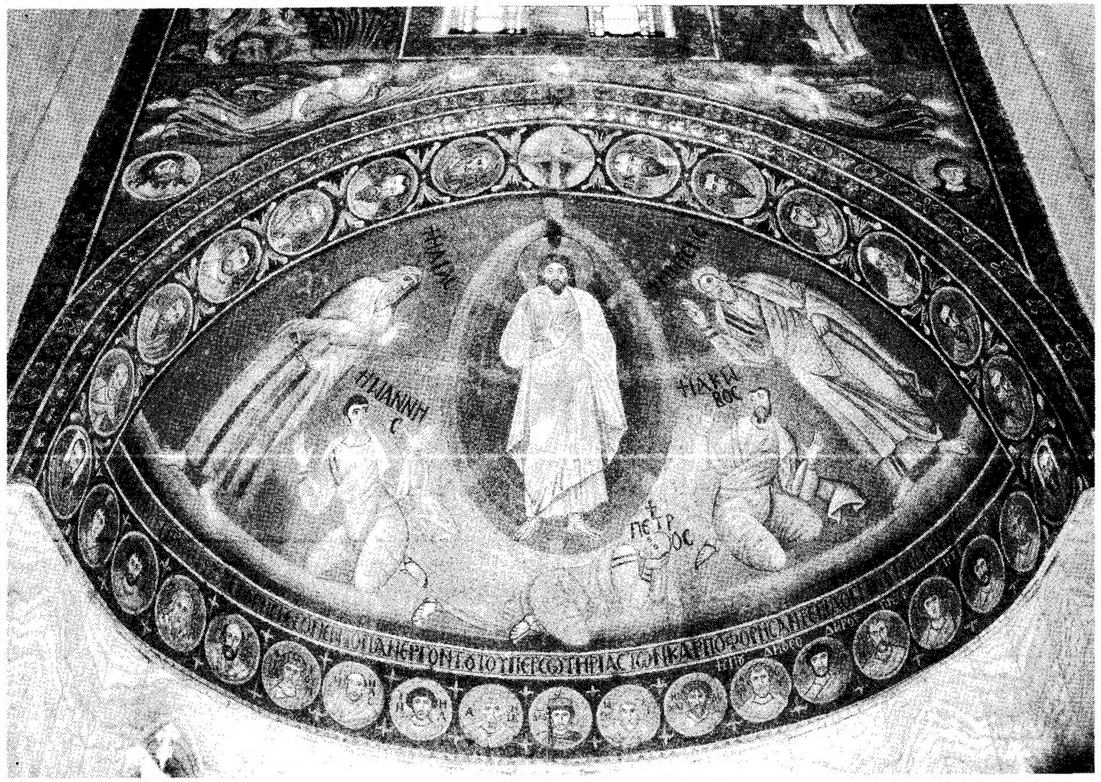
LIT. Foss, "Twenty Cities" 483. Laiou, *CP and the Latins* 24f. K.A. Žukov, *Egeiskie emiraty v XIV–XV vv.* (Moscow 1988) 20f. –C.F.

TRANSFIGURATION (*μεταμόρφωσις*), the appearance of Christ, accompanied by Moses and Elijah, to Peter, James, and John in the shining glory of his divinity (Mt 17:1–8), traditionally believed to have taken place on Mt. TABOR. This illumination, seen only by the three disciples, foreshadowed the complete transformation of Christ at the Resurrection, after his suffering on the cross. The Transfiguration served as a prophetic sign foretelling the future transfiguration of all Christians.

A number of writers devoted homilies to the Transfiguration: from the early authors John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, pseudo-Proklos, and Andrew of Crete, up to later writers such as Joseph Bryennios and Patr. Gennadios II Scholarios. The main themes of sermons on this topic were the cardinal distinction between Christ and the two principal Old Testament prophets Moses and Elijah with whom he appeared to his apostles and the significance of the Transfiguration as a pledge of redemption: "Christ was transformed not without purpose but to show us the future transformation of nature and the coming second advent . . . bringing salvation" (pseudo-Chrysostom, PG 61:714.19–22).

The Transfiguration of Christ was a central

TRANSFIGURATION. The Transfiguration; mosaic, 6th C. Apse of the Church of St. Catherine, Sinai.



paradigm for Palamite HESYCHASM and served as the principal example of any vision of the uncreated LIGHT (energies or grace), which embraces both the spirit and the senses, beheld by the natural eyes of man who is transformed, however, by the Spirit of God. By referring to the supposed consensus of the Greek fathers, Palamas sought to avoid in his doctrine the crude, sensate vision of light characterizing the Messalians; in his doctrine (outlined in the *Triads*) he attached the earlier effect of the Holy Spirit to the eyes of the body.

The feast of the Transfiguration (6 Aug.) was introduced at Constantinople even before the time of Leo VI, to whom it is attributed, probably at the beginning of the 8th C. at the latest (V. Grumel, *REB* 14 [1956] 209f). Constantinople borrowed the feast from Jerusalem, though its origins there remain obscure. It did not exist in the 4th C. (P. Devos, *AB* 86 [1968] 87–108) and probably derives from a ca.6th-C. Palestinian "Feast of Tabernacles." It has been suggested that it commemorated the dedication of the three basilicas on Mt. Tabor (M. Aubineau, *AB* 85 [1967] 422–27).

One of the 12 GREAT FEASTS of the Byz. church calendar, the Transfiguration has a *paramone* VIGIL plus a seven-day afterfeast. The emperor celebrated the feast in Hagia Sophia (Philotheos, *Kletor.* 219.12–23), but in the 14th C. he went to the church of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY instead (pseudo-Kod. 245.7–10).

Representation in Art. The earliest depictions of the Transfiguration are from the mid-6th C.: the apse mosaic at the monastery of St. CATHERINE, Mt. Sinai, shows the classic composition with Christ in MANDORLA flanked by Moses and Elijah and with Peter, John, and James at his feet; the apse of S. Apollinare in Classe, RAVENNA, conveys the Transfiguration in symbols—sheep beneath a cross in glory. By replacing Christ with a jeweled cross—sign of his eschatological return—the Ravenna mosaic reveals the significance given the event by Christ himself, as a foretaste of the PAROUSIA when he will come in glory to consummate the law (Moses) and the prophets (Elijah). The scene, at first static and symmetrical, becomes more dynamic in the 12th C. For instance, Nicholas MESARITES interprets the disciples not as cowering in fear but hurled to the ground by the light. The light becomes an active force in Palaiologan imagery, blazing from Christ's mandorla and hurtling the disciples down a precipitous landscape, for example, Paris, B.N. gr. 1242 (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, pl.XXXIX), and thus illustrating the hesychast theology.

LIT. G. Habra, *La Transfiguration selon les pères grecs* (Paris 1974). M. Aubineau, "Une homélie grecque inédite sur la Transfiguration," *AB* 85 (1967) 401–27. Meyendorff, *Palamas* 172–78. G. Podskalsky, "Gottesschau und Inkarnation," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 5–44. J.A. McGuckin, "The Patristic Exegesis of the Transfiguration," *StP* 18.1 (1986) 335–41. M. Sachot, *L'homélie pseudo-chrysostomienne sur la Transfiguration* (Frankfurt am Main 1981) 22–37. Idem, *Les homélies grecques sur la Transfiguration: Tradition manuscrite* (Paris 1987). Millet, *Recherches* 216–31. E. Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe* (Cologne-Opladen 1964). K. Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West Around the Year 1200," in *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York 1975) 62f. –G.P., R.F.T., A.W.C.

TRANSHUMANCE. The Byz. kept their cattle (at least partially) in stalls and stables, but the limited size of meadows forced them to drive SHEEP to remote pastures. The distances varied: young boys might graze flocks nearby, returning home at night (I. van den Gheyn, *AB* 18 [1899] 214f); cattle could be pastured in the woods without herdsmen; but often shepherds went far from home with their flocks. A 14th-C. historian (Greg. 1:379.20–23) describes peasants in the Strumica region of Macedonia who left their homes in spring for the mountains and stayed there to milk their animals. There were also special winter pastures (*cheimadeia*)—thus, an Athonite act of 1333 mentions a *cheimadeion* in the area of Kassandreia, near which were located a field of 1,800 *modioi* and an oak grove, probably for the swine (*Xénoph.* no.22.5–6). Another monastery possessed a *cheimadeion* in the same area where several *demosiakoi paroikoi* had settled (*Chil.*, no.58.4–7). A contract might regulate the use of such a winter pasture: for example, two neighboring landowners were to feed their cattle on it during the winter, but from the beginning of the spring, when the grass began to grow, they had to avoid it (MM 4:181.19–25).

Sheep were esp. suited for long journeys, and large flocks accompanied by shepherds and dogs could be seen in Cappadocia. Some ethnic minorities, such as the Vlachs and Albanians, practiced transhumance in mountainous regions. The mass production of CHEESE was connected with this type of husbandry, which required the preservation of dairy products for long periods. –A.K., J.W.N.

TRANSLATION. Throughout the Byz. era neighboring cultures showed an awareness of Greek literature and made translations of Greek authors. The Byz., on the other hand, showed much less interest in translating works in other languages into Greek, except in the final centuries of the empire.

GREEK INTO LATIN. In the West interest in translation into LATIN concentrated around several types of literature: science (in 6th-C. Africa, Mustio translated the gynecological works of Soranos of Ephesus; in the 5th–6th C. a metrological treatise by EPIPHANIOS of Salamis, written ca.392, was translated; a Latin version of Aratos's interpretation of meteorological phenomena appeared in the 7th C.); military exploits and adventures (alleged memoirs of the Phrygian Dares from the 6th C., the story of APOLLONIOS OF TYRE); theological, hagiographical, and church historical writings translated by JEROME, RUFINUS, etc. Already by 373 the vita of St. ANTONY THE GREAT by Athanasios of Alexandria appeared in Latin. Interest in contemporary Greek literature can be traced through the 9th C., when ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS rendered the *Chronographia* of Theophanes the Confessor into Latin.

From the 9th C. onward attention focused on theological works, esp. pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (translated by Eriugena) and BARLAAM AND IOASAPH (first translated into Latin in the 11th C., then into various "national" languages). In the 12th C. BURGUNDIO OF PISA's translations included John Chrysostom and John of Damascus, while MOSES OF BERGAMO translated a treatise attributed to Epiphanios of Salamis and a florilegium on the Trinity. From the 13th C. onward interest shifted toward ancient Greek philosophy on the part of both Greek and Latin scholars. WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE translated Aristotle and Proklos, while Robert GROSSETESTE headed a group of scholars at Lincoln who translated Aristotle and Byz. commentaries on Aristotle as well as works of pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and John of Damascus. Byz. literati in Italy, such as John ARGYROPOULOS, Theodore GAZES, and GEORGE TRAPEZOUNTIOS, made translations of Plato and Aristotle, in addition to some patristic writings, while Nicholas SEKOUNDINOS translated Demosthenes and Plutarch, among other authors. During the Renaissance scholars rediscovered Homer and other classics of ancient literature, while paying little attention to writings of the Byz. era.

LIT. L. Zgusta, "Die Rolle des Griechischen im römischen Kaiserreich," in *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit* (Cologne 1980) 135–45. W.J. Aerts, "The Knowledge of Greek in Western Europe at the Time of Theophano," in *Byzantium and the Low Countries in the Tenth Century* (Dordrecht 1985) 73–83. W. Berschin, *Griechisch-Lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern-Munich 1980).

–A.K., A.M.T.

GREEK INTO SLAVONIC. The earliest surviving Slavonic translations of Greek texts date from the Christian period of the first Bulgarian Empire (864–971), since those made by Cyril (CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER) and METHODIOS for their Moravian mission (863–85) have been lost. The entire corpus of translations could be compared to the library of a large, provincial Byz. monastery: the Bible; homiletic and exegetic writings, but few dogmatic works; hagiography; liturgy; *gnomologia*; *florilegia*; popular world histories; canon law; and a few popular romances, such as the *Alexander Romance*. In the 12th to 15th C. more translations were made in Bulgaria, Serbia, and on Mt. Athos (e.g., at HILANDAR), but they were again mainly ecclesiastical, including the fathers who influenced the Hesychasts, so that the orthodox Slavs remained largely ignorant of Byz. (and classical) philosophy and science. Most of the translations, in keeping with the medieval theory of the need to preserve both content and form of the original, were literal. (See also RUS', LITERATURE OF; BULGARIAN LITERATURE; SERBIAN LITERATURE.)

LIT. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 56–72. F. Thomson, "*Sensus* or *proprietas verborum*—Mediaeval Theories of Translation as Exemplified by Translations from Greek into Latin and Slavonic," in *Symposium Methodianum*, ed. K. Trost, E. Völkl, E. Wedel [*Selecta Slavica*, vol. 13] (Neuried 1988) 675–91.

–F.J.T.

GREEK INTO LANGUAGES OF THE CHRISTIAN EAST. Translations of Greek texts played a very important role in the formation of the Eastern Christian literatures in Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Coptic, and Ethiopic. In some cases (Armenian, Georgian) translations from Greek and Syriac played a formative role, being the first productions in the native tongue. In other cases (Syriac, Coptic) the translations were vital for the full development of the local Christian traditions, even if an indigenous Christian literary tradition coexisted.

Translations from Greek are indicative of a common cultural heritage among Eastern Christians that is derived from the Hellenistic world. Not only did biblical, liturgical, and theological texts come in large part from Greek sources but it was through translations that Syrians, Armenians, and others participated in the general culture of their time in the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East.

Although national literatures developed in languages that had no linguistic affinity (Semitic/Hamitic, Indo-European, Caucasian), there was a common pool of themes both Christian and secular. Thus cultural boundaries were not significant, and even theological differences did not prevent a great deal of translation from one language to another.

Syriac. The large number of translations and constant revisions of the Bible indicates Syrian preoccupation with authoritative foreign texts. Although native traditions, esp. poetry, developed along local lines (and in turn influenced Greek—cf. ROMANOS THE MELODE), translations from Greek theological, philosophical, rhetorical, and scientific texts formed the basis for Syrian learning in those spheres. Furthermore, the role of Syriac texts and of Syrian translators in the early transmission of Greek thought to the Muslim world is paramount (see below). (See also SYRIAC LITERATURE.)

Armenian. The first texts written in Armenian were biblical, liturgical, and theological works translated from Greek and Syriac. The translators were familiar with the contemporary literary culture of the Eastern Mediterranean, and translations of secular texts (philosophy, grammar, rhetoric, the sciences) rapidly augmented the growing body of native literature. Especially influential for Armenian historians were Eusebios of Caesarea (*Ecclesiastical History*, *Chronicon*), Sokrates, Philo, Josephus Flavius (though only a later, 17th-C. translation survives), and the *Alexander Romance*. Translations of Dionysios Thrax and David the Philosopher of Alexandria were significant for the development of Armenian grammatical and philosophical interests; in theology John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzos had the greatest influence. Translations from Greek (and Syriac, and later from Arabic, Persian, and Latin) continued to enrich Armenian learning throughout the Byz. period (e.g., pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and scholia in the 8th C.). (See also ARMENIAN LITERATURE.)

Georgian. As in Armenia, so in Georgia a native literature developed first from translations of biblical, liturgical, and theological texts. But even more than in Armenia, the influence of Palestine was noticeable in Georgia. Thus Georgian has preserved biblical and liturgical traditions associated with Jerusalem that were later subordinated to the Byz. rite. Continuing ties with Palestine after the Muslim conquest are evident from many translations into Georgian from Christian Arabic. Since the Georgians remained Chalcedonian, they associated with Greek scholars in monastic centers such as Mt. Athos (esp. IVERON), Mt. Sinai, and the Black Mountain. In the 10th and 11th C. many new translations from biblical, theological, exegetical, and philosophical texts were made. (See also GEORGIAN LITERATURE.)

Arabic. There is not always a clear distinction between Christian and Muslim translations from Greek into Arabic, given the interplay between the two literatures. The earliest transmission of Greek learning to the Muslims was effected by Christian translators working primarily from Syriac versions. Emphasis was given to philosophical, medical, and scientific works.

Writers of Christian texts in Arabic were also heirs to Greek traditions of learning. In the ecclesiastical sphere the first translations were of biblical and liturgical texts. Whether any of these predate Islamic times is a debated question. By the 9th C. translations of Greek patristic writers, augmented by versions of ascetic and hagiographic literature, were being produced in the monasteries of southern Palestine (see JUDEA, WILDERNESS OF and SABAS, GREAT LAVRA OF) and the SINAI peninsula.

LIT.—General. G. Garitte, *Scripta Disiecta* 2 (Louvain 1980) 676–717. P. Peeters, *Tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (Brussels 1950).

LIT.—Syriac. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922). I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca* (Rome 1965).

LIT.—Armenian. V. Inglisian in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 7.1 (Leiden-Cologne 1963) 157–250. G. Zarp'analean, *Matenadaran Haykakan Targmanut'eanc' Naxneac'* (Venice 1889).

LIT.—Georgian. M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Vatican 1955). R.P. Blake, "La littérature grecque en Palestine au VIIIe siècle," *Muséon* 78 (1965) 367–80.

LIT.—Arabic. F. Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam* (London 1975). R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic* (Cambridge,

Mass., 1965). G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur, 1: die Übersetzungen* (Vatican 1944). –R.W.T.

OTHER LANGUAGES INTO GREEK. Translations into Greek from other languages were infrequent in the late Roman Empire (Christ, *Literatur* 2.2:665, n.1), even though a few 6th-C. authors (John Lydos, Malalas) evidently had some knowledge of LATIN literature (B. Baldwin in *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium* [Prague 1985] 237–41). The most important translations were not in belles lettres, but in the sphere of law and jurisprudence, that is, the translation of Justinian's legal codification. It is also possible to trace some translations of hagiographical works from Latin: thus, the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory I were translated by Pope ZACHARIAS or someone at his court; more difficult is the question of the Greek Acts of Pope SILVESTER and the date of their compilation or translation. The origin of the Greek vitae of some popes (Leo I, Martin) and Latin saints (Martin of Tours) is not certain. The influx of Latin literature, esp. theological (AUGUSTINE, Thomas AQUINAS), took place in the 14th and 15th C. through the translations of the KYDONES brothers and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, while PLANOUDES introduced secular authors, such as OVID and Cicero, to a Byz. audience. Some astronomical tables were also translated from Latin. Translations from Armenian into Greek were rare, but there are Greek versions of two recensions of AGATHANGELOS and of the NARRATIO DE REBUS ARMENIAE. Translations from Arabic and Persian were primarily of scientific texts, esp. on ASTRONOMY and to a lesser extent MEDICINE and PHARMACOLOGY.

The relation of certain Greek texts with their supposed Syriac, Arabic, or Georgian "originals" is unclear; one of the texts in dispute is BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. The situation began to change in the 11th C. when oriental texts such as *Stephanites and Ichnelates* (translated from Arabic by Symeon SETH) and SYNTIPAS (translated from Syriac by Michael Andreopoulos) penetrated Greek literature.

LIT. K.F. Weber, *De Latinis scriptis quae Graeci ad linguam suam transtulerunt* (Cassel 1852). D. Holwerda, "La code de Justinien et sa traduction grecque," *ClMed* 23 (1962) 274–92. –A.K., A.M.T.

TRANSLATION OF RELICS. See RELICS.

TRANSLITERATION OF TEXTS, that is, transcribing UNCIAL MSS into a new script (MINUSCULE), occurred primarily in the 9th and 10th C. Neither the precise date of the beginning of transliteration (*μεταχαρακτηρισμός*) nor the place of its origin is well established. The first precisely dated minuscule copy is the USPENSKIJ GOSPEL BOOK of 835, but Wilson (*infra* 66) considers a collection of astronomical texts in Leiden (Universiteitsbibliothek B.P.G. 78) as written between 813 and 820. The Stoudios monastery has been suggested as the site of the invention of minuscule, but the hypothesis is based on circumstantial evidence. Nevertheless, Constantinople is probably where the transliteration started.

It is difficult to establish the history of transliteration since many MSS have been lost and others are not dated. Dain (*infra* 127) thinks that the New Testament was the first type of book to be transliterated, but in the 9th C. the Byz. continued to produce some uncial MSS of the New Testament (e.g., the so-called Coridethi Gospel). The earliest dated Old Testament manuscript in minuscule is of 914 (Athens, Nat. Lib. suppl. 614), whereas the so-called Uspenskij Psalter of 862 (Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis* 224f) was still written in uncial. Liturgical texts continued to be produced in uncial, as were some works of the church fathers (the copy of pseudo-Dionysios sent to France in 827 was still in uncial), while other patristic works were transliterated as early as the 9th C. (e.g., Vaticanus gr. 503 containing the *Panarion* of Epiphanios of Cyprus). Scientific MSS (e.g., Ptolemy, Euclid, and collections of mathematical, astronomical, and medical writings) were among the works transliterated in the 9th C. as well as some treatises on philosophy, including Aristotle and Plato. Secular literature (poets, tragedians, historians) was rendered into minuscule somewhat later (10th C.) with the exception of Homer (for whom there is a 9th-C. minuscule MS). The process of transliteration left telltale signs in extant texts (e.g., errors due to misunderstanding of the uncial letters on the part of scribes making the transliteration into minuscule).

LIT. Wilson, *Scholars* 65–68, 85–88, 136–40. A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*[2] (Paris 1964) 124–33. Lemerle, *Humanism* 125–36. *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur,* ed. H. Hunger, 2 vols. (Zurich 1961–64). –A.K., I.Š.

TRANSPORTATION. See DROMOS; TRAVEL.

TRAPEZA (*τράπεζα*, lit. "table"), a refectory in a MONASTERY. Monastic *typika* regulated in detail behavior "in the *trapeza*" where monks took their meals (P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 67.788–89). Some *typika* emphasized that all the monks should eat together "in the *trapeza* of nourishment" (P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 47.458–59), whereas the *typikon* of the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY permitted some distinguished nuns to eat in their cells "beyond the apse of the *trapeza*" (P. Gautier, *REB* 43 [1985] 37.315–16). The monk (or nun) in charge of the *trapeza* was called the *trapezarios* (or *trapezaria*).

Architecture of the Refectory. The refectory was often located opposite the KATHOLIKON, which it followed in the liturgical hierarchy of the monastery, since the common meals eaten there were seen to be a continuation of the liturgy. The three types of Byz. refectories were a rectangular hall, the same with an added transept, and a room cruciform in plan as at the Great LAVRA on Mt. Athos. The buildings were sometimes apsed and usually covered with wooden roofs. A long TABLE with benches might be placed in the middle of the refectory or a number of semicircular tables (*sigmata*) were placed along the walls, which were often frescoed.

LIT. P.M. Mylonas, "La trapéza de la Grande Lavra au Mont Athos," *CahArch* 35 (1987) 143–57. Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.* 43–60. –A.K., M.J.

TRAPEZITES. See BANKER.

TRAVEL. The geographic horizons of the late antique world remained broad and encompassed CHINA, INDIA, CEYLON, ETHIOPIA, and the British Isles. After the 7th C. the scope of Byz. travel significantly diminished; although we hear sometimes about journeys to India, in reality the Byz. rarely ventured farther than Baghdad and Alexandria in the southeast, France in the west, and the northern shore of the Black Sea. In the late Palaiologan period some venturesome travelers visited ENGLAND and the Baltic regions (MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS, Laskaris KANANOS, Manuel CHRYSOLORAS). Constantinople attracted western and eastern travelers (esp. from the 11th C. onward); in comparison the Byz. did not travel as much.

Major purposes of travel were COMMERCE (the money-changer KALOMODIOS, said Niketas Choniates, often set forth on long journeys), official government business, EMBASSIES, PILGRIMAGE, and visits to shrines for HEALING; travel for EDUCATION or pleasure was rare. Although the principle of STABILITY was among the rules of monastic behavior, the saints' vitae often describe voyages of monks, esp. to Jerusalem and Rome.

Travelers were endangered by hazards such as PIRACY, BRIGANDAGE, and shipwreck, and inconvenienced by slow vehicles, poor ROADS, and underdeveloped facilities; they often preferred monastic hostels (XENODOCHEIA) to commercial INNS and MITATA. If choice was available, the Byz. opted to travel by SHIP because it was easier and faster. Travelers on land walked or rode HORSES, mules, and donkeys; occasionally horses and oxen were used to pull CARTS. Rich people were sometimes carried on a litter (by slaves in the 9th C. at least). Pious men usually journeyed alone or in pairs, whereas MERCHANTS preferred to travel in groups, hiring professional ass-drivers. The travel of state officials was facilitated by the department of the DROMOS, and local inhabitants were required to provide them with free transportation and lodging.

Some information on the length of journeys is preserved in both Greek and foreign sources (the Greek ones usually indicate shorter times): an uneventful sea voyage from Constantinople to Cyprus in the 12th C. took 10 days, and one could ride from Paphlagonia to the capital on horseback in eight days, although John Mauropous complained that his trip from Constantinople to Euchaita took two months. (See also GEOGRAPHY; TRAVEL LITERATURE.)

LIT. Ch. Angelide. "Emporikoi kai hagiologikoi dromoi (4os–7os ai.)—Hoi metamorphoseis tes taxidiotikes aphegeses," in *He kathemerine zoe sto Byzantio* (Athens 1989) 675–85. Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni," 170–83. A. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," in *Charanis Studies* 97–99. –Ap.K., A.K.

TRAVEL LITERATURE encompasses numerous late antique and medieval genres (PERIPLOUS, itinerary, PROSKYNETARION, etc.) varying in their languages, goals, and approaches. Its principal

languages were Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Slavic. Main areas of attention were Palestine (sometimes together with Egypt), Constantinople, and Rome; other regions appear as way stations. Greek, Latin, and Slavic works were predominantly descriptions of pilgrimages and guidebooks (*hodoiporiai*) for PILGRIMS primarily interested in religious monuments (LOCA SANCTA) and relics. They could also be (or include) tales of wonder-working, descriptions of diplomatic missions, or the adventures of captives; there are also some narrative accounts of journeys for arranged marriages. Arabic texts were primarily guides for merchants and contained information about marketplaces and the goods produced at various locales. Some travel accounts take a personal approach, depicting fears and hardships, describing meetings with local celebrities, and expressing individual opinions; others are restricted to lists of sites, the distances between them, and concise indications as to what is worth seeing. Pilgrim attractions are standardized; material is often repeated in book after book without any concern for plagiarism. Linguistic difficulties sometimes led to misunderstandings, and medieval gullibility confused reality with legend; nevertheless, many travel accounts contain unique and precious information: the fresh, if naive, eye of a foreigner could observe phenomena that local people or a Constantinopolitan historian might neglect. (See also GEOGRAPHY.)

LIT. Beazley, *Geography* 1:53–242; 2:112–217. E. Honigmann, "Un itinéraire à travers l'Empire byzantin," *Byzantion* 14 (1939) 645–49. Van der Vin, *Travellers* 1:1–23. K.D. Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur* (Munich 1976). Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 1–12. –A.K.

TRDAT. See HAGIA SOPHIA.

TRDAT THE GREAT (Τηριδάτης), first Christian Arsacid king of Armenia and saint. The dates of his reign are still disputed, but the years 298–330 seem most likely since the recently discovered Paikuli inscriptions, which name the Sasanian Narseh king of Armenia, make the previously proposed dates impossible. According to Armenian "received" tradition, Trdat was educated within the territory of the Roman Empire, having been taken there by his nurse after the murder of his father Chosroes I the Great of Armenia. Diocletian reinstated Trdat, probably after the peace of NISIBIS in 298. Obeying Roman policy, he persecuted GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR, the virgin martyr Hṙip'simē (see VAṘAṘŠAPAT), and Christians in general until the era of toleration was inaugurated after 313. Trdat then permitted Gregory to be consecrated as bishop and primate of Armenia, was baptized himself, and spread the faith throughout his realm. Little is known about the end of his reign because of the silence or disagreement of the sources. Trdat was still alive to send a representative to the First Council of Nicaea in 325 and probably fought against northern invaders. The account given of his death during a rebellion (MOSES XORENAC'I 2.92) is unsupported, however, and the tale of his visit to Constantine I the Great at Rome (AGATHANGELOS, ed. Thomson, pt.875–82) is certainly apocryphal.

LIT. C. Toumanoff, "The Third-Century Armenian Arsacids: A Chronological and Genealogical Commentary," *REArm* n.s. 6 (1969) 233–81. Asdourian, *Armenien und Rom* 243–72. –N.G.G.

TREASON, HIGH (*καθοσίωσις*, Lat. *crimen laesae majestatis*), was during the Roman republic an offense against the state and its magistrates; in the empire it was defined as a crime against the ruler or the appropriation of his privileges (such as counterfeiting of coins or establishing a private prison). The standard penalty was capital punishment, followed by CONFISCATION of property, denial of proper burial, and DAMNATIO MEMORIAE. Legal procedure in the case of high treason was relieved of certain customary restrictions: slaves were allowed to bear witness against their masters and freedmen against their "protectors" (*patroni*), and the testimony of soldiers, women, and disreputable persons was considered valid. The *Ecloga* (17.3) defined high treason as an "association, conspiracy, or plot against the emperor or the *politeia* of the Christians" and left the final decision about punishment to the emperor. Preventive measures against high treason included MUTILATION of the emperor's relatives and OATHS of fealty. Several emperors succeeded in having potential rebels threatened by the church with ANATHEMA, though such attempts remained sporadic and controversial. The most elaborate description of a treason trial is that of the future emperor MICHAEL [VIII] PALAIOLOGOS.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 336f. B. Kübler, *RE* 14 (1930) 550–59. Troianos, *Poinalios* 10–12. K.A. Bourdara, *Katho-*

siosis kai tyrannis kata tous mesous byzantinous chronous (Athens 1981). –A.K.

TREASURES, SILVER AND GOLD (*κειμήλια ἄργυρα καὶ χρυσά*), are frequently alluded to in literature of the 4th–7th C. and about 30 survive from this period. They have been found in all parts of the empire—Italy and North Africa, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. Byz. silver objects have also been found outside the empire, mostly in tombs, for example, at MALAJA PEREŠČEPINA. Nearly half of the treasures are of domestic silver PLATE; the other half have been identified epigraphically and/or archaeologically as containing LITURGICAL VESSELS belonging to village churches. In some cases treasures were found with gold coins and/or jewelry; the Second CYPRUS TREASURE included several bronze objects, and the VRAP treasure contained both gold and silver Byz. objects of the 5th–7th C. (Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps,* nos. 88, 103). Excavated treasures dating from after the 7th C. are virtually unknown. –M.M.M.

TREASURE TROVE (*εὕρεσις θησαυροῦ*). A technical term related to the state's interest in hoards of coins (see COIN FINDS), buried in times of uncertainty and later discovered. The state's approach varied considerably, taking into account first its sovereign rights and, second, the theory that treasures were the property of the dead. In the late Roman Empire and under the Macedonian and Komnenian dynasties, the government encouraged such discoveries and the return of the cash to normal monetary circulation by recognizing the rights of individuals over them, esp. the finder and the owner of the land where the money was found. In contrast, during the Iconoclastic period and under the Palaiologoi, the state faced financial difficulties and insisted on recovering whatever was hidden in the land: treasures found by individuals were confiscated either by the imposition of a very heavy tax (Nikephoros I) or by the state's claiming the whole find (Palaiologoi). In the Palaiologan period, a treasure trove was considered part of the AERIKON, a fiscalized fine, a regular fiscal obligation of the peasants.

LIT. C. Morrisson, "La découverte des trésors à l'époque byzantine: Théorie et pratique de l'heuresis thesaurou," *TM* 8 (1981) 321–43. M. Tourtoglou, *Parthenophthoria kai heuresis thesaurou* (Athens 1963) 119–44. –N.O.

TREATIES (sing. *συνθήκη, συμβόλαιον, τρέβα*) with other countries were of two basic types: those in the form of a unilateral privilege and those concluded between two theoretically equal parties; an intermediary variation was the exchange of two unilateral documents. The basic principles of Byz. DIPLOMACY determined the type of treaty used. The first type is by far better known because it was used in relations with the Italian republics (many entire treaties are preserved in archives, mainly in Venice and Genoa); it normally appears as a CHRYSOBULL sanctioning the agreement that the AMBASSADORS had negotiated and both states confirmed. A very few real bilateral treaties with Venice in the mid-14th C. are extant, written and countersigned by a Latin notary. The second type was used with the SASANIAN Persians, then the ARABS, and eventually the Bulgarians and the Rus' (see TREATIES, RUSSO-BYZANTINE).

An essential part of the treaties was the OATH, usually taken by the ambassadors, each according to his religion, after several translators (up to six from each party) had verified the accuracy of the two versions of the agreement. Until the 12th C., the emperor usually only confirmed the proceedings; later he had to take the oath himself. Most treaties concerned a limited number of years but some were "eternal." All were usually global agreements, covering all aspects of the relations between the two countries: political, military, commercial (TRADE TREATIES), legal (including the refugee problem), and religious. Sometimes long negotiations in Constantinople, in the other capital, or somewhere near the frontier and several exchanges of EMBASSIES were necessary before a treaty would be ready for signature.

LIT. Bréhier, *Institutions* 314–23. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 94–105. D. Miller, "Byzantine Treaties and Treaty Making: 500–1025 AD," *BS* 32 (1971) 56–76. W. Heinemeyer, "Die Verträge zwischen dem oströmischen Reiche und den italischen Städten Genua, Pisa und Venedig vom 10. bis 12. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 3 (1957) 79–161. –N.O.

TREATIES, RUSSO-BYZANTINE, established the rules of relations between the empire and the RUS' in the 10th C., esp. the privileges and norms of behavior of Rus' merchants and envoys in Constantinople. The Slavonic texts of the treaties are preserved in the POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET; their Greek versions, if indeed they were ever

produced, are lost. The *Povest'* mentions the treaty of 907 (whose authenticity has been hotly debated, along with the historicity of the expedition of OLEG against Constantinople in this year) and contains the texts of the treaties of 911, 944, and 971. All the treaties were concluded under similar political circumstances, after Rus' invasions in Byz. or Bulgaria; they are modeled on the charters of the imperial chancery and are important sources for the history of Byz. DIPLOMACY. Even greater is their significance for the history of Kievan Rus', since they show that the young state was negotiating with Byz. on equal terms. The treaties reveal that among the Rus' envoys were men with Scandinavian names; already by 944 some members of the Rus' elite were Christian.

LIT. A.N. Sacharov, *Diplomatija Drevnej Rusi* (Moscow 1980). I. Sorlin, "Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au Xe siècle," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 2 (1961) 313–60, 447–75. H. Herrera Cajas, "Bizancio y la formación de Rusia (Los tratados bizantino-rusos del S. X)," *Bizantion-Nea Hellas* 6 (1982) 13–56. J.H. Lind, "The Russo-Byzantine Treaties and the Early Urban Structure of Rus'," *SlEERev* 62 (1984) 362–70. F. Wozniak, "The Crimean Question, the Black Bulgarians, and the Russo-Byzantine Treaty of 944," *JMedHist* 5 (1979) 115–26. –A.K.

TREBIZOND (Τραπεζοῦς, mod. Trabzon), the greatest city of Pontos, flourished because of its fine harbor and location at the head of the best route from the sea to the interior and Iran. Restored by Diocletian after a Gothic attack, Trebizond became a legionary base and a city of Pontos Polemoniakos (see PONTOS). In the reorganization of Justinian I, it was assigned to Armenia I. Justinian conducted his Armenian campaigns from Trebizond, restored its walls, and built an aqueduct. Trebizond had bishops from the 3rd C. onward; Eirenaios, responsible for the rebuildings of Justinian, played a major role in civic life. Trebizond became an archbishopric in the 8th C. and a metropolis of the diocese of Lazike in the early 10th. In the 7th C., Trebizond became a city of ARMENIAKON, and, in the early 9th C., capital of CHALDIA. A brief Turkish occupation after 1071 was followed by the rule of the GABRADES, nominally subject to the Komnenoi. The well-documented period after 1204 was one of great architectural and artistic activity. Two 15th-C. *ekphraseis* (by BESSARION and a shorter one by John EUGENIKOS) characterize the geographical position, climate, and trade activity of the city and describe its palace.

In 1204, Trebizond consisted of a small fortified enceinte on a steep hill, with market, harbor, suburbs, and separately fortified monasteries outside the walls. Much of it was exposed to Turkish attacks, which began in 1223. ALEXIOS II KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1297–1330), built a new wall that encompassed the harbor and lower city. It was strengthened in 1378; the citadel, which contained the imperial palace and government offices, was frequently repaired until the fall of the Trapezuntine Empire. The commercial district, with numerous churches and the separate fortifications of the Genoese and Venetians, lay beyond the walls. Names of many quarters are known from contemporary texts or later Turkish documents. In spite of its numerous monuments, Trebizond was surprisingly small, with only about 4,000 inhabitants in 1438. Powerful fortifications and an isolated location enabled it to survive numerous Turkish attacks until 1461.

Monuments of Trebizond include the fortifications, which manifest eight periods of construction, mostly of the 13th–14th C. Parts of the palace have also survived. Trebizond preserves the remains or memory of some 95 churches. Most important is the monastery of St. Sophia, probably founded by MANUEL I KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1238–63), and extensively rebuilt in the early 15th C.; a cross-in-square church with three apses, a narthex, and three porches, its interior was covered with frescoes. Also prominent are the Church of St. EUGENIOS of Trebizond (1291); the Cathedral of the Virgin Chrysokephalos, rebuilt in 1214 as the imperial coronation church; and the earliest church of Trebizond, the Basilica of St. Anne, restored in 885. Other churches are generally small and undatable, but their characteristic pentagonal apses and porches suggest that most belong to the period of the 13th–15th C.

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 178–250. –C.F.

TREBIZOND, EMPIRE OF, one of the three successor states to the Byz. Empire, lasting from 1204 to 1461. It arose at the time of the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade. Unlike the empire of NICAEA and despotate of EPIROS, however, the empire of Trebizond was established not in response to the Latin occupation, but just prior to it as a continuation of the rule of the Komnenian dynasty, overthrown in 1185 by the Angeloi. Founded by ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS and DAVID KOMNENOS, grandsons of Andronikos I Komnenos, the new "empire" was restricted to a narrow strip of land along the southeast coast of the Black Sea and was isolated from Constantinople. Under the rule of the GRAND KOMNENOI, the empire of Trebizond survived for 250 years, despite its small size and the constant threat of conquest by the Turks. Its longevity can be attributed to the natural barrier of the Pontic Mountains, the strong fortifications of the capital city of TREBIZOND, the flourishing commerce of this port city, and the astute marriage diplomacy carried out by the Trapezuntine emperors, who sought alliances for themselves primarily with Byz. and Georgian princesses and married many of their daughters and sisters to Turkomans. For much of its history the empire was the vassal of successive stronger powers: the Seljuks of Ikonion (1214–43), the Mongols (after the invasions of 1243 and 1402), and the Ottomans (after 1456). It was the last outpost of Byz. civilization to fall to the Turks, being forced to surrender in Aug. or Sept. 1461 (F. Babinger, *REB* 7 [1950] 205–07) when besieged by Ottoman forces by land and sea.

LIT. W. Miller, *Trebizond: The Last Greek Empire* (London 1926; rp. Amsterdam 1968). F. Uspenskij, *Očerki iz istorii Trapezuntskoj imperii* (Leningrad 1929). A. Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* (London 1980). S.P. Karpov, *Trapezundskaja imperija i zapadnoevropejskie gosudarstva v XIII–XV vv.* (Moscow 1981). –A.M.T.

TREE OF JESSE, a metaphorical image of the GENEALOGY OF CHRIST, specifically his descent from the kings of Judah through his mother, Mary. It consists of a tree springing from the loins of Jesse, the father of DAVID, with the generations of David's lineage depicted in its branches, the Virgin Mary on its stem, and Christ at its crown. Based on Isaiah 11:1 and Matthew 1:1–17, it asserts both Christ's Incarnation and his messianic descent from the Old Testament kings. It is probably a Western invention. With the exception of the Crusader image at the Church of the Nativity at BETHLEHEM, the composition appears in Byz. only in the Palaiologan period, when it is incorporated into narthex programs showing Old Testament harbingers of Christ and PREFIGURATIONS of the Virgin: Hagia Sophia, TREBIZOND; the Mavriotissa at KASTORIA (14th-C. layer); the HOLY APOSTLES, Thessalonike. The last is probably the earliest Byz. example. It is closely akin to a group of elaborate Serbian examples in which the genealogy of the NEMANJID DYNASTY is brought into parallel with the genealogy of Christ.

LIT. M.D. Taylor, "A Historiated Tree of Jesse," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 125–76. A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London 1934). –A.W.C.

TREMISSIS (τριμίσιον, Lat. *tremis* or *triens*, from *tres* + *as*, "a third of a unit," formed by analogy with SEMISSIS), a small gold coin weighing 1.52 g, worth a third of a SOLIDUS, introduced in the 380s during the reign of Theodosios I. It continued as one of the main Byz. gold denominations until late in the reign of Leo III, but from the 740s onward tremisses were only rarely struck in the East, presumably for ceremonial purposes, and none are known after the reign of Basil I. In Italy and Sicily this coin continued in common use until the end of Byz. rule (fall of Syracuse 878). The later electrum TRACHY was the value equivalent of the old tremissis, being one-third of a HYPERPYRON, but was never called by that name.

LIT. O. Ulrich-Bansa, "Les premières émissions du *tremis aureus* (383–395)," *Bulletin du Circle d'études numismatiques* 5 (1968) 80–94. *DOC* 3:22. –Ph.G.

TRIAL (δίκη). Byz. inherited from Rome a system of trying lawsuits that was based on the principles of a fair trial, a competent judge (*prosphoros dikastes*), and legality of procedure and judgment—principles that of course had to be adapted to the conditions created by the "absolute monarchy" of Byz. In spite of relevant legislative activity in the 11th and 12th C., the rules for CIVIL PROCEDURE and CRIMINAL PROCEDURE remained as they had been laid down in the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. Besides, the lawsuit was affected by peculiarities in the system of judicial administration, esp. the division, which never completely disappeared, between jurisdiction (*dikaiodosia*) and the actual delegated execution of a lawsuit (*dikazein*), as well as by the absence of any effective regulations for successive appeal. These circumstances meant the prolongation of civil lawsuits in particular, which the legislator tried to prevent through the reduction of court holidays (*apraktoi hemerai*), the establishment of procedural time limits, and by an ineffective prohibition on parties applying to the emperor during the course of the trial with a petition (*deesis*). Ecclesiastical penal and disci-

plinary procedure was regulated by CANON LAW. For actual Byz. trials, our richest sources are, in addition to historiographical information on *causes célèbres* and a series of decisions of civil and ecclesiastical courts, the PEIRA, the corpus of acts of Demetrios CHOMATENOS, the accounts of John APOKAUKOS, and the Acts of the patriarchate of Constantinople, which are well preserved for the 14th C. They owe their existence in the first place to the legally prescribed recording of the proceedings.

LIT. Troianos, *Ekklesiastike Dikonomia*. Idem, *He ekklesiastike diadikasia metaxy 565 kai 1204* (Athens 1969). Macrides, "Justice" 99–204. –L.B.

TRIBELON (*τρίβηλον*, etym. *tri-* + Lat. *velum*, curtain or door hanging [Tafrali, *infra*]), a rare term designating a part of a church. The *Miracles of St. Demetrios* (Lemerle, *Miracles* 1:162.2–11) describes two supernatural persons entering "the *tribelon* of the holy shrine of the renowned martyr Demetrios." Later versions used instead the word *tribolon* that C. Ducange (*Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis* [Lyon 1688; rp. Graz 1958] s.v.) suggested "correcting" to *peribolon*. The word evidently refers to the area at the entrance to the church, designating the "atrium or narthex" according to Tafrali (*infra* 43) or the narthex according to Lemerle (*supra* 1:159, n.3).

Art historians use the term conventionally to denote three arches carried on two intermediate columns between two piers. Triple-arched openings between piers are common in Byz. arcuate and domical architecture, notably in the EXEDRAE of S. Vitale, Ravenna, of Sts. Sergios and Bakchos, and of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. As a natural concomitant of the bay system, they are found in the nave of the east church at ALAHAN MANASTIRI, around the naos of the *katholikon* of HOSIOS LOUKAS, and in the south and west porches of Hagia Sophia, TREBIZOND. The term *tribelon* is usually reserved for the triple opening between the narthex and the naos.

LIT. O. Tafrali, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie byzantines* (Paris 1913) 40–50. –W.L., A.C.

TRIBIGILD (*Τιρβίγιλλος*, *Τριγίβιλδος*), a Goth and *comes rei militaris* in the East; died Thrace ca.400. He was a relative of GAINAS and commanded barbarian troops settled in Phrygia. After a visit to Constantinople in 399, during which he was slighted by EUTROPIOS, his troops revolted. Valentinus, a local commander in Pamphylia, took charge of organizing resistance to the barbarians. He was assisted by local peasants and slaves. Tribigild was defeated near Selge. He barely escaped with 300 mounted soldiers (Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 1:170–72). Tribigild then conspired with Gainas, who had been sent to quell the revolt, and together the two Goths marched on Constantinople. While Gainas entered the capital Tribigild crossed over to Thrace, where he died shortly thereafter. The uprising stimulated anti-Germanic feeling in Constantinople and gave rise to the oration titled *On Kingship* by SYNESIOS.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:129–33. *PLRE* 2:1125f. Demougeot, *Unité* 224–29, 249. G. Albert, *Goten in Konstantinopel* (Paderborn 1984) 89–149. –T.E.G.

TRIBONIAN (*Τριβωνιανός*), jurist and high-ranking official at the court of Justinian I; born Pamphylia before 500, died probably 542 of plague. Justinian's protegé, he served as member of the emperor's commission appointed in Feb. 528 to draft a law code (CODEX JUSTINIANUS). According to Honoré (*infra*), he profited from the purge of the commission (pagan lawyers were dismissed) and became quaestor and its chairman; this Honoré connects with the shift in the focus of the commission from the practical need of lawyers for an established code to an antiquarian and scholarly approach as reflected in the DIGEST. Accusations of graft launched against Tribonian during the NIKA REVOLT compelled Justinian to dismiss him; although he eventually returned to the commission, he never regained his former authority. Evidence of Tribonian's fall from favor was the slow replacement of Latin by Greek in legislation (see NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I). A jurist with enormous knowledge of Roman law, Tribonian tried to retreat from the magniloquence of the CODEX THEODOSIANUS to the simplicity and clarity of Gaius, yet retained affectations for the sake of imperial propaganda.

LIT. T. Honoré, *Tribonian* (London 1978). D.J. Osler, "The Compilation of Justinian's Digest," *ZSavRom* 102 (1985) 129–84. W. Waldstein, "Tribonianus," *ZSavRom* 97 (1980) 232–55. –W.E.K., A.K.

TRICONCH. See CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

TRIESTE (*Τέργεστ⟨ρ⟩ον*), Roman port and fortress at the north end of the Adriatic Sea, economically and politically overshadowed by the neighboring Aquileia. Legends connect the activity of several martyrs with Trieste, for example, Servolus in the 3rd C. and Justus (San Giusto) in 303. After 488 Trieste was in the hands of the Goths, but in 539 the region was conquered by the army of Justinian I. Despite the attacks of the Lombards, Avars, and Slavs the city remained under Byz. authority, and a special military detachment, *numerus tergestinus*, protected northern Illyricum from barbarian invasions. Ecclesiastically, Trieste was linked with Aquileia and Grado and supported them in the conflict of the THREE CHAPTERS against Rome and Constantinople. In 752 Trieste fell to the Lombards, in 787 or 788 to Charlemagne, and thereafter stood outside the political sphere of Byz.

Monuments of Trieste. Two apses in the cathedral of S. Maria Assunta e S. Giusto are decorated with mosaics that Demus (*infra*) considers "Greek" rather than Adriatic in style. The cathedral was originally two separate buildings (like S. Maria Assunta and S. Fosca on TORCELLO): S. Maria Assunta, an 11th-C. basilica, and S. Giusto, a centralized church with a dome on squinches. In the main apse of S. Maria Assunta is an image of the Virgin enthroned between archangels, with the 12 Apostles below; in the main apse of S. Giusto, Christ between Sts. Justus and Servolus. The two mosaics, not necessarily contemporary, are variously dated to the 11th, 12th, or 13th C.

The cathedral treasury contains an image of St. Justus painted on silk, 119 cm high, also dated to the 11th–13th C. Though some scholars have identified the painter as Constantinopolitan, Demus believes he was "Veneto-Byz."

LIT. M. Mirabella Roberti, *San Giusto* (Trieste 1970). Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco* 1.1:51; 2.1:213f. I. Andreescu, "Torcello," *DOP* 30 (1976) 258f. –A.K., D.K.

TRIGLEIA. See MEDIKION MONASTERY; PELEKETE MONASTERY.

TRIKEPHALON (*νόμισμα τρικέφαλον*, lit. "three-header"), sometimes abbreviated $\Gamma^{\kappa\lambda'}$ (F. Dölger, *BZ* 27 [1927] 296, n.4); a word applied to the one-third HYPERPYRON or electrum TRACHY of the early 12th C., which had on it a total of three "heads": that of the emperor, the Virgin, and Christ (in the form of a medallion held by the Virgin), in contrast to the hyperpyron, which had the figures of Christ and the emperor only. The three decades during which such trikephala were issued (1092–1118) resulted in *trikephalon* becoming one of the several names regularly used for this denomination even where it no longer accurately described the design of the coins.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Les monnaies tricéphales de Jean II Comnène," *RN*^{5} 13 (1951) 97–108. Hendy, *Coinage* 31–34, 226. –Ph.G.

TRIKKALA (*Τρίκ⟨κ⟩αλα*, anc. Trikke, Trik⟨k⟩a), city in a fertile valley in northwest Thessaly. Trikkala was an important transit point, with roads running west across the PINDOS Mountains to Epiros and north to Grevena and Macedonia. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.3.5) names "Trika" among the Thessalian *poleis* whose walls were repaired by Justinian I. From the 4th C. onward, the city was a suffragan bishopric of LARISSA. The first known bishop, HELIODOROS, was thought to be the author of the *Aethiopica*. The old name Trikka survived in several anachronistic texts, while Trikkala appears first in Kekaumenos, who speaks of Trikalitan Vlachs. Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:31.27) cites *ta Trikala* as a geographic name without defining the character of the site. Al-IDRĪSĪ described Trikkala as an important agrarian center with abundant vineyards and gardens. In Alexios III's charter of 1198 for Venice, Trikkala is mentioned along with other Thessalian cities. Its political role before 1204 is almost unknown: in 1082/3 Trikkala was for a short time captured by the Normans. It seems not to have been occupied by the Crusaders after 1204 (Nicol, *Epiros I* 36) but was controlled by Epiros.

After the victory at PELAGONIA in 1259, John Palaiologos, Michael VIII's brother, reached Neopatras and "Trikke" and took them without resistance (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:151.14). In the 14th C. (until 1332/3) Trikkala formed the center of the independent "fief" of Stephen GABRIELOPOULOS; after his death Trikkala fell under the control of John Orsini of Epiros, then of Byz.: a chrysobull of Andronikos III of March 1336 (*Reg* 4, no.2826) rewards the monks of the Zablantion monastery near Trikkala for their help in transferring the city to the emperor. The Serbs con-

quered Thessaly in 1348, and Dušan's general Preljub governed it from Trikkala. In 1359 SYMEON UROŠ established his court in Trikkala, where he imitated the ritual of Constantinople. Trikkala was occupied by the Ottomans in 1393. In the 14th C. the bishopric of Trikkala gained increasing control over METEORA.

The fortifications on the acropolis are mostly of Turkish date, but traces of the Justinianic repairs have been identified on the south side (L.W. Daly, *AJA* 46 [1942] 507). A floor mosaic on the hill of Prophetis Elias is from the narthex of a basilica, probably of the 5th C., and the ruins of a church, presumably of Byz. date, are on the acropolis. The Church of St. Stephen contains an inscription naming Symeon Uroš and the Despoina Anna (D. Papachryssanthou, *TM* 2 [1967] 483–88). Many small churches, esp. of the 12th–13th C., can be found in the villages around Trikkala.

LIT. *TIB* 1:277f. Abramea, *Thessalia* 132–35, 195f. Ferjančić, *Tesalija* 168–82. N. Nikonanos, *Byzantinoi naoi tes Thessalias* (Athens 1979) 75–98, 118–22.

–T.E.G.

TRIKLINIOS, DEMETRIOS, classical philologist; fl. Thessalonike ca.1300–25. He changed his name from Triklines to Triklinios (Τρικλίνιος) around 1316 or 1319. Triklinios studied with THOMAS MAGISTROS and Maximos PLANOUDES, and probably ran a school and scriptorium in Thessalonike. He copied MSS of Hesiod, Hermogenes, and Aphthonios in a fine calligraphic hand, but is better known for his editions of classical poets and dramatists. Owing to his understanding of ancient Greek meters, he was able to make emendations in the texts based on metrical principles. He also incorporated the scholia of his slightly older contemporaries Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS and Thomas Magistros. His most significant contribution was his preparation of new recensions of ancient Greek tragedies and comedies, esp. those texts that did not normally form part of the standard CURRICULUM. Thus he edited five plays of AESCHYLUS, including the previously ignored *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides* (an autograph MS survives), all seven extant plays of SOPHOCLES, and eight of ARISTOPHANES instead of the usual three. Especially important was his edition of all the plays of EURIPIDES including the "non-select" plays (i.e., those plays not selected for school use), which were virtually unknown before the 14th C. Triklinios evidently also revised the *Anthologia Planudea* (A. Turyn, *EEBS* 39–40 [1972–3] 403–50). An essay on lunar theory (ed. A. Wasserstein, *JÖB* 16 [1967] 153–74) indicates his interest in astronomy.

LIT. Wilson, *Scholars* 249–56. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:69–77. O.L. Smith, *Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus* (Leiden 1975). Idem, "Tricliniana," *ClMed* 33 (1981–82) 239–62. R. Aubreton, *Démétrius Triclinius et les recensions médiévales de Sophocle* (Paris 1949). G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge 1965) 193–201. Schartau, *Observations*, vol. 1. M. Fernández-Galiano, "Demetrio Triclinio en su centenario," *Emerita* 53 (1985) 15–30.

–A.M.T.

TRIKLINOS OF JUSTINIAN (Ἰουστινιανός), a hall constructed by Justinian II (probably in 694) and richly decorated with mosaics by Theophilos. It is also called the Hall of Procession, and in the *De ceremoniis* is mentioned primarily in connection with processional routes (e.g., from CHRYSOTRIKLINOS via LAUSIAKOS and the Triklinos of Justinian to the gate of Skyla and the Hippodrome). It served also as a place for discussing state affairs. In 1289 Athanasios I was proclaimed patriarch there. Pachymeres relates that at the beginning of the 14th C. the building was destroyed by violent winds, leaving no trace; in 1345, however, Alexios Apokaukos built there a prison, or transformed into a prison the remnants of the formerly splendid edifice.

LIT. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:153f.

–A.K.

TRIMOIRIA. See ABIOTIKION.

TRINITY (τριάς). Although not mentioned specifically in the New Testament, the doctrine of the Trinity is supported by the unique relationship of Jesus to God, whom he calls "Abba," and by the resurrection, or the experience of Pentecost, on the basis of which his disciples confess him to be the Son of God whose Spirit they have received. BAPTISM, the CREED, and the DOXOLOGY were the original setting from which the doctrine of God as one, yet three, evolved.

The term *trias* occurred relatively early, even before it had been accepted as ecclesiastical doctrine. Even though he knew of the term's usage in Gnostic speculation, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, for example (*Stromata* 5.103.1, ed. O. Stählin, L. Fruchtel, 395), associated the triad of Father, Son, and HOLY SPIRIT with Plato's *Second Letter* (312e); Clement also referred to "the blessed triad" of God in connection with the three prayer periods of the Christians (ibid. 7.40.3, p.31).

More important, however, was the doctrine of the three HYPOSTASES of PLOTINOS, and the terminology of ORIGEN because of its influence on the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS. Origen distinguished between God's substance and the hypostases of the Father and the LOGOS/Son (cf. HOMOOUSIOS). Around 260, the term was already part of ecclesiastical language. Dionysius of Rome (died 268), in his letter to Dionysius of Alexandria (died ca.264), used it to oppose MONARCHIANISM (Sabellianism) and Marcion (died ca.160; cf. ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, *De decretis Nicaenae synodi*, 26.3, 7, ed. Opitz, 22.10, 23.15), and Gregory Thaumatourgos (died ca.270) spoke in his *Ekthesis* of "the perfect triad" (ed. E. Schwartz, *ACO* 3:3, 10).

In the 4th C. the formula of one *ousia* (SUBSTANCE) of God and three hypostases was generally accepted. This involved both the use of imagery or examples and the formation of an appropriate terminology. Some images were seen in creation (e.g., the sun, its rays, and light; a spring, a creek, and its current; or, a wellspring, a fount, and a stream, respectively), and some, admittedly hidden, in the Old Testament as ALLEGORY or typology (e.g., ADAM AND EVE, Seth). A special example was the tradition of the three men who visited ABRAHAM under the oaks of MAMRE (Gen 18:1–8; cf. GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, or.28.18.7–9, ed. Gallay, 136; PG 36:49A), or the divine image of man. The words, "Let us create man in our image and according to our likeness" (Gen 1:26) were understood to have been spoken by the Father to the Son and Holy Spirit. In more sophisticated theological circles, however, these illustrations were met with reserve and their dissimilarities to the prototype were emphasized (e.g., Gregory of Nazianzos, or.39.11–13, ed. Gallay, 170–79; PG 36:169AC).

At issue was how three persons can be distinct from one another, and yet one. An important approach was discussion of the "inner man" as a union of soul, reason, and spirit (or, *nous, logos,* and *pneuma*), or of the soul as the subject of the three Platonic virtues, and the "inner man" became the paradigm par excellence from the time of PHOTIOS to MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS (*Dialogues with a Persian* 17, ed. E. Trapp, 216.39–218.2).

Decisive for the formation of an appropriate terminology was Orthodox opposition to Sabellianism and so-called MODALISM. The Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not simple "figures" (*prosopa* or *morphai*) in which the one God remains transcendentally aloof in encounters with man. Therefore they are not mere divine manifestations in accordance with the religious understanding of the Greeks. Rather, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit refer to distinctions *within* God himself (see THEOLOGY). Thus, the full divinity or consubstantiality of the Logos is defended against ARIUS, and the divinity of the Holy Spirit against the PNEUMATOMACHOI.

The doctrine of consubstantiality excludes subordinationism, a teaching that appeared in middle- or neo-Platonic theology (e.g., in the doctrine of the principles—*archai*) as the structure of intermediaries, that is, those principles that constitute the first difference. In this context, subordinationism was viewed as carrying the danger that the Logos or the Holy Spirit, as "intermediaries," would approach, or be placed in, the domain of creatures. Not until *ousia* (substance), or *physis* (NATURE), was terminologically distinguished from hypostasis in the formula "one *ousia*, three hypostases," could the Son be conceived as *homoousios* with the Father. Thus, the numerically one (single) essence, or being, of the Father and Son was maintained, while at the same time the divine nature of the Holy Spirit was confessed. For many in the 4th C., the formula adopted by the First Council of NICAEA (325) sounded Sabellian; modern translations, such as "consubstantial" or "of one essence," imply interpretations that are partly anachronistic and partly obscurant.

The term *hypostasis*, which for many in the 4th C. implied subordinationism because of its application in Origenism, must, in this context, be understood to indicate a distinction (*diaphora*), but not a division (*diairesis*), of three numerically distinct individuals, separate and independent from each other. A clever semantic resolution of this problem is found in the masterful formulation of Gregory of Nazianzos (PG 37:180AB): Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are each "an other," but "not others." Therefore, the hypostasis can be defined as a particular (*idikon*) that is distinguished from other particulars through a complex of individual

properties, while the *ousia* is conceived as that which is common (*koinon*) to many particulars. Although the Cappadocians were influenced by Platonism, their notion of the *koinon* (if one excludes GREGORY OF NYSSA, for whom the *koinon* is conceptual) is to be interpreted in the framework of Stoic ontology and logic. Hence, the meaning of *koinon* or *ousia* in theology is the reality of the one God, whose common essence stands in contrast to another common essence, that of created reality.

Although hypostasis, from 380 onward, was used as a synonym of PERSON (*prosopon*), in conformity with the Latin tradition, so that it is clearly distinguished from substance, no speculative advance was reached that would necessarily exclude TRITHEISM. Not until the distinctiveness inherent in individual particularity was achieved in NEO-CHALCEDONISM at the beginning of the 6th C. could this be realized. The distinctive individuality of concrete natures and the notion of person as existing in and for itself was directed against the MONOPHYSITES. It is not by accident that there appeared in the Monophysite camp a group who taught that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three distinct *ousiai*.

This tritheism, which found a philosophical basis in John PHILOPONOS, does not appear to have been without influence on the Byz. imperial church of the time (Anastasios I of Antioch, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Traditio* 37 [1981] 73–108). Against tritheism, it was not necessary to emphasize the numerical unity of the *ousia* while retaining the Three Persons. This involved reflection on the fundamentals of arithmetic: in particular, the distinction between the countable multiplicity of things and their basis or principle had to be shown and explained so as to permit exclusion of a univocal usage of number in *theologia* (MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, MONOTHEISM).

Such an undertaking can lead to nothing more than a purely homonymic concept of number, as is shown in Maximos the Confessor's attempt to incorporate into the tradition of the church both the Origenism associated with EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, which emphasized the knowledge of the unity of God that transcends all unity or multiplicity, as well as the doctrine of emanation and univocal concept of unity (taken from PROKLOS) of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE. For Maximos, only apophatic theology is appropriate to the Trinity, since the triune God bears no trace (*ichnos*) in creation, and "the infinite" cannot be grasped by thought (PG 91:1168A, 1188A). Here, the thought of Evagrios clearly predominates, and not the cataphatic theology of the Areopagite, which leads only to the (univocal) "one God" of monotheism.

This provides us with an indication of how Byz. theologians (such as NICHOLAS OF METHONE) would react to the so-called renaissance of Proklos in the 11th and 12th C.: either by maintaining that "unity is not canceled by difference or number," or by going beyond an arithmetic concept to "a unity that lies beyond number," or finally, by resorting to an extreme apophatic theology in which the multiplicity of all thought is overcome, as in the "essential gnosis" of Evagrios.

In the 8th and early 9th C., a new problem appeared in Byz.: the controversy with the Westerners concerning the FILIOQUE. Centuries later, DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE, upon returning from a delegation to the West in the 1160s, brought back a dispute that revived subordinationist themes. In the apologetic literature against JUDAISM and ISLAM, the relationship of monotheistic and trinitarian depictions of God occupied the foreground. An irenic position was presented by Manuel I who wanted to remove the denunciation of Muḥammad's God in the recantations required of Islamic converts, since such an anathema was directed against "the true God," a view out of favor among his contemporaries. –K.-H.U.

Representation in Art. Until the 13th C. the Trinity was depicted only symbolically or in association with other images. Thus the Magi may appear each holding one of the three hypostases (Huber, *Heilige Berge*, fig.207). Thereafter the triad is found as an iconic group including the Son, who holds the dove in a disk, and is seated in the lap of the Ancient of Days. –A.C.

LIT. J. Lebreton, *Histoire du dogme de la Trinité*[7], 2 vols. (Paris 1927). G.L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*[2] (London 1952). M. Gomes de Castro, *Die Trinitätslehre des hl. Gregor von Nyssa* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1938). G. Kretschmar, *Studien zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie* (Tübingen 1956). E. Corsini, *Il trattato De Divinis Nominibus dello Pseudo-Dionigi e i commenti neoplatonici al Parmenide* (Turin 1962). H.U. von Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie, Das Weltbild Maximus des Bekenners*[2] (Einsiedeln 1961). E. Bailleux, "Le personnalisme trinitaire des pères grecs," *MélScRel* 27 (1970) 3–25.

TRIODION (*τριῴδιον*), liturgical hymnbook "of three odes" containing the variable parts of the services for the mobile Lenten and Easter cycle, from the pre-Lenten period beginning with vespers the eve of the tenth Sunday before Easter through *mesonyktikon* of Holy Saturday. The *triodion* originally also included the entire Easter season through to the end of the PENTECOST cycle, but from the 14th C. onward, this material, starting with Easter *orthros*, was sometimes relegated to a separate book, the PENTEKOSTARION.

The *triodion*, comprising chiefly hymnody for the liturgical HOURS, is basically a monastic book that first appears in MSS of the 10th C.; its name derives from the fact that some of the KANONES sung during this season do not have the standard nine odes but normally only three. The pristine Palestinian or "Oriental" monastic *triodion* of the 7th–8th C. was enriched over the next three centuries with hymns composed by the Stoudite monks of Constantinople and southern Italy; to it was also added a SYNAXARION, the liturgy of the PRESANCTIFIED, various fixed Sunday commemorations such as the feast of Orthodoxy (TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY) with its SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY, and pre-Lenten weeks of preparation.

ED. *Triodion* (Rome 1879). *Triode de Carême*, tr. D. Guillaume (Rome 1978).

LIT. P. de Meester, *Rite e particolarità liturgiche del Triodio e del Pentecostario* (Padua 1943). Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 365–67. M. Momina, "O proischoždenii grečeskoj triodi," *PSb* 28 (1986) 112–20. –R.F.T.

TRIPHIODOROS (*Τριφιόδωρος*), in some MSS Tryphiodoros, Greek poet from Egypt. Long thought to postdate NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, Triphiodoros is now revealed by P. Oxy. XLI, 2946.9f to belong to the late 3rd to early 4th C. A grammarian by profession, he is credited in the SOUDA with several epics (now lost), including the *Marathoniaka*, the *Hippodamea*, and a "lipogrammatic *Odyssey*." Some scholars conflate him with a second Triphiodoros listed (also by the *Souda*) as author of a verse paraphrase of Homeric similes. Triphiodoros's one extant piece is *The Capture of Troy*, detailing in 691 hexameters the stratagem of the Trojan horse and the bloody sack of the city. Quite its most interesting feature is the extent to which Triphiodoros shows direct knowledge of VERGIL, *Aeneid* 2 (G. d'Ippolito, *Trifiodoro e Vergilio* [Palermo 1976]).

ED. *La prise d'Ilion*, ed. and tr. B. Gerlaud (Paris 1982). *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*, ed. A.W. Mair (London–New York 1928), 573–636 with Eng. tr.

LIT. L. Ferrari, *Sulla presa di Ilio di Trifiodoro* (Palermo 1962). Al. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford 1970) 478–82. *Lexicon in Triphiodorum*, ed. M. Campbell (Hildesheim 1985). –B.B.

TRIPOLI, COUNTY OF, located on the Lebanese coast from Maraclea (Maraqīyah) to Gibelet (Jubayl) and inland to the Orontes valley. The territory around Tripoli was conquered by RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE and his forces after the First Crusade. Raymond's son Bertrand took Tripoli in 1109 and became the first count. Raymond's successors Guillaume-Jourdain, Bertrand (1109, 1112), Pons (1112), and Raymond II (1137, when John II threatened northern Syria). By the time of Bertrand, the oath was limited to Maraclea and Tortosa, formerly parts of the Byz. *doukaton* of Antioch. Alexios I strove to develop the county as a counterweight to the principality of Antioch: the Byz. sent material from Cyprus to build Mont-Pèlerin, the castle constructed for the siege of Tripoli (1103–09), and Byz. supplies and funds reinforced the Crusaders. Despite Alexios's efforts, Antiochene influence predominated after 1112. In 1160–61 Byz. envoys persuaded Raymond III (1152–87) that his sister Melisende would marry Manuel I. A large dowry was prepared. A document of Baldwin III (31 July 1161) calls her "futurae imperatricis Constantinopolitanae" (R. Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* [Innsbruck 1893; rp. New York 1960] no.366). When Manuel broke off the match in favor of MARIA OF ANTIOCH, Raymond, infuriated, ravaged Byz. coasts.

LIT. J. Richard, *Le Comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102–1187)* (Paris 1945). –C.M.B.

TRIPOLIS (*Τρίπολις*, Ar. Ṭarābulus, modern Tripoli in Lebanon), port city in Phoenicia. Late Roman Tripolis is infrequently mentioned: according to a 6th-C. chronicler (Malal. 367.12–18), Emp. Marcian rebuilt an aqueduct and a summer bath adorned with many statues there. Legend ascribes the establishment of Christianity in Tripolis to the apostle Peter; in fact, the bishopric of Tripolis, under TYRE, is attested from 325 onward. By the 6th C., the most important pilgrimage center of Phoenicia was that of St. Leontios at Tripolis. Under Persian rule from 612 to 628, it was briefly regained by Herakleios; Tripolis resisted an Arab siege in 635, but finally the starving population was forced to ask the emperor to send rescue ships to evacuate the city by sea.

Mu'āwiya resettled the city with Jews and Persians and created a dockyard to build a navy to attack Constantinople. In 654/5 two Christian brothers, the sons of a trumpeter, reportedly broke the gates of the city jail, killed the emir of Tripolis, and fled (Theoph. 345.18–25). In the 10th C. the Tripolis region was constantly reconnoitered by the Byz.; when the Byz. launched attacks on Syria they tried to seize the city, but both Nikephoros II Phokas on 5 Nov. 968 and John I Tzimiskes in 975 could only burn its suburbs. Basil II was routed at Tripolis on 13 Dec. 999. Under Romanos III, the emir of Tripolis, Ḥassān ibn Mufarrij, surrendered to the Byz., but the city remained under the control of the Fāṭimids until the early 12th C. Arab geographers described medieval Tripolis as surrounded by fields and gardens and protected on three sides by the sea; it reportedly had 20,000 inhabitants in the 11th C.

In the aftermath of the First Crusade, the Crusaders founded the county of Tripoli (see Tripoli, County of) in 1102 but did not capture the city itself until 1109, after a five-year siege. (For Tripolis in North Africa, see Tripolitania.)

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* 2.R. 7 (1939) 205f. F. Buhl, *EI* 4:660. –A.K.

TRIPOLITANIA, modern name for the African region called Tripolis in Greek sources; in Latin texts (e.g., the Verona List) it is called Tripolitana. Under Diocletian the Syrtic coastal cities of Oea (mod. Tripoli), Sabratha, and Leptis Magna and their hinterlands (northwest Libya), as well as Tacapes and Gigthis on the southern border of Byzacena, were formed into the province of Tripolitania, protected by the Limes Tripolitanus. The area was never deeply romanized; strong Punico-Libyan cultural and religious influences were still evident in the late antique period. Christianity made little headway outside the cities. Indeed, at the inland settlement of Ghirza, the cult of Ammon was active into the 6th C. Roman military and administrative authority in Tripolitania was weakened by the rise of the tribal confederation of Leuathai (see Mauri) in the 4th C., whose control eventually extended over much of the province. A consequence of the decreasing Roman military presence in the countryside was the replacement of *opus Africanum*-style farms (which first appeared in the early Roman period) with *gsur* (fortified farms), but the precise role these played in the defense of the province remains unclear. Another consequence of the changes in Tripolitania was a general decline in olive oil exports. The Vandal conquest of between 442 and 455 (Courtois, *infra* 174) did not result in significant changes in the condition of Tripolitania.

The Byz. reconquest in 533 affected only the coastal cities. A rebellion of the Leuathai caused by the massacre of 79 subchiefs of the tribe by Sergios, the Byz. *doux*, took four years to quell. A Byz. reprisal may account for the destruction of the temple at Ghirza at about this time. In the late 6th C. Tripolitania was separated from the newly established African exarchate and annexed to the diocese of Egypt, although it may have been briefly reattached to the former during the rebellion of Gregory, the exarch of Carthage (646–47). Tripolitania was overrun by the Arabs in 642–43; the Byz. were able to recover Tripolis temporarily, but a permanent Arab garrison was established there in the 660s.

LIT. D.J. Mattingly, "Libyans and the 'Limes': Culture and Society in Roman Tripolitania," *AntAfr* 23 (1987) 71–94. Pringle, *Defence* 23, 45f, 63f. R.G. Goodchild, "Byzantines, Berbers and Arabs in seventh-century Libya," *Antiquity* 41 (1967) 115–24. C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris 1955) 70–79, 93–95. –R.B.H.

TRIPTYCH, tripartite icon made of wood, bronze, or ivory and composed of wings, the same size or shorter than the central panel, that close over the main image. The principal subject matter—often the Deesis with apostles and saints or the Crucifixion—is thus revealed only when the wings are opened, an effect that has been compared to the opening of the doors of a templon barrier (K. Weitzmann, *DChAE*[4] 4 [1964–65] 16–18). Wooden triptychs are known from the 6th C. onward, but most such assemblages, painted on wood or carved in ivory, date from the 10th or 11th C. Their size (up to 33.6 cm, fully open) and iconography suggest that, at least at this period, the triptychs rested on tables or ledges as objects of veneration in private houses. Only a few complete sets of panels are preserved, among which the "Harbaville Triptych" (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *infra*, no.33) is the most celebrated. This is one of a group of three very large triptychs that also includes an example in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome (ibid., no.31), with a long inscription addressed to an emperor Constantine, perhaps Constantine VII, who is protected and adorned with virtues by the martyrs represented about him. Here the reverse of the main panel exhibits a flowering cross. On the backs of other triptychs, and sometimes on the outside of the wings, the cross is accompanied by the legend IC XC NIKA.

LIT. Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, nos. 10–23. E. Kantorowicz, "Ivories and Litanies," *JWarb* 5 (1942) 56–81. Kalavrezou, "Eudokia Makrem." 319–25. –A.C.

TRISAGION (Τρισάγιον, lit. "thrice-holy [hymn]"), Byz. name for the biblical *Sanctus* (Is 6:3, Rev 4:8) chanted from the 4th C. onward in the anaphora. Byz. used the same name for the troparion "Holy [is] God, holy [and] mighty, holy [and] immortal! Have mercy on us!" sung at the beginning of all Eastern and some Western Eucharists.

The origins of the *Trisagion* are disputed. Monophysites claimed it originated in Antioch (Severos of Antioch, PO 29:62, 246f); the bishops of that region chanted it at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 (*ACO* II.1, 195). But an oft-repeated Byz. legend attributed it to a heavenly vision in the time of Patr. Proklos (B. Croke, *Byzantion* 51 [1981] 127–31).

The interpretation of the *Trisagion* was another point of dispute with Monophysites who conceived the *Trisagion* to be directed to Christ. The Byz. "Prayer of the Trisagion" that accompanies the *Trisagion* in the liturgy (Brightman, *Liturgies* 369f) interprets it as addressed simply to God without distinguishing the persons. Canon 81 of the Council in Trullo in 691 (Mansi 11:977DE) condemned the theopaschite clause, "Who was crucified for us," which the Monophysites had added to the *Trisagion* under Peter the Fuller between 468 and 470. The Monophysite formula is preserved among others in an inscription found near Antioch (*CIG* 4, no.8918). This additional clause directs the *Trisagion* to Christ, whereas all Byz. commentaries, from that of Germanos I onward, interpret the hymn as addressed to the three persons of the Trinity, transforming "mighty" and "immortal" into substantives modified by "holy": "Holy God (Father), holy mighty one (Son), holy immortal one (Holy Spirit), have mercy on us."

The *Trisagion* first appears in Byz. liturgy as a processional chant during a lite in 438/9 and was a frequently used processional *troparion* in Constantinople, probably as a refrain sung after the verses of an antiphonal psalm (psalmody). Often used as the chant accompanying the procession into church at the beginning of the Eucharist, by the 6th C. it had become a permanent part of the service (*ACO* 3:71–76; Job, *On the Incarnation*, in Photios, *Bibl.* cod. 222).

LIT. Mateos, *La parole* 91–118. V.-S. Janeras, "Les byzantins et le trisagion christologique," in *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di sua eminenza il Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro*, vol. 2 (Rome 1967) 469–99. –R.F.T.

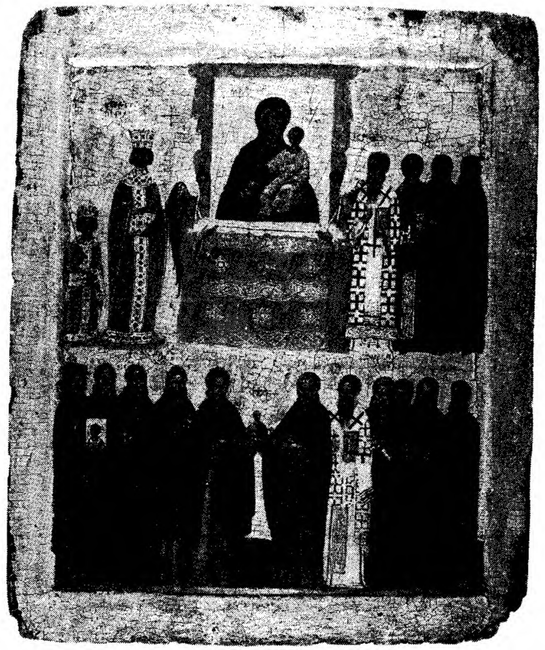
TRITHEISM (τριθεΐα, lit. "three divinity"), an accusation often made in theological disputes of the late 3rd–7th C. against those who emphasized the "individuality" of *hypostaseis* rather than the unity of the Trinity. Among those accused of Tritheism were the following: the opponents of Sabellianism for rejecting Monarchianism; the Orthodox who were criticized by the Pneumatomachoi for accepting the Holy Spirit as an individual deity; the followers of Eunomios for underscoring the independence of the Son; the Nestorians; and esp. John Philoponos and his adherents such as Eugenios and Konon of Tarsos. In 616 the synod of Alexandria condemned Tritheism. –A.K.

TRIUMPH (θρίαμβος, τὰ ἐπινίκια, ἐπινίκιος ἑορτή), a victory celebration inherited from Rome that featured a triumphal parade into the capital of troops, captives, booty, and the victorious emperor. It was often accompanied by triumphal circus games, religious services, largess, and banqueting. Triumphs exemplified imperial ideology, since the *imperator*'s military origins implied that victories demonstrated the emperor's right to rule; emperors alone celebrated them from the time of Augustus. From the 4th to the 7th C., numerous triumphs in various capitals saluted real or imagined victories over usurpers or barbarians by emperors whose victory permeated the reaction of imperial propaganda to a deteriorating military situation. In the 5th–7th C., the circus absorbed this ceremony, as successful generals and defeated enemies paraded in the Hippodrome and honored the triumphant emperor ensconced in the Kathisma. Special coin issues, panegyrics, mon-

uments, anniversary races, and provincial celebrations marked these late Roman triumphs. The defeat of a usurper sometimes introduced his ritual divestiture or trampling (*trachelismos*; Lat. *calcatio colli*) into the ceremony. Although the triumph quickly shed its pagan trappings, Christianity was slow to fill the gap, as parallel, independent rites like thanksgiving services and litanic processions emerged.

Victorious generals eroded the imperial monopoly of triumph by staging their own celebrations in the provinces. From the 8th C. onward, generals might even dominate triumphs celebrated at Constantinople, culminating in the *sebastophoros* Stephen Pergamenos's triumph (1043). Emperors nevertheless continued to celebrate triumphs themselves between the 8th and 12th C., when the parade through Constantinople's streets again prevailed, though circus triumphs and victory games still occurred. The parade often followed the MESE from the Golden Gate to Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace; its religious content increased steadily from the 7th C. onward. Thus the calculated gesture of John I Tzimiskes, who paraded in 971 behind an icon mounted in a triumphal carriage, was imitated and embellished by John II Komnenos in 1126 and Manuel I Komnenos in 1167. No triumphs have yet been detected after the ceremony marking Michael VIII's reconquest of Constantinople in 1261.

LIT. M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge 1986). Koukoules, *Bios* 2:55–60. –M.McC.



TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY. The Triumph of Orthodoxy; painted icon, 14th C. National Icon Collection, no.18; British Museum, London. The empress Theodora and her son Michael III stand next to an icon of the Virgin Hodegetria. To the right of the icon is the patriarch Methodios. The other figures are also heroes of the struggle against Iconoclasm.

TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY, the final defeat of ICONOCLASM in 843, celebrated as the Sunday of Orthodoxy on the first Sunday of Lent. After Emp. Theophilos died in 842, the eunuch THEOKTISTOS overcame the reluctance of Empress THEODORA to permit the restoration of icons by arranging that Theophilos would not be condemned. He deposed Patr. JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS, secured the appointment of METHODIOS I, and conducted a series of meetings (some in his own house) that, using OIKONOMIA, definitively ended the controversy. On 11 Mar. 843 Theodora, Theoktistos, and Methodios made a symbolic triumphal procession from the Church of the Theotokos in Blachernai, an Iconophile center, to Hagia Sophia, formerly in Iconoclast hands, and there celebrated a liturgy to mark the occasion.

An annual feast was established by the end of the 9th C.; it is mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos and described in the *Book of Ceremonies* (*De cer.* 1:156–60) but does not exist in the *Typikon of the Great Church;* the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 460.48–50) admits it only in a later addition. The celebration included a procession from the Blachernai to Hagia Sophia, where the emperor joined the assemblage and a banquet was given either by the patriarch or the emperor. A church service devoted to the "triumph over heretics" included a reading of the anathema of 843 and the singing of the *kanones* composed by THEOPHANES GRAPTOS and Patr. Methodios. The feast was called the day of ENKAINIA, or dedication of churches, since churches were to be construed not only as splendid sacred buildings but as communities of the pious (J. Gouillard, *infra* 45.5–9). Over the centuries numerous panegyrics, hymns, and sermons were composed for the holiday (BHG 1386–94t).

The personalities associated with the Triumph in 843 were celebrated in Palaiologan art: an icon of ca.1400 now in the British Museum shows the Hodegetria attended by Theodora and Michael III on one side and Patr. Methodios on the other, while a row of monastic saints below includes Theodore of Stoudios holding a circular image of the sort represented in the marginal PSALTERS produced shortly after 843.

LIT. J. Gouillard, "Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie," *TM* 2 (1967) 129–38. J.F.T. Perridon, "De Zondag der Orthodoxie in de Byzantijnse Kerk," *Het Christelijk Oosten* 9 (1956–57) 182–200. Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy* 212–15. –P.A.H., A.K., A.C.

TROCHOS (τροχός, lit. "wheel" or "disk"), word that came to signify a circular layout for a set of chronological synchronisms, the best known being the four *trochoi* contained in the Vatican MS of the CHRONICON PASCHALE and depicted by a hand of the 12th–13th C.: I (*Chron. Pasch.* 25) presents a lunar cycle; II (p.27) a solar cycle; III (p.372) a lunar cycle for explaining the chronology of the conception of John the Baptist; and IV (p.534) a lunar cycle with Easter dates. The structure of a typical *trochos* (IV) is a circle divided into 19 segments representing successive years of the lunar cycle from 344 to 362, with each segment further divided into three compartments. The outer contains the year of the cycle, the epact, or day of the lunar cycle at 1 Jan., and the date of Easter for that year according to the Roman calendar; the middle contains the Easter date according to the Macedonian and Egyptian calendars; the inner the year of the DIOCLETIANIC ERA. The space in the center of the circle is filled with an explanation of how the cycle works and where it begins and ends. Another *trochos* is that ascribed to a certain George (F. Diekamp, *BZ* 9 [1900] 32f, 50f).

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 73–84, 232. J. Beaucamp et al., "Temps et histoire I: Le prologue de la *Chronique pascale*," *TM* 7 (1979) 227, 292–95. –B.C.

TROGLITA, JOHN, general and hero of the epic poem *Johannis* by CORIPPUS; born probably Trogilos, Macedonia, died after 552. Perhaps commander of the *foederati* during the Vandal war in Africa, Troglita may have taken part in the battle of Scalae Veteres (537) against STOTZAS. Under general SOLOMON, Troglita was probably *doux* of TRIPOLITANIA or BYZACENA; after 541 he served in Mesopotamia. It is uncertain if he is the same John, *doux* of Mesopotamia, said by Prokopios to have nearly lost a battle. Corippus credits Troglita with the successful defense of Theodosioupolis and Daras. *Magister militum* for Africa from 546 onward, Troglita defeated the MAURI at Castra Antonia and restored the military frontier in Byzacena. The Mauri rebelled soon thereafter, lured Troglita into the desert, and crushed him at Marta (Marath) in 547. With a refurbished army, Troglita advanced against the Mauri and decisively defeated them at Latara in western Tripolitania in the spring or summer of 548. He was probably rewarded with the title *patrikios*. After an unsuccessful expedition in 551, Troglita succeeded in 552 in seizing Sardinia. Nothing is known of his career after 552.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 33–39. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:146. Y. Moderan, "Corippe et l'occupation byzantine de l'Afrique," *AntAfr* 22 (1986) 195–212. –R.B.H.

TROJAN WAR, the conflict between the combined forces of the Hellenes and the inhabitants of Troy that culminated in the Greek conquest of Troy after a ten-year siege. It is recorded in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of HOMER as well as in the poems of the Epic Cycle and is referred to constantly by the poets and historians of the ancient world. The war is focal in the legendary histories of Rome and hence of its successor state, the Byz. Empire. Constantine I, perhaps influenced by these legends, reportedly hesitated between the sites of Troy and Byz. for his new capital (cf. Zosim. 2:30.1–2, Theoph. 1:23.22–27). The Trojan War, a pivotal point in the *Chronicle* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, figures prominently in Byz. chronicles (e.g., those of John MALALAS and Constantine MANASSES). In short, the war lent itself to the historical understanding of the past as a sequence of world empires, though the synchronistic date attributed to it varied from the time of Moses to the reign of David. The war figures in Byz. literature, too, in compositions like the *Homerica* of John TZETZES or the essay on Homeric characters by Isaac KOMNENOS the Porphyrogennetos, and

in commentaries like those of EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. References to the war appear also in popular literature, for example, in the ACHILLEIS, the TROY TALE, and the WAR OF TROY. There the idea of the importance of the Trojan War has probably been derived from the chroniclers and from the significant place given to the Homeric poems in Byz. education, but little detailed knowledge is shown. The work with the most circumstantial information (the *War of Troy*) draws upon its French source.

LIT. Browning, "Homer," 15–33. Jeffreys, "Chroniclers." –E.M.J.

TROPARION (*τροπάριον*), the earliest and most basic form of the Byz. HYMN. Originally a short prayer in rhythmic prose inserted after each verse of the psalms sung during Orthros and Vespers, later the *troparion* became strophic in character and more closely connected to individual feasts. Numerous *troparia* were written. *Troparion* came eventually to mean simply a stanza (the basic strophic unit of any hymn, whether KONTAKION or KANON or STICHERON), an inserted set of lines. A *troparion* can be classified according to its contents (as, e.g., *anastasimon,* "On the Resurrection"), the moment of performance (as, e.g., *apolytikion,* sung at the DISMISSAL at the end of Vespers), its melody (as either *idiomelon,* sung to a unique melody, or *prosomoion,* sung to an existing melody), or the type of verse to which it is attached (e.g., *apostichon,* developing the verse of a psalm).

LIT. Mitsakis, *Hymnographia* 72–77. Szövérffy, *Hymnography* 1:100–10. –E.M.J.

TROPES (*τρόποι*) and *schemata* were considered by ancient rhetoricians as the two categories of RHETORICAL FIGURE. Both aimed at the ornamentation of speech: even though the distinction between them was not always consistent, *schemata* did not entail a change of meaning and remained within the category of *kyriologia* (proper meaning of words); a trope, on the other hand, was defined as an expression that contained in itself an alteration (*metatrope*) of character, hence its name (*RhetGr*, ed. Spengel, 3:215.10–12). Several works on the tropes have survived but their chronology is obscure: some tracts are anonymous, some ascribed to ancient grammarians such as Tryphon (1st C. B.C.) or an otherwise unknown Kokondrios, and two bear names of Byz. rhetoricians—George CHOIROBOSKOS and Gregory PARDOS (whose dates are themselves under discussion). Moreover, while A. Kominis (*Gregorios Pardos metropolita di Corinto* [Rome-Athens 1960] 77–80) attributes a treatise on the tropes to Pardos, M.L. West (*CQ* n.s. 15 [1965] 230–48) sees it as a work of Tryphon. At any rate, examples in these tracts are drawn predominantly from ancient writers, even though "Choiroboskos" (*RhetGr,* ed. Spengel, 3:251.19) once refers to Metaphrastes (Symeon Metaphrastes?).

Most ancient theoreticians listed 10–14 *tropoi* (Martin, *infra*), whereas "Choiroboskos" and "Pardos-Tryphon" established a longer list of 27 tropes (it is unclear whether this list is classical or Byz.), including ALLEGORY, METAPHOR, SIMILE, HYPERBOLE, metonymy (replacement of the word by a related one), synecdoche (putting a part for the whole, the whole for the part, species for the genus, etc.), RIDDLE, irony, and so forth. This list also includes pleonasm and ellipsis, which were considered by other rhetoricians as *schemata*, not tropes, and omits EPITHET, which others did classify as a trope.

The church fathers introduced and broadly used the term *tropologia* to define the tropological or figurative method of demonstration, esp. important for such subtle topics as the substance of God (Basil the Great, PG 29:544C). The difference between *tropologia*, allegory, and metaphor remained unclear. Eustathios of Thessalonike, in his commentary on the *Iliad* (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 1:478.20), cites various *tropikai diatheseis* unknown from ancient texts and probably originating from everyday vocabulary ("talons of a mountain," "twigs of rivers"); in one case at least he states that the expression "the eyes of plants" (1:479.1–2) is borrowed from "the peasants' language."

LIT. Martin, *Rhetorik* 261–69. –A.K.

TROUSERS (*ἀναξυρίδες*; also *braka*, a term of Germanic origin) were known among the later Romans, and *braccarii* ("breeches makers") are mentioned in Diocletian's Price Edict and in some papyri. The fashion was introduced under barbarian influence, and Prokopios of Caesarea speaks of *anaxyrides* as an element of Slavic costume. A 4th-C. tomb painting in Silistra (A. Frova, *Pittura romana in Bulgaria* [Rome 1943], figs. 1, 9, 11) shows servants approaching the deceased with various articles of clothing, including trousers with a simple BELT, and a much larger and more ornate belt, probably to be worn over a tunic.

The use of the garment after the 6th C. is suggested by the discovery of BELT FITTINGS in Constantinople and Asia Minor, although belts were worn over tunics as well as to hold up trousers. Except for images of DANIEL and the THREE HEBREWS, trousers are rare in Byz. painting; unusually, either long or short underwear covers the legs and loins of the FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA in 10th-C. ivories in Leningrad and Berlin (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, nos. 9–10). In the 12th C. Eustathios of Thessalonike was still critical of the fashion of wearing trousers; Niketas Choniates used the words *anaxyrides* and *braka* but does not define them. By this time the expression "to wear trousers" seems already to have become synonymous with manliness.

LIT. Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 76f. A. Brzóstkowska, "'Anaxyrides' u Prokopa z Cezarei na tle greckiej i rzymskiej tradycji literackiej," *Eos* 68 (1980) 251–65. –G.V., A.K., A.C.

TROY TALE (*Διήγησις γεναμένη ἐν Τροίᾳ*) or the "Byzantine Iliad" is an anonymous poem in 1,166 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES, written at an unknown date, probably in the late 14th C. It presents an idiosyncratic account of the TROJAN WAR, independent both of the WAR OF TROY and the *Iliad* of Constantine HERMONIAKOS. It falls into three sections: the first (lines 1–779) covers events preceding the war (centering on Paris and his romantic childhood when, following an ominous dream before the child's birth, Priam has Paris first placed in a tower, then cast out to sea in a chest, etc.); the second (lines 780–1,138) concerns the war itself, with a brief catalogue of ships and battle scenes but with most emphasis on Achilles; the third relates the aftermath of the war and the mourning for Achilles. The material would seem to derive ultimately from the Byz. chronicle tradition, esp. Constantine MANASSES. Some lines are also found in the Appendix to the ACHILLEIS, in the Naples MS. The text survives in one 16th-C. MS.

ED. *A Byzantine Iliad*, ed. L. Nørgaard, O.L. Smith (Copenhagen 1975).

LIT. A. Kambyles, "Beiläufiges zur byzantinischen Ilias des cod. Paris Suppl. Gr.926," *JÖB* 29 (1980) 263–73. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

TRUE CROSS, the term used for the wooden cross (*τὸ ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ*) on which Jesus was crucified or, more often, for fragments supposed to derive from it. It was reportedly discovered in Jerusalem by Empress HELENA—an event that was celebrated at the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (see CROSS, CULT OF THE). The historicity of this event is questionable—at any rate, Eusebios of Caesarea says nothing about such a discovery (H.A. Drake, *JEH* 36 [1985] 21). Nevertheless, particles of the True Cross were in circulation by the mid-4th C.: CYRIL of Jerusalem stated that the entire *oikoumene* was filled "with the wood of the Cross" (PG 33:469A), and an inscription of 359 records the deposit of a particle of the Cross in Mauretania (*CIL* VIII, supp. 3, no.20600). The pilgrim EGERIA observed the veneration of the Cross in Jerusalem in the 380s, and by the end of the 4th C. the legend about Helena's discovery was already known.

Helena is said to have divided the relic: one section of the Cross was sent to Constantinople, while another remained in Jerusalem, in the shrine of the Holy SEPULCHRE. Numerous pilgrims came to see it, and despite the constant watch of special guardians pieces of the holy wood were frequently removed from Jerusalem; moreover, fragments of the Cross were given by officials of the Holy Sepulchre to certain monasteries, for instance, to that of St. Euthymios near Jerusalem; Melania the Elder received a piece of the Cross from John, the bishop of Jerusalem. In 614 the relic was captured by the Persians who conquered Jerusalem, but Herakleios's eventual victory allowed the Byz. to recover the Cross: on 21–22 Mar. 631 it was solemnly brought back to Jerusalem (V. Grumel, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 139–49). In 635, however, in the face of the Arab invasion, Herakleios transferred it to Constantinople. Much later, RAYMOND OF AGUILERS related that the Cross was buried in Jerusalem and rediscovered at the time of the First Crusade; other legends continued to report examples of holy fragments preserved in Palestine.

Numerous parts of the Cross ended up in Constantinople; besides those sent by Helena, Justin II ordered the transfer of a substantial piece from Apameia in Syria, and in 635 the Jerusalem section was appropriated. These relics are reported to have been kept in various locations. The church historian Sokrates says that a piece was sealed in a column in the Forum; Patr. Nikephoros I locates

the relic in Hagia Sophia; some sources speak instead of the Great Palace. Strangely enough, the ceremonial of the Great Palace omits any reference to the relic unless we accept with Frolow (*infra* [1961] 238, no.143) that "three [*sic*] venerable and life-giving crosses" (*De cer.* 549.6) allude to the particles of the holy wood. Other ecclesiastical institutions, both in Constantinople (EUERGETIS MONASTERY, PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY) and outside the capital, claimed possession of the precious wood. Despite the looting of scores of fragments in and after 1204, a 14th-C. Russian pilgrim states that the Cross was still at Hagia Sophia (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 130f, 222).

The True Cross was used primarily to guarantee the truth of statements and oaths, and for such a purpose it was exhibited at sessions of councils (e.g., in 869—Mansi 16:309C, 321B). Skylitzes' account of oaths taken on the True Cross in 917 by generals of various themes is represented in the Madrid MS of this text (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.286). It was paraded around the walls of Constantinople during sieges and, appended to a golden lance, served as a talisman in battles. It was carried during imperial and ecclesiastical processions and fragments were used as diplomatic gifts; a notable example was that enclosed in the jeweled cross sent by Justin II to the pope John III (561–74), now in the Vatican (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, fig.71). Most relics of the True Cross that went to the West (see LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY) as well as others that stayed longer within the empire, were enclosed in precious RELIQUARIES, the creation of which, as much as their contents, occasioned epigrams by poets such as John Mauropous and Nicholas Kallikles. Private persons wore phylacteries (ENKOLPIA) containing fragments of the True Cross.

LIT. A. Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris 1961). Idem, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix* (Paris 1965).

–A.C., A.K.

TRULLA (*τροῦλλα*), Lat. term designating a small ladle, trowel, or basin; it is preserved in the list of table implements translated from the jurist Paul (*Digest* 33.10.3) in the *Basilika* (44.13.3). The 5th-C. historian Olympiodoros of Thebes, however, uses the word for a grain measure (1/48 of a *modios*) and relates that the Vandals called the Goths Truli because they bought grain from the Vandals at one solidus per *troulla* (Blockley, *Historians* 2:192, fr.29.1). The word was not used by the Byz. save for lexicographers, who understood it as a spoon (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2 [1948] 102). It is applied by E. Dodd (*Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 1, 14, 30, 50) and other scholars to two types of dish with long handles: a broad, flat *patera* and a narrow, high "saucepan." Not only is the ancient name of these objects uncertain, but their function is open to question. While comparable objects from the Greco-Roman period ornamented with diverse subjects are considered variously as libation- or saucepans, the Byz. objects, decorated with aquatic images of Aphrodite, Poseidon, Okeanos, fishermen, and Nilotic scenes, were probably restricted to washing, for example, *chernibeia*. A series of such dishes is dated by SILVER STAMPS to the period 491–651 (see CHERNIBOXESTON).

LIT. Shelton, *Esquiline* 68, n.15. D. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (Ithaca, N.Y.–London 1966) 145–48, 166–70, 192f. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:102.

–M.M.M.

TRULLO, COUNCIL IN. The council was convoked by Emp. JUSTINIAN II between the end of 691 and 1 Sept. 692 to complete the work of the fifth and sixth ecumenical councils (Constantinople II, III; see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), which had failed to issue any disciplinary canons; hence the Byz. title of the council, *penthekte* ("Fifth-Sixth," Lat. Quinisextum). The assembly considered itself ecumenical. Its 102 decrees, which alone survive with an address to the emperor, are a milestone in the history of Byz. ecclesiastical legislation. The corpus is divided into two broad sections, one dealing with the clergy and monasticism, the other with the laity. The latter concerns such matters as marriage (53, 54, 72); prostitution (86); manumission of slaves, which required three witnesses (85); religious representations, which must depict Christ "in his human form" (82); as well as general abuses and superstition (61). The earlier section addresses numerous ecclesiastical matters including ordination (see CHEIROTHESIA) (14), clerical dress (27), SIMONY (22, 23), monastic STABILITY (46), and the alienation of monastic property (49). The council's references to Constantinople's patriarchal privileges (36) and its explicit condemnation of such Latin practices as clerical celibacy and Saturday fasting in Lent (13, 55) explain its partial rejection by the West.

SOURCES. Mansi 11:929–1006. F. Lauchert, *Die Kanones der wichtigsten altkirchlichen Concilien* (Freiburg 1896; rp. Frankfurt 1961) 97–139. P. Joannou, *Les canons des conciles oecuméniques* (Rome 1962) 98–241.

LIT. F. Görres, "Justinian II. und das römische Papsttum," *BZ* 17 (1908) 432–54.

–A.P.

TRYPHIODOROS. See TRIPHIODOROS.

TSAKONES, or Tzakones (*Τζάκωνες*), first mentioned by CONSTANTINE VII (*De cer.* 696.4), and described as APELATAI; some versions of the text identify the Tsakones as Laconians. Michael VIII transferred loyal units of Tsakones to Constantinople and its environs, where they staffed garrisons under their own *stratopedarchai*; others served in his fleet. By the 13th C. "Tsakonia" designated Lakonia with the Crusader city of Geraki as capital and Monemvasia as port. Mazaris and Isidore of Kiev termed the local Greek dialect barbarous. Palaiologan sources, arguing from the assonance of the names and the Tsakones' supposed Peloponnesian origin, identify Tsakones as ancient Lakonians. Earlier scholarship considered Tsakones Slavs or Greeks from southern Italy (P. Charanis, *DOP* 5 [1950] 139–60). Present scholarship views the term as a military designation that became an ethnographic and topographic name. Caratzas (*infra* 316–48), referring among others to George METOCHITES, speculates that the ethnonym Tsakones-Lakones-Makedones was connected with the heretical Paulicians settled in the Balkans.

LIT. S. Caratzas, *Les Tzacones* (Berlin-New York 1976). Ch. Symeonides, *Hoi Tsakones kai he Tsakonia* (Thessalonike 1972). H. Ahrweiler, "Les termes *τσάκωνες-τσακωνίαι* et leur évolution sémantique," *REB* 21 (1963) 243–49.

–S.B.B.

TSAMBLAK. See CAMBLAK, GRIGORIJ.

TUGHRUL BEG (*Ταγγρολίπηξ*), Seljuk sultan (1055–63); born ca.993, died Raiy, Iran, 4 Sept. 1063. After occupying much of Iran and Iraq (after 1040), Tughrul encouraged his Turkoman followers to ravage Armenia and the Byz. borders. The Turkish raids, sporadic since ca.1021, now gave way to large-scale expeditions, such as that led by Tughrul's half-brother Ibrahim Inal (ca.1048–49) into the region of Erzurum, where he defeated the Byz. under Aaron, KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS, and the Abchazian Liparit IV (see LIPARITES). Liparit, captured, was released by Tughrul without ransom at the request of Constantine IX. In 1054 Tughrul attacked Byz. He was, however, frustrated in a siege of Mantzikert. Despite negotiations, Turkoman attacks continued.

LIT. C. Cahen, *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus* (London 1974), pt.I (1946–48), 10–21. Vryonis, *Decline* 82–89. W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert* (Vienna 1981) 165–81.

–C.M.B.

TŪLŪNIDS, first independent Muslim dynasty in Egypt and later in Syria (15 Sept. 868–Jan. 905). Its founder, Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn, took advantage of the weakening ʿABBĀSIDS. He controlled the finances of Egypt by 872 and occupied Syria in 878 on the pretext of protecting Islamic frontiers against Byz. The Tūlūnids first raided Byz. Anatolia in 878. Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn strengthened the fleet, developed efficient fiscal controls, and built an army of 100,000, including many Christians, Turks, and Sudanese. In 882 Muslims at Tarsos rebelled against the Tūlūnids and established local independence. Aḥmad's son Khumārawayh succeeded him in 884. Tūlūnid rule in Tarsos was restored in 892. After raiding Byz. territory in 893 and 894, the Tūlūnids negotiated a truce in late 895 and arranged the exchange of 2,504 Muslim prisoners on 16–20 Sept. 896. Khumārawayh, who wasted funds, was assassinated in Dec. 896. Tarsos drove out the Tūlūnid governor in 897 and received an ʿAbbāsid governor in Apr. 898. The Tūlūnids defeated the Byz. fleet that year. The dynasty ended with the assassination of Khumārawayh's brother Hārūn in 905. The dynasty divided Islam. It temporarily threatened Byz., but internal disturbances and the location of its center in Egypt hampered it in that struggle.

LIT. Z.M. Hassan, *EI*^{2} 1:278f. H.A.R. Gibb, *EI* 4:834–36. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:87–99, 100–03, 120–33.

–W.E.K.

TUNIC (*χιτών*). Wool, linen, or cotton tunics, short or long, short-sleeved or long-sleeved, were the basic garment of most citizens of the empire,

men and women alike, from the highest to the lowest, whether laymen, ecclesiastics, or monks. Tunics were often worn one atop the other: under a toga, for example, would be a linen tunic with sleeves, topped by a broader short-sleeved COLOBIUM. After the 7th C. long tunics were the rule for anyone of rank, at least to judge by artistic representations: short tunics were reserved for people in active professions, such as shepherds, seamen, builders, executioners, etc., and for soldiers under their armor.

The number of terms for such garments is bewildering. A *kamis⟨i⟩on* was perhaps the simplest kind, worn by monks and lower orders of the clergy (below the level of deacon). Purple *kamisia* were worn by *psaltai* or SINGERS; those of the *protopsaltes* and *domestikos* were white (pseudo-Kod. 190.2–5). Monks at the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople were issued two *hypokamisa* a year (P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 65.608); these were probably undershirts. The *kamision* was also worn by low-ranking court officials and its decoration might reflect the office: for example, the *kamision* of a NIPSISTIARIOS was made of linen and bore a decorative panel in the form of a basin.

Chiton is the word generally employed for the classical tunic worn by Old Testament figures, as well as by Christ and the apostles, throughout Byz. art. At court it was worn by officials of higher rank than those wearing the *kamision*; these *chitones* were embroidered with gold panels on the shoulders. (In monastic documents the term *chiton* appears only as an archaism, in place of the customary *kamision*.)

Courtiers of even higher rank wore the silk SKARAMANGION. The emperor himself had two primary silk tunics, the DIVETESION and the *skaramangion*, though the distinction between the two is difficult to define. It is also uncertain whether he wore any other sort of tunic under either of these: the gold cuffs and hems visible on imperial portraits may have been detachable from the main tunic and do not necessarily indicate the existence of an undergarment. By the 14th C., the favored robe was a KABBADION, more coat than tunic.

Tunics were often gaily patterned, with special stripes or CLAVI to indicate the rank of the wearer, or fancy hems and collars. The shorter belted knee-length tunics worn by ordinary people were sometimes adorned with *segmenta* (rectangular ornamental panels) or with plain black squares. The basic tunic worn by the clergy of all ranks was the STICHARION.

LIT. L.M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (Baltimore 1938) 55–75. N.M. Beljaev, "Ukrašenija pozdneantičnoj i ranne-vizantijskoj odeždy," *Recueil d'études, dédiées à la mémoire de N.P. Kondakov* (Prague 1926) 213–28. H. Mihăescu, "Les termes byzantins *birryn, birros*, 'casque, tunique d'homme' et *gouna*, 'fourrure,'" *RESEE* 19 (1981) 425–32, with add. A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 33 (1983) 15. Oppenheim, *Mönchskleid* 88–104. G. Fabre, "Recherches sur l'origine des ornements vestimentaires du Bas-Empire," *Karthago* 16 (1973) 107–28. –N.P.Š.

TUR ʿABDIN (Syriac for "mountain of the servants [of God]"), a plateau known also as Mt. Masios or Mt. Izla in the province of MESOPOTAMIA; from the early 6th C. it was part of southern Mesopotamia. The *Notitia Antiochena* of 570 first lists a bishop of Turabdion, who may have sat at Hah, where there is a large 6th-C. church; the exact location of the fortified Rhabdios mentioned by Prokopios (*Buildings*, 2.4.1–13) is unclear (E. Honigmann, *BZ* 25 [1925] 83f). The Tur ʿAbdin is noted for Monophysite and Nestorian monasteries and numerous surviving churches built on either single-nave or transverse plans. Many are decorated with elaborate architectural sculpture (e.g., DEIR ZAʿFARAN MONASTERY). Having suffered from the Byz.-Persian wars and the Monophysite persecutions, the Tur ʿAbdin enjoyed a period of marked prosperity under the Arabs, starting in the late 7th C.

LIT. Bell-Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin* iii–x, 159–64. G. Wiessner, *Christliche Kultbauten im Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, I–II (Wiesbaden 1981–83). A. Palmer, "A Corpus of Inscriptions from Tur Abdin and Environs," *OrChr* 71 (1987) 53–139. Idem, *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier: The Early History of Ṭur ʿAbdin* (Cambridge 1990). M. Mundell Mango, "Deux églises de Mésopotamie du Nord: Ambar et Mar Abraham de Kashkar," *CahArch* 30 (1982) 47–70. –M.M.M.

TURKOMANS (Τουρκομάνοι), a term first appearing in Islamic texts during the 10th C. and used alternatively with Oghuz, i.e., the Turkic nomadic people that one century later and after a long migration invaded Asia Minor. More precisely, *Turkoman* came to mean the Muslim Oghuz in contrast to the pagan, shamanist, or the Christian Oghuz, a minority group. The term had already passed into Greek in the first half of the 12th C.

LIT. W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Paris 1945) 62, 82. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:327. –E.A.Z.

TURKS. Turks in general are peoples living in or originating from Turkestan, the vast region between the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea and the Altai Mountains, which from the 6th C. onward is also called Turan. From the end of the 11th C. the term *Turks* meant only those Turks living in the region of present-day Turkey. From the early Middle Ages several Turkish peoples migrated as nomads or advanced as warriors, reached the east European and the Mediterranean regions, and came into contact with the Byz.

The Turks practiced a variety of religions, being Buddhists, Manichaeans, Christians (mainly Nestorians), even Zoroastrians; but initially the most popular religion was shamanism, the religion of the steppe. With the Arab conquest of Transoxiana (705–15), Islam spread successfully among the Turks.

Most probably the earliest Turks known to history are the HUNS. The first people whom the Byz. called TOURKOI, however, were governed by a KHAGAN, who in 568 sent ambassadors to Constantinople, seeking alliance with Justin II against the Persians. In the following year a Byz. ambassador, ZEMARCHOS, reached the *khagan*'s nomadic court; the account concerning his mission is a precious source. On the other hand, the 8th-C. Orkhon inscriptions, the earliest historical monument made by Turks who call themselves Turks, contain a short history of their state extending from the Chinese to the Persian frontier. The northern Black Sea regions attracted several Turkic peoples such as the AVARS, the BULGARS, the KHAZARS, etc., while the lower Danube remained an area of confrontation between the Byz. and Turks. In the 12th C. this area was occupied by the CUMANS.

Around 960 the first Turco-Islamic state appeared, that of the Karakhanids or Ilek-khanids. Established in the cities of Balasagun and Kashgar (eastern Turkestan), they soon conquered the region of Transoxiana. A member of the Karakhanid family was the scholar Maḥmūd al-Kāshgarī, who wrote (ca.1075) an encyclopedia concerning the Turks.

Shortly after the Karakhanids, another Turco-Islamic dynasty appeared in Ghazna. The Ghaznavid sultan Maḥmūd (998–1030) was glorified for his long and victorious holy war (*jihād*) against India. The end of his campaigns left the warriors of the faith, the GHAZIS, unemployed and seems to be one of the reasons for the great migration of the Oghuz Turks in the 11th C.

The Oghuz people living around the year 1000 south of Lake Aral included 22 of 24 tribes; Byz. sources mention some of these (e.g., the Avshar or the Čepni). The first Oghuz tribe that headed towards the west and reached the Danube regions was the PECHENEGS. A second wave of Oghuz reached the territories of Rus'; the Byz. mention them by their real ethnic name, Ouzoi (see UZES). For the Byz. Empire, the most significant Oghuz migration was that guided by the family (later dynasty) of the SELJUKS. The Seljukid TUGHRUL BEG, sultan of Baghdad from 1055, unable to control the Oghuz nomads, dispatched them as *ghazis* against the Christians. This policy led his successor ALP ARSLAN to open confrontation with the Byz. and the victory at MANTZIKERT.

During the 12th C. the Turks of Asia Minor were divided and established several states, the most important of which, after the Seljuks, was that of the DANIŞMENDIDS. After the Seljuks defeated the army of MANUEL I in 1176 near MYRIOKEPHALON, the Byz. were obliged to regard the Turkish occupation of Asia Minor as permanent.

When the MONGOLS conquered Asia, they caused a new large Turkish migration into Anatolia, which the Mongols invaded in 1243. Population pressure, need for pasture lands, and political oppression obliged many Turks to settle in the frontier zones between the Seljuk and Christian territories and to carry out holy war. Resistance against them was weak. The Christian rulers (Byz., Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond, and Cilician Armenians) tried to save their domains by maintaining good relations with the Mongol conquerors, who actually undertook some campaigns to pacify Islamic Anatolia, but with ephemeral results. The government of Constantinople neglected Byz. Anatolia and the AKRITAI abandoned their posts. During the gradual dissolution of the Seljuk sultanate a series of Turkish states were established in the vicinity of the Christian territories: KARAMAN, GERMIYAN, MENTESHE, AYDIN, SARUHAN, KARASI, etc., and the emirate of Osman, the nucleus of the OTTOMAN Empire.

Turks in Byzantine Service. From the 11th C. onward, the Byz. hired Turkish peoples (Pechenegs, Cumans, Seljuks) as mercenaries, and some groups of Turks settled on Byz. territory. According to the chroniclers of the First Crusade, the

Tourkopouloi formed a substantial and effective contingent of the Byz. army, and Ibn Jubayr counted 40,000 Turkish horsemen in the ranks of the army at the time of Andronikos I (Hecht, *Aussenpolitik* 32f). Eustathios of Thessalonike praises Manuel I's tolerance toward foreigners and relates that significant "Persian" colonies were established within the empire. Several Turkish families (Axouch, Samouch, Prosuch) reached high ranks and supplied the empire with generals; it is possible that Tatikios and the founder of the family of Kamytzes were of Turkish stock. After the 12th C., however, the Turks appeared in the empire as allies rather than settlers, and finally as overlords and conquerors.

LIT. W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Paris 1945). Vryonis, *Decline*. C. Brand, "The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 43 (1989) 1–25. –E.A.Z., A.K.

TŬRNOVO (Τίρναβος), city on the river Jantra in northern Bulgaria. Site of a Roman fort probably destroyed by the Visigoths in the late 4th C., Tŭrnovo was by the 6th C. a modest Byz. city. Captured by Krum ca.809, Tŭrnovo remained in Bulgarian hands until the late 10th C. In Tŭrnovo Peter and Asen began their revolt against Byz. rule in 1185, and it became the capital of the Second Bulgarian Empire, seat of the exarch, and from 1235 seat of the patriarch of Bulgaria. On 17 July 1393 the Ottoman Turks captured and burned Tŭrnovo and deported many of its inhabitants to Asia Minor.

In the 14th C. Tŭrnovo was a center of trade and industry and of Slavic literature and scholarship, particularly under Patr. Evtimij. After the capture of Tŭrnovo many Bulgarian scholars sought refuge in Russia and contributed to the development of Russian literature. Of Tŭrnovo's medieval monuments, there survive the Church of the Forty Martyrs, which was built by John Asen II to celebrate his victory over Theodore Komnenos Doukas at Klokotnica in 1230 and which contains a Greek inscription of Omurtag and a Slavic inscription of John Asen II, and perhaps the tomb of St. Sava of Serbia, who died in Tŭrnovo in 1251; the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul (Holy Apostles), a 14th-C. reconstruction of a 12th-C. building, severely damaged by an earthquake in 1913; the Church of St. Demetrios of 1185/6, which has the characteristic Bulgarian form of an aisleless, barrel-vaulted hall pierced by a tall drum supporting a dome; and the vast complex of ruins of the royal palace.

LIT. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria* 249–53. S. Bossilkov, *Tŭrnovo: Its History and Art Heritage* (Sofia 1960). *Carevgrad Tŭrnov*, 3 vols. (Sofia 1973–80). A. Popov, "Târnovgrad selon les études archéologiques," *BHR* 9.4 (1981) 42–57. *Tŭrnovska knižovna škola*, 4 vols. (Sofia 1970–85). P. Dinekov, "Tŭrnovskata knižovna škola (Istorija, osnovni čerti, značenie)," *Starobŭlgarska literatura* 20 (1987) 3–19. –R.B., A.C.

TURSUN BEG, Ottoman historian; died after 1499. Tursun was financial secretary (*defterdar*) to the Ottoman sultans Mehmed II and Bayezid II (ca.1481–1512), and author of the *Tarih-i Ebu'l Feth*—primarily an account of Mehmed II, but also covering the first six years of Bayezid II's reign (i.e., to 1487). Unlike Aşıqpaşazade and the popular historians, Tursun expressed himself in learned Ottoman, with ornate syntax. He depicts Mehmed II as an ideal ruler, the embodiment of all virtues, whose actions ensured good order in society. Overall, Tursun's tone is remote and often abstractly panegyrical. Beneath the rhetoric, however, Tursun conveys valuable information, reflecting in part his own experience in sultanic circles. Tursun participated, for example, in Mehmed's capture of Constantinople in 1453, and his account of the sultan's reactions to the splendors of Hagia Sophia is particularly vivid.

ED. *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Beg*, facs. ed. by H. İnalcık, R. Murphey (Minneapolis 1978), with Eng. tr. *Tursun Bey, Tarih-i Ebü'l Feth*, ed. M. Tulum (Istanbul 1977). Ital. tr. in Pertusi, *Caduta* 1:307–31.
LIT. Bombaci, *Lett. turca* 352–54. –S.W.R.

TYANA (Τύανα, now Kemerhisar near Niğde), city on the main route between Constantinople and the Near East, about 30 km north of the beginning of the Cilician Gates. A bishopric attested at the Council of Nicaea, Tyana became civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of Cappadocia II in 372; it sometimes appears with the additional name Christoupolis. A frequent goal of Arab attack, Tyana was taken and severely damaged in 708, 806, and 831. Arab control of Tyana provided an advance base against Byz. Asia Minor, but after 933 Tyana fell into permanent decline, retaining only its ecclesiastical rank. Remains of the Byz. city are insignificant.

LIT. *TIB* 2:298f. –C.F.

TYCHE (τύχη), fate, fortune, or chance, a complex concept inherited from antiquity. As a symbol of prosperity and success, *tyche* (as popular superstition) was often connected with cities, including Constantinople (Janin, *CP byz.* 438). The emperors were also considered to have their *tyche*, the survival of the Roman concept of an individual's genius, as embodiment or special protector. Hagiography developed the topos of martyrs who refused to swear an oath to the imperial *tyche*. At the same time there were some attempts to adjust the pagan concept of *tyche* to the Christian empire. In the Forum of Constantine, there was a sculptural group representing Constantine, Helena, a cross, and the personified Tyche of Constantinople (Dagron, *Naissance* 44f). A legend has it that Constantine had a cross engraved on the forehead of the Tyche of Constantinople, but it was removed by Emp. Julian the Apostate (Souda, ed. Adler, 3:395.24–29). Justinian I (nov.105.2.4) proclaimed that the *tyche* of the emperor was above all limitations, since it was a "living law" granted by God.

Tyche was also construed as an impersonal agent or cause of events evolving independently from human free will; this concept, reflecting pagan and popular determinism, was rejected by the church fathers. Thus, Eusebios of Caesarea described it as an empty word: there is no place for change or fate in a world ruled by divine law and order (*Constitutio ad coetum sanctorum* 6). It was similarly rejected by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*HE* 3.16), Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* 4.5), and Isidore of Pelousion (*Epist.* 3.154).

On the other hand, Prokopios (like his classical models) as well as many later historians referred to the concept of *tyche*. Michael Psellos emphasized the element of irregularity and chance in *tyche*, but sometimes the distinction between *tyche*, *ananke*, *heimarmene*, and even *pronoia* is quite vague. In his work on providence, Isaac Komnenos the *sebastokrator* (12th C.) sought to neutralize the much admired and influential Neoplatonist Proklos by introducing into his pagan writings numerous citations from pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and Maximos the Confessor as well as by adding Christian touches to his terminology (particularly with respect to *tyche* and *heimarmene*). The idea that *tyche* directs human success and failure can also be seen in such historians as Kinnamos (A. Kazhdan, *BS* 24 [1963] 29) and Leo the Deacon (M. Sjuzjumov, *ADSV* 7 [1971] 132). Theodore Metochites ascribed particular significance to Tyche (the personification of fortune). She could be of greater or lesser importance, in the former case dealing with the destiny of countries, in the latter with individual lives; she could act beneficially (*agathe tyche*) but is usually a fickle, unreliable whore, shifting from one to another.

LIT. A. Anwander, " 'Schicksal'-Wörter in Antike und Christentum," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 1 (1948) 316–22. Podskalsky, *Theologie* 120, n.554. E. de Vries-van der Velden, *Théodore Métochite* (Amsterdam 1987) 157–81. Hunger, *Reich* 358f. I.P. Medvedev, *Vizantijskij gumanizm XIV–XV vv.* (Leningrad 1976) 104–23. –G.P.

Representation in Art. As in literature, the figure of Tyche in art could personify both the fortune of cities and that of individuals. In both cases this image is scarcely known after the 10th C. Holding a globe, rudder, or wheel to symbolize her regulatory function, she represents the operation of cosmic forces. Depicted as an Amazon or an older woman, often with a mural crown and attributes of a specific place, the local Tyche survived longer than the image of personal fortune but became ever more syncretistic in form and function. Images of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch personified in this fashion all may be shown with a cornucopia as an emblem of abundance; other aspects of their iconography likewise became nonspecific. On the *sella curulis* of consular diptychs, running Tyche figures represent provinces paying homage (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no.19) or, as busts, are associated with Nike (ibid., no.21). Tychai appear in monumental painting, in books such as the Notitia Dignitatum, and on silver stamps and other metalwork as well as on honorific columns. The decline of the type is evident in the Joshua Roll, where the personified cities of Jericho, Ai, and Gibeon differ not only from each other but from other personifications of the same cities. In later periods the Tyche's role was in part assumed by local epithets, such as "Tiberiadiotissa," applied to types of the Virgin Mary.

LIT. K.J. Shelton, "Imperial Tyches," *Gesta* 18 (1979) 27–44. T. Dohrn, *Die Tyche von Antiochia* (Berlin 1960). –A.C.

TYPIKON, LITURGICAL, a liturgical calendar to which have been added instructions for each day's services. This type of *typikon* (τυπικόν) is one

of two Byz. LITURGICAL BOOKS with rules governing the celebration of services: where the DIATAXIS gives the rubrics regulating the ordinary structure of services, the *typikon* indicates what is proper to each day of the year. There are three types of liturgical *typikon*: the "cathedral" TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH for the rite of Hagia Sophia and other secular churches, and two "monastic" forms, the STOUDITE and SABAITIC TYPIKA, which regulated services in monasteries.

Liturgical instructions of this sort first appear in the 9th–10th C. either as directions (*kanonaria*) added to liturgical books for special services and feasts of the church year (e.g., Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:172–221) or as rudimentary regulations (*hypotyposeis*) for the monastic HOURS and PSALMODY added to monastic *typika* (ibid. 1:224–56). The term *typikon*, of monastic origin, is not found in the earliest MSS and was applied to these liturgical regulations only from the 11th C. onward (NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN, *Taktikon*, ed. Beneševič 21).

Fully developed liturgical *typika* such as that of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople, designed esp. to regulate what happens when feasts of the fixed and mobile cycles of the church calendar fall on the same day, comprise two lists giving the feasts and commemorations of both these cycles, filled out with more or less complete information concerning the place ("station") of the celebration and the "proper" (variable) elements of the service such as the lections, *prokeimena* and alleluia verses, ANTIPHONS, TROPARIA, etc., as well as particular ceremonies (e.g., a LITE). Later liturgical *typika* also have appendices and chapters explaining general principles and rules.

LIT. I. Mansvetov, *Cerkovnyj ustav (Tipik)* (Moscow 1885). M. Skaballanovič, *Tolkovyj tipikon*, 3 vols. (Kiev 1910–15). Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 359–61. –R.F.T.

TYPIKON, MONASTIC, a set of regulations prescribing the administrative organization and rules of behavior of a cenobitic monastery as well as its liturgical observances (see TYPIKON, LITURGICAL). *Typikon* has become a conventional term designating a wide variety of foundation charters and monastic testaments, which bear such titles as *diatheke, hypotyposis, thesmos, diataxis,* and *hypomnema,* in addition to *typikon*. Around 50 of these documents (often referred to by scholars as *ktetorika typika*, i.e., *typika* of the KTETOR or founder) survive. They range in date from the 9th to the 15th C., but the majority are concentrated in the 11th to 14th C. Fifteen of the preserved *typika* are for foundations in Constantinople, 18 for monasteries in Greece (including Mt. Athos), the others for institutions in Asia Minor, Cyprus, Syro-Palestine, the northern Balkans, and Italy.

Since there were no monastic orders in Byz., each monastic community needed its own formulary; in some cases, however, a *ktetor* would model his *typikon* on an earlier example, such as that of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople. *Typika* vary greatly in length, format, and content. Typically they contain rules about election of the HEGOUMENOS and appointment of other officials, enclosure, novitiate, diet, clothing, discipline, and commemorative services for benefactors of the monastery. They may also include a biography (or autobiography) of the founder and a BREBION (inventory) of monastic property, both movable and immovable. C. Galatariotou (*infra*) has suggested a distinction between "aristocratic *typika*," which emphasize family connections, and "nonaristocratic *typika*," written by a member of the monastic community, which stress bonds of spiritual kinship. The aristocratic *typika* usually provide more detail on the administrative structure of the monastery.

In addition to the light they shed on the structure and administration of the KOINOBION and on MONASTICISM in general, *typika* are invaluable sources of information on varied topics such as monastic property holdings, philanthropic institutions like hospitals and *gerokomeia*, monastic food and clothing, books and sacred vessels, prosopography, and ecclesiastical lighting. *Typika*, however, prescribed an ideal form of monastic life, and other sources indicate that many of the rules were not always observed.

ED. For list of ed., see Galatariotou, *infra* 137f.
LIT. K.A. Manaphes, *Monasteriaka typika-diathekai* (Athens 1970). I.M. Konidares, *Nomike theorese ton monasteriakon typikon* (Athens 1984). C. Galatariotou, "Byzantine Ktetorika Typika: A Comparative Study," *REB* 45 (1987) 77–138. –A.M.T.

TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH, liturgical ordinal of the rite of HAGIA SOPHIA of Constantinople, the earliest complete liturgical TYPIKON of the BYZANTINE RITE. It is preserved in seven MSS of which two—Jerusalem, Hagiou Staurou, cod. 40 (10th–11th C.), and Patmos, cod. 266 (10th C.)—contain the relatively complete text, although without a title. The 14th-C. MS in Oxford (Bodl. Lib., Auct. E 5 10) does, however, bear a title, "Synopsis of the ecclesiastical *akolouthiai* for the liturgy, *litai*, and vigils of the entire year." Other MSS are of the 11th–14th C., mostly incomplete. The text of the Patmos version of the Typikon was produced between 950 and 959 (it mentions the translation of the relics of St. Gregory of Nazianzos, on 25 Jan. 950). The date of the Jerusalem text is debatable: A. Baumstark (*OrChr* 2 [1927] 11f) theorized that it was based on two independent sections—one (the *typikon* proper) created ca.802–06, another (the *synaxarion*) produced between 878 and 893; Mateos rejects the hypothesis of two sources and dates the production of the entire text to the end of the 9th or early 10th C. The mention of the late patriarch Ignatios makes 878 a firm *terminus post quem*.

The Typikon gives the description of services for each day, first for the cycle of immovable feasts, secondly for that of movable feasts, beginning with the Sunday of *apokreos* (the second week before Lent). Each entry lists the saints, feast, or celebration celebrated on that day, as well as other memorable events (fires, etc.); the entry also indicates where a SYNAXIS or procession should take place and establishes which *akolouthia* should be sung and which biblical text read.

The Typikon is essential for the study of liturgical practice in Constantinople of the 9th–10th C., even though some omissions remain enigmatic—for instance it does not include the celebration of the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY. The *Typikon of the Great Church* fell into disuse at Constantinople after the Fourth Crusade but remained in force in Thessalonike until the end of Byz. (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:553D, 625B).

ED. J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, 2 vols. (Rome 1962–63). Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:1–163.
LIT. A.A. Dmitrievskij, *Drevnejšie patriaršie tipikony: Svjatogrobskij Ierusalimskij i velikoj Konstantinopol'skoj cerkvi* (Kiev 1909), with rev. I. Sokolov, *ŽMNP* 34 (Aug. 1911) 300–32. A. Baumstark, "Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen Ritus," *OrChr* 2 (1927) 1–32. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours," nos. 31, 36, 40, 46. –R.F.T., A.K.

TYPOLOGY, a system in which explicit iconographic parallels were drawn between characters and events in the Old Testament and those in the New Testament, played a less prominent role in Byz. than it did in the later medieval West (12th–15th C.). Yet, in a somewhat different sense, PREFIGURATIONS and other typological relationships had a profound impact on Byz. piety, and through it, on art—both as the foundation of ICON veneration and as the basis of a universal guide to Christian behavior. Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:500f) noted that "every artificial image . . . exhibits in itself, by way of imitation, the form of its model (*archetypon*) . . . the model [is] in the image, the one in the other, except for the difference of substance." Much earlier, though as a guide for conduct, Basil the Great had invoked "types" and mimesis (ep.2, ed. Deferrari, 1:14–15): "the lives of saintly men, recorded and handed down to us, lie before us like living images of God's government, for our imitation . . ." (see IMITATION). Such concepts were central not only to belief in the power of icons, but also to the stylistic and iconographic conservatism that characterizes their history. Moreover, the Basil passage helps explain the typological parallels that were often drawn in art and literature, for example, between emperors and Old Testament kings (as on the DAVID PLATES) or between Holy Land pilgrims and the Magi (on pilgrims' AMULETS). (See also SYMBOLISM.)

LIT. G. Vikan, "Pilgrims in Magi's Clothing: The Impact of Mimesis on Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art," *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. R. Ousterhout (Urbana-Chicago 1990) 97–107. –G.V.

TYPOS OF CONSTANS II, an imperial edict of 648 requiring adherence to Orthodoxy. To mollify opposition to the EKTHESIS and end debate over MONOTHELETISM, Patr. PAUL II persuaded Constans II to sign a "*typos* concerning the faith." Monotheletism was not directly condemned by the Typos, but the text of the Ekthesis was ordered removed from Hagia Sophia. The Typos did not define official dogma but sought confessional unanimity by forbidding discussion of Christ's wills and energies and by commanding acceptance of Scripture and the doctrinal definitions of the five ecumenical COUNCILS. Reaction to the Typos was strongest in the West; Byz. sources do not even mention it. The text is preserved in the acts of the LATERAN SYNOD, which, despite the presence of the exarch OLYMPIOS, denounced the Typos, excommunicated Paul, and wrote to Constans blaming the patriarch for condoning Monothele-

tism. In late 649 Pope MARTIN I anathematized Archbp. Paul of Thessalonike (then under papal jurisdiction) for not signing a letter explicitly rejecting the Typos. Constans considered resistance to the Typos as treason; the charge figured in the trials of both Martin and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR. Pope VITALIAN took a more conciliatory position, and the issue subsequently subsided.

ED. Mansi, 10:1029C-32E. Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles* 3.1:432–71.
LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 3:94–130. Dieten, *Patriarchen* 92–103, 113f. –P.A.H.

TYRE (Τύρος, Ar. Ṣūr in Lebanon), Phoenician seaport. Tyre consisted of two parts, one on the seacoast, another on an island, connected by a bridge. The walls rose straight out of the sea. An ancient aqueduct supplied the city with water. Tyre was an important commercial city with developed silk, purple-dyeing, and glass industries. The PIACENZA PILGRIM was astonished by its luxury and public brothels. Its circus and actors were famous in the 4th C. Christianity had to overcome the resistance of the pagans (PORPHYRY was a native of Tyre) and Jews. In 314–17 Bp. Paulinos built a basilica in Tyre, the most splendid in Phoenicia, described in detail by EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA.

Between 381 and 425, the province of Phoenicia Maritima was created and Tyre became its civil capital and ecclesiastical metropolis (with the exception of BERYTUS, which was autocephalous); Tyre later served as the *protothronos* see of the patriarchate of ANTIOCH. In 335 a church council in Tyre was dominated by the Arians; a Monophysite synod was held at Tyre in 514 (Stein, *Histoire* 2:173). Tyre was also a seat of KOMMERKIARIOI at the end of the 6th and early 7th C. (Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 158).

During the Persian war of the early 7th C., conflicts between the Jews and Orthodox led to a Jewish attack on Tyre and the massacre of 2,000 Jews on the city walls, as related by EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA. In 635 the Arabs took Tyre through treachery, and the city became a base for their maritime expeditions. After coming under Fāṭimid rule, Tyre resisted the Crusaders until July 1124, but then remained in their domain until 1291. Greek metropolitans of Tyre are known from 11th-C. seals (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2:365–69), but the Crusaders established a Latin archbishopric there as well. The marriage of Manuel I Komnenos and Maria of Antioch was solemnized in the church of Tyre in 1167.

LIT. W.B. Fleming, *The History of Tyre* (New York 1915) 74–122. J.P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr. I. Inscriptions de la nécropole* [= *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 29] (Paris 1977). –M.M.M.

TZACHAS (Τζαχᾶς, Turk. Çaka), Turkish emir and usurper; died Abydos ca.1093. According to Tzachas's alleged statement, he had been a Turkoman raider, but was captured in the reign of NIKEPHOROS III. Pledging allegiance to Byz., he was created *protonobelissimos* and given rich gifts, but lost everything on the accession of ALEXIOS I (An.Komn. 2:114.11–13). Circa 1088–91 Tzachas employed Christians to construct a fleet at SMYRNA; he captured Phokaia, Mytilene, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes. Circa 1090/1 Constantine Dalassenos recovered Chios. Circa 1091, with a new fleet, Tzachas reasserted his sway, ravaging many islands. He proclaimed himself emperor and sought alliance with the PECHENEGS in Thrace. In 1092 John DOUKAS recovered Mytilene and most of Tzachas's territories, but ca.1092/3 Tzachas attacked ABYDOS. At Alexios's urging, KILIC ARSLAN I (Tzachas's son-in-law) advanced to Abydos, enticed Tzachas to a banquet, and allegedly killed him (An.Komn. 2:166.13–15). Circa 1097 John Doukas constrained a "Tzachas" holding Smyrna (the same person, or a son?) to surrender it.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 184–86. A.N. Kurat, *Çaka Bey, Izmir ve civarindaki adalarin ilk Türk Beyi: M.S. 1081–1096*[3] (Ankara 1966). A. Savvides, "Ho Seltzoukos emires tes Smyrnes Tzachas," *Chiaka Chronika* 14 (1982) 9–24; 16 (1984) 51–66. –C.M.B.

TZAMANDOS (Τζαμανδός, mod. Kuşkalesi), site in CAPPADOCIA, on a high peak overlooking the road between Caesarea and Melitene. It first appears in the historical sources in 908 when MELIAS built its fortress in a region that had been a no-man's land between Byz. and the Arabs. It became a bishopric (attested only in the 10th C.) and a KLEISOURA in the theme of LYKANDOS. After surviving the attacks of SAYF AL-DAWLA, Tzamandos was colonized by Jacobite Syrians who established their own bishopric (ca.955–1180). It willingly joined the revolt of Bardas SKLEROS in 976. Tzamandos was given to David, son of Senacherim ARCRUNI, in 1022, and to Gagik of Kars in 1065; it then became an Armenian bishopric. Attacked by the Seljuks in 1068 and 1070, it fell to them after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The fortress, with its well-preserved double circuit of walls, is largely Byz.

LIT. *TIB* 2:300f. –C.F.

TZAMBLAKON (Τζαμπλάκων), a family of military commanders, landowners, and courtiers known from the mid-13th C., when John III granted the *megas domestikos ton scholon* Tzamblakon an estate in the region of Christoupolis (Kavalla); one of his relatives was TATAS ca.1272. Alexios Tzamblakon, son of the *megas domestikos*, served Andronikos II as *megas tzaousios* and governor of Serres but then sided with Andronikos III and was rewarded with the office of *megas papias* and an estate near Thessalonike. He took the monastic habit as Antony ca.1330. His son, known only under his monastic name Arsenios, also *megas papias*, supported John VI during the Civil War of 1341–47 and was tonsured after John's failure. His sons were the *megas doux* Asomatianos and the *megas stratopedarches* Demetrios. The family intermarried with the Palaiologoi, Tornikioi, and Kaballarioi; the Kaballarioi Tzamblakones were active from the 1370s. Alexios Tzamblakon Kaballarios is mentioned in MAZARIS. The Tzamblakones were closely connected with the Slav neighbors of Byz.: some documents from Dubrovnik of 1344–46 mention merchants who visited territories subjected to a certain Zamblacus, and Grigorij CAMBLAK, Bulgarian and a disciple of Metr. KIPRIAN, became metropolitan of Kiev (1415–19); as a writer he was very critical of the Byz. court.

LIT. G.I. Theocharides, "Hoi Tzamplakones," *Makedonika* 5 (1961–63) 125–83. N. Bănescu, "Peut-on identifier le *Zamblacus* des documents ragusains?" in *Mél.Diehl* 1:31–35. J. Holthusen, "Neues zur Erklärung des Nadgrobnoe Slovo von Grigorij Camblak auf den Moskauer Metropoliten Kiprian," *Slavistische Studien zum VI. Internationalen Slavistenkongress in Prag 1968* (Munich 1968) 372–82. –A.K.

TZANGION (τζαγγίον), boot or sandal. In the late Roman period the word acquired the connotation of an elegant shoe; thus EPHREM THE SYRIAN (ed. J.S. Assemani, 1 [Rome 1732] 42CD) envisages a man who is barefoot today and tomorrow requires *tzange* or *caliga*, who is today garbed in coarse wool and tomorrow wants fine silk.

The word was usually applied to the emperor's purple shoes, one of the most revered INSIGNIA of imperial authority. The tradition probably came to Byz. from the East: a 6th-C. chronicler (Malal. 413.17–18) relates that when the king of Lazika was crowned by Justin I he donned Roman imperial garb; however, he wore *tzangia* decorated with pearls in the Persian manner, which he had brought from his native land. A 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 168.26–27) adds that they were red (*rousia*). A 14th-C. ceremonial book describes *tzangia* as high boots ornamented with images of EAGLES made of precious stones and pearls; the emperor wore them on ceremonial occasions (pseudo-Kod. 171.11–17).

As a basic element of the imperial costume, the *tzangia* replaced the boots called *kothornoi*; this shift, at an uncertain date, is perhaps connected with the increasing role of the cavalry in military operations. Justinian I still wore *kothornoi* in the 6th C., but by the 10th C. the custom of wearing *tzangia* was firmly established; Leo Grammatikos viewed the *tzangia* as an essential part of the emperor's garb during his coronation (Leo Gramm. 246.19–21). A rebel's putting on red shoes signified his USURPATION of the throne.

In the 12th C. the word was used to denote a boot issued to workmen serving the monastery of the Kosmosoteira (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 [1906] 49.28). A SHOEMAKER was sometimes called a *tzangarios*, and *tzangareia* were bootmakers' shops, while a maker of imperial boots was called *tzangas*.

LIT. L. Wessel, *RBK* 3:445f. –A.K.

TZAOUSIOS (τζαούσιος), an enigmatic court office in the 13th–15th C. The term is of Turkish origin, from *çavuş*, meaning "courier" (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:308f), and was rendered in Greek as *angelophoros* (Mercati, *CollByz* 2:325.13–14). The formulary of appointment of a *tzaousios* (Sathas, *MB* 6:647.16–26) considers him the commander of the garrison of a *kastron*; H. Ahrweiler (in *Polychronion* 37) sees the SEBASTOS-*tzaousios* as chief of the MELINGOI in the Peloponnesos. A *tzaousios* of the *droungos* of the Melingoi is known in the 14th C. Some *tzaousioi* served as officers of the *mega* ALLAGION.

The first known *megas tzaousios* was Constantine

Margarites under John III Vatatzes; Guilland surmised that the *megas tzaousios* had ordinary *tzaousioi* under his command, successors of the earlier MANDATORES. In the 14th-C. hierarchical list of pseudo-KODINOS he occupied the place after the TATAS; the *megaloi tzaousioi* are described as being responsible for maintaining the order of the imperial retinue. The *megas tzaousios* of Morea, Eliavurco (Elias Bourtzes?), is mentioned in the *Chronicle of the Tocco* (A. Kazhdan in *Bisanzio e l'Italia* [Milan 1982] 171).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:596–600. M. Bartusis, "The megala allagia and the tzaousios," *REB* 47 (1989) 195–204. –A.K.

TZATOI (Τζᾶτοι, Τζᾶθοι, etym. unknown), Armenians who belonged to the Greek church. The Armenian version of Basil the Great's *Hexaemeron* uses the word *cayt'* to render "Valentinians." After the 10th C. it was applied to Armenians who were Chalcedonian, in opposition to the Gregorian Monophysite church. (See also IBERIANS.) The Armenian historian Uxtanes (10th C.?) promises to discuss the Cayt', but the relevant part of his *History* is lost. The term is more common in the 12th–13th C. In Greek the Tzatoi are first mentioned in the 11th-C. *Taktikon* of NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN (ed. Beneševič, 11.7).

LIT. N.Marr, "Ark'aun, mongol'skoe nazvanie christian," *VizVrem* 12 (1906) 32–38. P. Peeters, "Sainte Sousanik," *AB* 53 (1935) 256–58. –R.T.

TZETZES, JOHN, poet; born ca.1110, died between 1180 and 1185. According to his own statement, Tzetzes (Τζέτζης) was Georgian on his mother's side (P. Gautier, *REB* 28 [1970] 207–20), which accounts for his interest in the Black Sea region (M. Bibikov, *EtBalk* 12 [1976] no.4, 116–20). Even though he boasts that his grandfather was rich (albeit illiterate), Tzetzes had no substantial fortune. He earned his living by his literary work (ep.75, p.109.19–20) and thus belonged to the group of professional literati. Neither his writing nor his attempts at teaching brought him sufficient salary, and the theme of the poverty of intellectuals permeates his works: he had to sell his library, the patrons who commissioned his works were slow in payment, etc. His major work is unique in genre: it consists of a collection of letters accompanied by poetic SCHOLIA entitled *The Histories* (or *Chiliads*). Tzetzes' letters often deal with political events (e.g., J. Shepard, *ByzF* 6 [1979] 191–239) and historical personages and provide vivid scenes of everyday life (e.g., description of a priest's family that lived above Tzetzes and kept swine indoors), while *The Histories* emphasize the antiquarian trend of Tzetzes' interests, frequently citing ancient and biblical data and names. Tzetzes' works dedicated to contemporary events are rare (among others, a poem on Manuel I's death and iambics mocking contemporary education—P.A.M. Leone, *RSBN* 6–7 [1969–70] 135–44). He composed voluminous commentaries on Homer (*Allegories to the Iliad and Odyssey, Exegesis, Antehomerica, Homerica,* and *Posthomerica*, in which he claimed to be more consistent than Homer), Hesiod, tragedians, Aristophanes, Lykophron, and Oppian. In Tzetzes' Life of St. Lucia (O. Garana, *Archivio Storico Siracusano* 1 [1955] 15–22) he apparently alludes to the Byz. war against a coalition of Normans, Hungarians, and their Russian allies.

ED. *Epistulae*, ed. P.A.M. Leone (Leipzig 1972). *Historiae*, ed. P.A.M. Leone (Naples 1968). See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 814–17, also B. Konstantinopoulos, "Inedita Tzetziana," *Hellenika* 33 (1981) 178–84.

LIT. C. Wendel, "Tzetzes," *RE* 7A (1948) 1959–2011.

TZIKANDELES (Τζικανδήλης), also Tzykandeles or Kykandeles, an aristocratic family name deriving from Latin *cicindela*, "glowworm," according to E. Trapp (*JÖB* 22 [1973] 233). The family is known from the late 11th C. (Leo, governor of Kibyrrhaiotai) and included high-ranking military commanders intermarried with the Komnenoi: (another?) Leo married the *sebaste* Anna, daughter of a Komnene (V. Vasil'jevskij, *VizVrem* 3 [1896] 580.6–12); Goudelios, *sebastos*, who was married to Eudokia, Alexios I's granddaughter (Lampros, "Mark. kod.," no.103.17–19, 26–29), attended the council of 1166; Basil was Manuel I's general. Later their position declined: the *vestiarites* Manuel addressed Patr. Michael (perhaps MICHAEL IV AUTOREIANOS) about problems of marriage law (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1208, 1211); Manuel PHILES described a certain Demetrios Tzikandeles Doukas as "born a Komnenos" (Κομνηνοφυής), but nothing is known about the man. George Doukas Tzikandeles was a judge in Thessalonike ca.1375. Manuel Tzikandeles was an active scribe in 1358–70; another scribe, Demetrios Kykandyles, lived ca.1445 (*PLP*, no.11712).

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 186f. –A.K.

TZOUROULLOS (Τζουρουλ⟨λ⟩ός, mod. Çorlu), fortress in Thrace, north of Herakleia, on the road from Adrianople to Constantinople. Greek authors describe it variously as a *phrourion* (Prokopios, *Wars* 7.38.5), *polichnion* (An.Komn. 2:123.18), *kome* (An.Komn. 1:81.15), *asty* (Akrop. 55.10), and *polis* (Theoph.Simok. 249.14). An inscription names a certain Sisinios, *kourator* of Tzouroullos, who died in 813 (I. Ševčenko, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 564–74). An imperial estate (KOURATOREIA) was probably established in this area. Because of its proximity to Constantinople, Tzouroullos was subject to frequent attacks: in 559 Slavs and Hunnic Bulgars reached Tzouroullos and Arkadioupolis (Theoph. 234.1); during the reign of Maurice, the Avar khan besieged PRISKOS in Tzouroullos; in 813 Krum attacked it; in the time of Alexios I the region was pillaged by the Pechenegs. In 1235 John III Vatatzes took Tzouroullos from the Latins. John Asen II's attempt to occupy the fortress failed; in 1240 the Latins seized it again, but John III regained Tzouroullos in 1246.

Tzouroullos appears as a suffragan bishopric of Herakleia ca.800 (*Notitiae CP* 2.140). In the notitia of Andronikos II it is listed as an archbishopric.

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 2.R. 7 (1948) 2012. V. Velkov, *Gradŭt v Trakija i Dakija prez kŭsnata antičnost* (Sofia 1959) 102. Fine, *Late Balkans* 130–35, 156. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:235f. –A.K.

TZYKANISTERION (Τζυκανιστήριον), word of Persian origin, meaning a place for throwing a ball. It designated a polo field (see SPORTS) constructed within the precincts of the GREAT PALACE. The first stadium called Tzykanisterion was built under Theodosios II; Basil I demolished it in order to erect the NEA EKKLESIA and build a larger one. The new Tzykanisterion was connected with the Nea by two galleries.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 118f. –A.K.

U

ÜÇAYAK, a Byz. church (original name unknown) in a desolate area of northwestern Cappadocia, 30 km north of Kırşehir. The structure, exceptionally for the region, is entirely of brick. Its unusual plan of two adjoining cruciform domed chapels with separate apses but a common narthex suggests a dedication to twin saints or perhaps by two emperors; possibly it was built to commemorate the victory of Basil II and Constantine VIII over Bardas SKLEROS in the vicinity in 979. In any case, its style and decoration—the interior decor is lost but the outer walls bear a system of blind arcades—indicate a date in the 10th–11th C.

LIT. S. Eyice, "La ruine byzantine dite 'Üçayak' près de Kırşehir en Anatolie centrale," *CahArch* 18 (1968) 137–55. –C.F.

UGLINESS. See BEAUTY.

UGLJEŠA. See JOHN UGLJEŠA.

ULFILAS (Οὐλφίλας), "bishop of the Goths"; born Cappadocia? ca.311, died Constantinople 382/3. Captured by the Goths in 337, Ulfilas was sent by them as a member of an embassy to Constantinople where EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA ordained him as bishop. During his activity among the Goths, Ulfilas translated the Bible (or part of it) into Gothic. In 360 he became an adherent of ARIANISM and signed the creed of the HOMOIOUSIANS; his activity thus contributed to the entrenchment of this doctrine among 4th-C. Germanic people.

The role of Ulfilas has been reconsidered by modern scholars. Thompson stated plainly that Ulfilas did not convert the Goths to Christianity, Schäferdiek rejected the possibility of Ulfilas's definition as a "missionary bishop," and Stockmeier emphasized that the Goths had already accepted Christianity in the 3rd C.

LIT. E.A. Thompson, *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila* (Oxford 1966). K. Schäferdiek, "Wulfila," *ZKirch* 90 (1979) 252–92. P. Stockmeier, "Bemerkungen zur Christianisierung der Goten im 4. Jahrhundert," *ZKirch* 92 (1981) 315–24. –A.K.

ULPIOS. See OULPIOS.

ʿUMAR (Οὔμαρος), more fully ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb; caliph (634–44); born Mecca ca.592, assassinated Madīna 3 Nov. 644. Elected caliph, he succeeded Abū Bakr in 634. Muslim conquests of Byz. territory, including most of Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Cyrenaica, and Mesopotamia, took place under ʿUmar. He reportedly met Patr. Sophronios at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in 637 while visiting newly won territories in Palestine and Syria. It was probably at Jābiya in 637 that he made the precedent-setting decisions for the initial administrative organization of the newly conquered lands. Desiring peace with the Byz. while he consolidated these lands, he permitted the withdrawal or evacuation of Christians from Chalkis (Ar. Qinnasrīn) in northern Syria and restrained his expansion into new territory. He allegedly did not wish ʿAMR to conquer Egypt but acquiesced in its occupation. He disliked KHĀLID and removed him from command. His diplomatic contacts with Byz. include his successful negotiations to recover prominent Muslims from Byz. captivity and his successful demands for the return of Arabs who had fled to Byz. territory; allegedly he used threats to Christians within caliphal territory to secure his terms. Many Muslim institutions, including a number of treaties and regulations concerning non-Muslim subjects, are ascribed to his decisions.

LIT. Donner, *Conquests* 150–53, 193–200. Caetani, *Islam* 3:119–973, vols. 4–5. W. Kaegi, "The Frontier: Barrier or Bridge?," 17 *CEB Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 288–93. A.S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their non-Muslim Subjects: A Critical Study of the Covenant of Umar* (Oxford 1930; rp. London 1970). –W.E.K.

ʿUMAR (Ὦμερ), emir of Melitene (Malaṭya); died 3 Sept. 863. A lifelong opponent of the Byz. Empire, he was often allied with the ʿAbbāsid

caliphate and the Paulician leader KARBEAS. In 863 ʿUmar accompanied a Muslim army through the Cilician Gates but then advanced separately into Cappadocia, where he probably fought an inconclusive battle with Michael III before moving on to sack Amisos. He is reported to have imitated Xerxes by flogging the Black Sea for stopping his progress (Genes. 67.71–75; *TheophCont* 179.16–19). He then confronted the Byz. general PETRONAS, who destroyed his army at Po⟨r⟩son; ʿUmar died in the battle.

LIT. G. Huxley, "The Emperor Michael III and the Battle of Bishop's Meadow (A.D. 863)," *GRBS* 16 (1975) 443–50. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:249–56. Bury, *ERE* 283f. –P.A.H.

ʿUMAR II ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, caliph of the UMAYYADS (717–20); born Medina 682/3, died Radjab Feb. 720. After his accession ʿUmar ordered MASLAMA to lift the siege of Constantinople and thereafter maintained peaceful relations with Byz.; he may even have signed a seven-year treaty that granted Byz. pilgrims access to the Holy Land (Gero, *infra* 177, n.5). His military activities were almost all defensive in nature (M. Cheira, *La lutte entre Arabes et Byzantins* [Alexandria 1947] 207–13). Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 399.20–26) states that in 718 ʿUmar persecuted Christians, exempting from taxation converts to Islam and declaring Christian testimony against Muslims inadmissible, and that he sent Leo III "a dogmatic letter" in hopes of converting him. Thomas Arcruni (10th C.), however, reports that Leo's reply persuaded ʿUmar to reject many Islamic beliefs (Gero, *infra* 132f). Other evidence indicates that ʿUmar was relatively tolerant. Arabic sources say that he prohibited the destruction of old churches, permitted bequests to churches, forbade Christians to wear Arab clothing, and lowered taxes on non-Muslims. He ordered that the Church of St. John in Damascus, dismantled by Walīd I (705–15) and incorporated into the Umayyad Mosque, be returned to the Christians, although he accepted a compromise whereby they received only the suburban Church of St. Thomas.

LIT. K.V. Zetterstéen, *EI* 3:977–79. A. Jeffrey, "Ghevond's Text of the Correspondence between ʿUmar II and Leo III," *HThR* 37 (1944) 269–332. Gero, *Leo III* 44–47. –P.A.H.

UMAYYAD CALIPHATE (661–750), founded by MUʿĀWIYA with its capital at Damascus. After the haphazard formation of the vast Arab empire under the early successors of Muḥammad came a period of administrative consolidation. Even though the Umayyad caliphs tried to expand their possessions in Byz. Asia Minor and attacked Constantinople in 674–80 and 717–18, the view of their relations with Byz. cannot be limited to warfare; as H. Gibb (*DOP* 12 [1958] 219–33) stressed, both their military assaults and administrative adaptation reveal the ambition to establish their own imperial dynasty at Constantinople. To this end the Umayyads used both those Arab tribes traditionally allied with Byz. as well as the Syrian population of former Roman provinces. The Umayyads built substantial fleets that allowed them to exploit a new military tactic—attacking islands and blockading ports. Umayyad expansion was stopped at AKROINON—in part because of stiffening Byz. resistance, in part due to growing internal conflicts within the caliphate. Surviving Arabic traditions are hostile to the Umayyads: these caliphs are criticized for betraying the spirit of the theocratic state as Muḥammad had established it. (See table for a list of Umayyad caliphs.)

LIT. G.R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (Carbondale, Ill., 1987). P. Crone, M. Hinds, *God's Caliph* (Cambridge 1987). H. Lammens, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades* (Beirut 1930). –W.E.K.

Umayyad Caliphs

Caliph	*Dates of Rule*
Muʿāwiya I	661–680
Yazīd I	680–683
Muʿāwiya II	683–684
Marwān I	684–685
ʿABD AL-MALIK	685–705
al-Walīd I	705–715
Sulaymān	715–717
ʿUMAR II	717–720
YAZĪD II	720–724
Hishām	724–743
al-Walīd II	743–744
Yazīd III	743
Ibrāhīm	744
Marwān II	744–750

UMM EL-JIMAL, in Jordan, ruined site probably to be identified as Thantia; a large walled and garrisoned settlement of the 4th–7th C. in the province of ARABIA. A watchtower was built there in 371 in the names of Valentinian I, Valens, and Gratian, and a *kastellos* (barracks?) was constructed by a *doux* in 412/13. Umm el-Jimal is noted for its approximately 15 churches of the 4th–6th C., including the earliest dated church of Syria (built in 344 by a local priest as a memorial church for his son), the cathedral of 556 (?), and at least four other churches paid for by families. The town continued to prosper until the end of the Umayyad period, when it was apparently destroyed by an earthquake and not rebuilt.

LIT. *Princeton Exped. to Syria* 2A:149–213, 3A:131–223. B. De Vries, "Research at Umm el-Jimal, Jordan, 1972–1977," *Biblical Archaeologist* 42 (1979) 49–55. –M.M.M.

UMUR BEG (Ἀμούρ), emir of the coastal beylik of AYDIN; born 1309, died Smyrna 1348. He was the second son of Mehmed and grandson of Aydın, the eponymous founder of the Aydınoğlu dynasty. The exploits of this ghazi warrior are recounted both by Byz. historians (Nikephoros GREGORAS, JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS) and the Turkish poet ENVERI, a section of whose *Desturname* (composed in 1465) deals with Umur. In 1326 Mehmed assigned SMYRNA to Umur as his appanage, but not until 1329 did he gain control of the lower harbor fortress, which was held by the Genoese. Once in command of the port, he constructed a sizable fleet and raided Byz. territory (Chios and Kallipolis) and Latin possessions in Greece (Bodonitsza and Negroponte). Umur succeeded his father as emir in 1334. The next year he formed an anti-Latin alliance with ANDRONIKOS III PALAIOLOGOS and renewed his attacks on Frankish territory. After the death of Andronikos (1341), Umur became a staunch ally of Kantakouzenos and gave him crucial support in the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. Gregoras (Greg. 2:649.16) compares Kantakouzenos's relationship with Umur to that of Orestes and Pylades, while Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:393.2–3) stresses Umur's slavish devotion to him. The loss of the port of Smyrna in Oct. 1344 to Latin Crusaders, led by Henri d'Asti, Latin patriarch of Constantinople (1339–45), was a severe blow to Umur's naval power; thereafter he was restricted to overland raids. He was killed while trying to dislodge the Latins from lower Smyrna.

SOURCE. *Le Destan d'Umur Pacha,* ed. I. Mélikoff-Sayar (Paris 1954).

LIT. P. Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident: Recherches sur "La Geste d'Umur Pacha"* (Paris 1957). –A.M.T.

UNCIAL, or majuscule—the latter term now being preferred by some scholars, esp. by G. Cavallo and H. Hunger—is the conventional designation for the kind of script used almost exclusively for writing books from the 2nd to 9th C., until the rise of the MINUSCULE as book script. Uncials are also used in INSCRIPTIONS. The characters are *grosso modo* the same as those used up to the present as Greek capital letters; they are unconnected, of equal height, and (with few exceptions) fit into the space between two lines. In early uncial MSS the words are not separated or accented. In its most pure and aesthetically attractive form this script is called "biblical uncial," after the famous Bible codices of the 4th C. (Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus, Vaticanus). Most of the characters can be inscribed into a square, very much as in the Latin *capitalis quadrata.* Besides this ideal type are three other main (and later) types of uncial: the so-called Coptic uncial (today usually called Alexandrian, after the center of its diffusion), the upright ogival uncial, and the inclined ogival uncial, the last two with regional variants: Italo-Greek, Palestinian, and Constantinopolitan.

With the development of the minuscule as book script from around 800 onward, the use of uncials declined and was reserved increasingly for special purposes. In secular texts it was now used exclusively for certain prominent parts of the text (hence Hunger's term "Auszeichnungsmajuskel" for what was commonly called half-uncial), for example, for titles (LEMMA), tables of contents (*pinakes*), marginal notes, etc. The Alexandrian uncial was often used for this purpose. Only in the religious sphere did the uncial continue to be used for writing entire books (in its upright form, until the 11th C.); uncial codices thus gained an additional symbolic value, being associated a priori with the religious world.

LIT. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 80–86. Idem, "Epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel," *JÖB* 26 (1977)

193–210. G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Florence 1967). Idem, "Funzione e strutture della maiuscola greca tra i secoli VIII–XI," in *PGEB* 95–137. E. Crisci, "La maiuscola ogivale diritta," *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 (1985) 103–45. –W.H.

UNCTION (*εὐχέλαιον, ἅγιον ἔλαιον*), SACRAMENT of the anointing of the sick for healing and for the forgiveness of sin, the administration of which was eventually restricted to presbyters and bishops. The Byz. also called this rite *heptapapadon akolouthia* because it was celebrated (ideally) by seven priests. Unction, foreshadowed in New Testament therapeutic and burial anointings, is seen in James 5:14, in the oldest extant church orders, which have blessings of oil for therapeutic and exorcistic use, and in the earliest Byz. *euchologion* (Goar, *Euchologion* 346–48). Symeon of Thessalonike comments at length on the rite, disputing the Latin view that it should be received only by the moribund (PG 155:515–36). In Byz. it was administered to both the dying (vita of Theodore of Stoudios—PG 99:325B) and the dead, and confusion between the two anointings in *euchologia* MSS was a source of complaint. Patr. Nikephoros II of Constantinople (1260–61) condemned the *euchelaion* of the dead (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1348).

Unction, which could be administered to several persons at once, was originally a series of prayers distributed throughout the offices, beginning at *pannychis* (see VIGIL) and concluding with the anointing itself at the end of the morning liturgy. It eventually became an independent *akolouthia* (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 2:320–24, 369–71, 405–10), consisting of a KANON modeled on that of ORTHROS, followed by the sevenfold repetition of a specific liturgical unit concluding with a prayer of blessing over the oil (Goar, *op. cit.* 332–46). After each of the seven priests had blessed the oil in turn, the people came forward to be anointed on the forehead, ears, nostrils, hands, etc., the order and number of senses anointed varying according to the MS. The ANOINTING of persons and objects in other Byz. *akolouthiai* (baptism, imperial coronation, the consecration of a church) should not be confused with this sacrament.

SOURCE. *Sacrement de l'huile sainte et prières pour les malades*, tr. D. Guillaume (Rome 1985).

LIT. E. Melia, "The Sacrament of the Anointing of the Sick," in *Temple of the Holy Spirit* (New York 1983) 127–60. A.M. Triacca, "Per una rassegna sul sacramento dell'Unzione degli infermi," *EphLit* 89 (1975) 431f (bibl.). –R.F.T.

UNGUENTARIUM, a conventional term applied to a well-attested type of small (approximately 18–21 cm in height) pottery flask, fusiform in shape—with a short tubular mouth marked off from the body by a slight ridge—tapering at the bottom to a roughly truncated point. Nearly half the specimens bear a stamp impression, most often of a MONOGRAM, but occasionally of an image (e.g., lion) or a text (e.g., "of Bishop Severianos"). The vessel type is datable ca.500–650 by the monogram format ("box" and "cruciform") and by the discovery of a cache of 20 examples in the Athenian Agora in mid-6th-C. context. Findspot evidence indicates substantial production and wide distribution, probably from a single source in Palestine. The stamps were probably added to vouch for the vessels' contents (see STAMPS, COMMERCIAL); ecclesiastics' names among them, coupled with the likely Palestinian origin, suggests that they were pilgrimage AMPULLAE made as containers for Jordan water or holy oil from the LOCA SANCTA.

LIT. J.W. Hayes, "A New Type of Early Christian Ampulla," *BSA* 66 (1971) 243–48. –G.V.

UNION OF THE CHURCHES, term describing the effort to reunify the churches of Rome and Byz. following the breach of the 9th to early 13th C. Although theological, disciplinary, and liturgical polarization between Rome and Constantinople led to temporary schisms during the first millennium of Christian history, only gradually did this opposition, along with cultural and political differences, result in a permanent breach. The so-called SCHISM of 1054 did not mark a final separation of Eastern and Western Christendom. It was rather the Fourth Crusade (1204) that rendered the breach definitive. During the next two centuries there were innumerable attempts to restore communion, but developments such as the Latin domination of Byz. by the Crusaders, papal centralization, scholastic theology, and the dogmatization of the FILIOQUE at the Second Council of LYONS complicated the situation.

Political more than religious considerations motivated the negotiations for union during the Komnenian and Palaiologan periods. The Palaiologos dynasty particularly needed military aid to fight the Turks. The papacy, realizing this, demanded total ecclesiastical submission of the Byz. church in return for military assistance. Unconditional union—not a negotiated settlement—was to precede military aid.

The Western church was reluctant to acknowledge the traditional practice and habits of the East. On the other hand, Byz. hardliners and esp. monks clung to minor niceties of their tradition, refusing to give up even the slightest items and sometimes preferring Turkish conquest to submission to the "papists." In such conditions only a few politicians and intellectuals on both sides were sincere supporters of the union; political agreements remained short-lived and cynical, often resulting from Western indifference and Eastern zeal.

The Unionist attempts could not succeed, as the unions of Lyons and FERRARA-FLORENCE demonstrate. Lyons is an esp. dramatic case not only of the limitations of Byz. imperial influence over religious policy, but of the rigidity of papal diplomacy. Ultimately both councils only served to widen the separation.

LIT. S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford 1955). F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York 1966). D.M. Nicol, "Byzantine Requests for an Oecumenical Council in the Fourteenth Century," *AnnHistCon* 1 (1969) 69–95. –A.P.

UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE, conventional term for an institution of higher education, the stage subsequent to the CURRICULUM of *enkyklios paideia*. Of the two formal features of most medieval universities—a royal charter or papal bull granting recognition and juridical personality—the University of Constantinople had only the former. Like Western universities, however, it developed the elements of professional education (e.g., a LAW SCHOOL), whereas MEDICINE was taught at hospitals by physicians. The earlier University of Constantinople was organized (or reorganized) by Theodosios II in 425. Located in the Kapetolion (Janin, *CP byz.* 174–76), it had 31 chairs, primarily for Greek and Latin grammar and also for rhetoric, philosophy, and law. The fate of the University of Constantinople after Justinian I is obscure. The schema presented by A. Schneider (*Byzanz* [Berlin 1936] 25)—that the university was closed by Phokas and replaced by a "Patriarchal Academy" under Herakleios—is simplistic and unfounded (Lemerle, *Humanism* 93f, n.39). The school in MAGNAURA created by Caesar BARDAS used to be described as a university, but its curriculum and structure did not differ substantially from those of regular secondary schools.

There is more justification for applying the name *university* to the schools of law and philosophy founded by Constantine IX; for the first of them there is a statute promulgated in 1046/7 (in Apr. 1047, according to J. Lefort, *TM* 6 [1976] 279f). The school, which was administered by the NOMOPHYLAX, was responsible for training high functionaries, lawyers, and notaries. The secular university reached its acme in the 11th C., but in the 12th C. it was overshadowed by a more conservative PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL, which was more concerned with the teaching of theology. Nevertheless, at least until ca.1300, Constantinople retained, together with Paris and Baghdad, the reputation of a center of higher education. Some kind of officially sponsored higher education was available in Constantinople up to 1453, though its institutional form varied (see XENON OF THE KRAL).

LIT. F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Leipzig-Berlin 1926). P. Speck, *Die kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel* (Munich 1974). M.J. Kyriakis, "The University: Origin and Early Phases in Constantinople," *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 161–82. W. Wolska-Conus, "Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque," *TM* 6 (1976) 223–43. C.N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries, 1204–ca.1310* (Nicosia 1982). –A.K.

URBAN II (Odo of Châtillon), elected pope at Terracina 12 Mar. 1088; born Châtillon-sur-Marne ca.1035, died Rome 29 July 1099. Urban inherited a difficult situation: northern Italy was under the control of Henry IV of Germany, who supported the antipope CLEMENT III; Urban's natural ally in this state of events was ROGER I, count of Sicily. After the death of ROBERT GUISCARD in 1085 the Normans did not continue their attack on Byz., and, according to GAUFREDUS MALATERRA, opened negotiations with Alexios I in 1089 after consultation with Roger. Patr. NICHOLAS III GRAMMATIKOS, in an epistle addressed to Urban, expressed expectations that UNION OF THE CHURCHES could soon be attained. No evidence of a formal union agreement is known, but Urban evidently achieved his aim and prevented Alexios from joining an alliance with Henry IV and Clement. When the situation improved in Italy in the early 1090s, Urban journeyed from Rome to France. On his way in March 1095, he convened

a synod in Piacenza, which was attended by Byz. envoys who appealed for Western military aid against the Seljuk Turks; a few months later at Clermont he made a full-fledged appeal for a crusade (Nov. 1095), thus initiating the First Crusade. J. Hill (*Speculum* 26 [1951] 265f) hypothesizes—on the basis of indirect evidence—that Urban prepared a plan of Greco-Latin union, the execution of which he entrusted to RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE.

LIT. S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 1 (Cambridge 1951) 100–10. A. Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088–99)*, 2 vols. [= MGH *Schriften* 19.1–2] (Stuttgart 1964–88). W. Holtzmann, "Die Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Alexios I. und Papst Urban II. im Jahre 1089," *BZ* 28 (1928) 38–67. H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade," *History* 55 (1970) 177–88. J. Richard, "Urbain II, la prédication de la croisade et la définition de l'indulgence," in *Deus qui mutat tempora*, ed. E.-D. Hehl et al. (Sigmaringen 1987) 129–35. –A.K.

URBAN V (Guillaume de Grimoard), pope (from 28 Sept. 1362); born Grisac Lozère, France, ca.1310, died Avignon 19 Dec. 1370. Urban spent the first five years of his pontificate in Avignon; after 1367 he resided in Rome. Urban supported the idea of a crusade, but the success of the king of Cyprus, Peter I Lusignan (1359–69), in capturing Alexandria in 1365 was short-lived. Urban also failed to achieve significant results in imposing UNION OF THE CHURCHES on Constantinople. Emp. John V came to Rome and on 18 Oct. 1369 abjured the Eastern creed and recognized papal supremacy, but the agreement remained on the level of a personal compact, with the vast majority of the Byz. clergy and people refusing to accept their emperor's decision. The cause for Byz. opposition was Roman arrogance rather than Byz. obstinacy: the pope rejected the idea of a universal council to discuss theological differences and was very reluctant to allow continuation of the Greek rite. J. Gill (*OrChrP* 39 [1973] 461–68) tried to reconsider the traditional interpretation of the pope's letter to the archbishop of Crete; Gill argues that Urban allowed Greek priests, after their conversion to Catholicism, to retain their wives. They could conduct processions and ceremonies that were part of the Greek rite; since they knew no Latin, they celebrated in Greek.

LIT. E. de Lanouvelle, *Urbain V* (Paris 1929). O. Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw 1930). W. de Vries, "Die Päpste von Avignon und der christliche Osten," *OrChrP* 30 (1964) 85–128. N. Housley, "The Mercenary Companies, the Papacy, and the Crusades, 1356–1378," *Traditio* 38 (1982) 253–80. –A.K.

URBAN LIFE. See CITIES.

URBAN PREFECT (*praefectus urbi*, ἔπαρχος Ῥώμης), high-ranking official of the early Roman Empire who was responsible for police and criminal prosecution in Rome and Italy. Reforms of Diocletian, Constantine I, and Constantius II limited the area of his activity to within 100 miles of Rome, while Italy was placed under the authority of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT. At the same time his functions within Rome were increased: besides criminal jurisdiction the urban prefect controlled trade, the bread supply, building activity, and the administration of spectacles. He held a military command and, as president of the SENATE, supervised the senators. As Chastagnol has shown, the post was in the hands of the great landowners, 60 percent of whom were local, demonstrating imperial leniency toward the Roman aristocracy. Until 323 all urban prefects were pagans and until 352 Christian urban prefects remained exceptional. The urban prefect of Rome continued to exist after the fall of the Western Empire, as attested by CASSIODORUS and CORIPPUS, and is mentioned as late as 879. The staff of the urban prefect included the *princeps officii*, who was the prefect's adviser in matters of administration and law.

By 359 the office of the Constantinopolitan urban prefect, or EPARCH OF THE CITY, was created to replace the former proconsul (see ANTHYPATOS); thus the administration of Constantinople was equated to that of Rome.

LIT. A. Chastagnol, *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire* (Paris 1960). Idem, *Les Fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire* (Paris 1962). Dagron, *Naissance* 213–94. W.G. Sinnigen, *The Officium of the Urban Prefecture during the Later Roman Empire* (Rome 1957). *PLRE* 1:1052–56; 2:1252–56. –A.K.

URFA. See EDESSA.

UROŠ V. See STEFAN UROŠ V.

USĀMAH IBN MUNQIDH, noble Muslim knight, Arab poet, man of letters, and passionate hunter; born Shayzar, Syria, 4 July 1095, died Damascus 16 Nov. 1188. His life span corresponded with a dramatic period in Near Eastern history that saw incessant Muslim factional struggles, the capture of Jerusalem, the establishment of the Latin Kingdom by the First Crusade, the failure of the Second Crusade, and the recapture of Jerusalem by SALADIN. Serving or visiting different Muslim and Crusader princes, sultans, and caliphs, Usāmah participated in their court life, military campaigns (e.g., the siege of Shayzar by JOHN II KOMNENOS), and hunting expeditions.

Usāmah spent the last two decades of his life mostly in religious contemplation, teaching, and writing. He attained fame as a superb poet and prolific author. Most important among his surviving works, *The Book of Didactic Examples* is essentially his memoirs. A source of direct information about contemporary battle and siege methods, it also provides details on the treatment of prisoners (e.g., the ransoming of a Muslim slave from his Greek owner in Constantinople), on the intimacies of Muslim court and private home life as well as on horse races and falconry. Above all, it offers Usāmah's personal and equanimous observations on different habits and social customs, thoughts, medical treatments, religious attitudes and practices of the Muslims and Franks in Syria.

ED. *Ousama ibn Mounkidh*, ed. H. Derenbourg, 2 vols. (Paris 1886–89). *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades*, tr. P.K. Hitti (New York 1929). *Des enseignements de la vie: Souvenirs d'un gentilhomme syrien du temps des Croisades*, tr. A. Miquel (Paris 1983). *Die Erlebnisse des syrischen Ritters*, tr. H. Preissler (Munich 1985). –A.S.E.

USPENSKIJ GOSPEL BOOK, the earliest known dated minuscule manuscript, written in 835 on parchment in the scriptorium of the STOUDIOS MONASTERY by the scribe Nicholas. The manuscript contains notes on the death of the Stoudite leaders Plato of Sakkoudion and Theodore, as well as Joseph of Thessalonike. The codex, from the former collection of the bishop Porfirij Uspenskij, a traveler to Mt. Athos, is now in the Leningrad Public Library (gr.219).

LIT. E.E. Granstrem, "Katalog grečeskich rukopisej Leningradskich chranilišč, 1," *VizVrem* 16 (1959) 233f. –A.K.

USUFRUCT (χρήσις καρπῶν, in scholia to the *Basilika* usually οὐσούφρυκτος), according to classical Roman law, "the right to use the things of another, their substance remaining unimpaired" (a definition accepted by *Basil.* 16.1.1). Unlike praedial servitudes, usufruct was personal, given for life or for a fixed term. Classical jurisprudence differentiated usufruct from OWNERSHIP; this distinction, strong under Diocletian, became obscured during the 4th and 5th C. when the tendency arose to consider usufruct as a form of POSSESSION, limited in time and content. Justinian I sought, with partial success, to reverse this process and return to the classical formulation. Later texts cease to distinguish between usufruct and plain use (CHRESIS).

LIT. M. Bretone, *La nozione romana di usufrutto*, vol. 2 (Naples 1967), rev. D. Medicus, *ZSavRom* 85 (1968) 525–28. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2, par.247. –A.J.C.

USURPATION, a common phenomenon of late Roman and Byz. political life, was neither terminologically nor legally defined in Byz. The most usual term for usurpation of power by an illegal claimant was *tyrannis*, but the term *tyrannis* could designate other situations (rebellion, arbitrary rule) and other terms could be used for usurpation—*stasis* (insurrection), *epibouleuma* (conspiracy). Usurpation may be defined as an illegal arbitrary assumption of the emperor's power, but since, in theory, proclamation by the people in the Hippodrome or by the army was considered legal authorization, the concept of usurpation appears significantly ambiguous; furthermore, a co-emperor who cleared his way to the throne by murder (e.g., Basil I) was not considered a usurper but a legitimate heir.

Usurpation usually is recognized as symptomatic of broader trends in the distribution, bases, and exploitation of power in Byz. society. In the late Roman Empire usurpation had diverse causes and diverse characteristics: it originated in both military and civilian milieus, could have a religious tinge, and was often connected with crisis situations on an endangered frontier (e.g., PHOKAS) or in Constantinople (HYPATIOS during the Nika Revolt). It was a subject of intense political concern to the emperor; its repression was frequently and loudly celebrated in TRIUMPHS. From the second half of the 7th C. to the mid-9th C., usurpation occurred primarily in new provincial territorial units—first exarchates and then themes—that provided a material base for military seditions (GREGORY, exarch of Africa; OLYMPIOS, exarch of Ravenna, etc.). From the 10th C. onward, usur-

pation came first and foremost from the action of high-ranking families (Lekapenoi, Phokades, Skleroi, Komnenoi, Palaiologoi, etc.), whereas usurpers from the rank and file (e.g., Nicholas KANNABOS) were rare. At the same time, the sources distinguish between usurpation (*tyrannis*) and a less grave offense (*apostasia*), while punishments for participants became more lenient. The major symbol of usurpation was putting on the PURPLE; additional actions could be CORONATION, SHIELD-RAISING, and ACCLAMATIONS. Public opinion condemned usurpation; KEKAUMENOS is esp. vocal in criticizing it and in predicting that every revolt against the emperor would fail. In reality, however, many usurpations were successful.

LIT. S. Elbern, *Usurpationen im spätrömischen Reich* (Bonn 1984). W. Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest, 471–843* (Amsterdam 1981). J. Szidat, "Usurpator und Zivilbevölkerung im 4. Jhd. n. Chr.," *Gesellschaft und Gesellschaften* (Bern 1982) 14–31. M. Koutlouka, "La tyrannie dans la philosophie byzantine du XIe siècle," *Actes du Colloque La Tyrannie* (Caen 1984) 51–60. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 80–83, 186–88. P. Salama, "L'apport des inscriptions routières à l'histoire politique de l'Afrique Romaine," *L'Africa romana*, vol. 3 (Sassari 1986) 229–31. –A.K.

USURY (τοκοληψία, lit. "receipt of interest") in the ancient and medieval sense of the word encompasses a variety of modes of receiving INTEREST, whereas in the modern period it is applied only to excessive interest. Usury, defined as any form of lending money or things at interest, was a controversial topic from the 4th C. onward, when three different approaches were formulated: church fathers condemned all usury as contradicting the principles of Christian ethics; ecclesiastical councils forbade only the clergy to lend at interest; and civil legislation continued to permit usury, although Justinian I apparently lowered the maximum rate of interest. Attempts to abolish usury in the 8th (?) or 9th C. failed, and Leo VI, in novel 83, reinstated the practice despite its un-Christian character. The general attitude of society toward usury was negative. Hagiographers compared usurers to wild beasts. In the 14th C. Nicholas KABASILAS wrote at least two works against usurers. Time and again demands for action against usury were voiced (see DEBT).

LOANS played a double role in Byz. society. On the one hand, the use of credit could stimulate small enterprises; thus, the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER mentions a wine merchant who borrowed money to purchase goods. On the other hand, usury contributed to the redistribution of (landed) property. Peasants contracted loans for a variety of reasons—in times of famine, to ransom prisoners of war, to pay taxes; in these cases their livestock or land served as a mortgage. A case described in *Peira* 40.10 presents the stages of expropriation: when a debtor was unable to pay, the judge ordered him to hand over his houses to the creditor "as possession" (*epi nome*); after six months the creditor acquired the *despoteia* of the immovables. Little is known about loans among the nobility, but in the late centuries the Byz. crown was deeply in debt to Venice and other Western powers.

LIT. E. Bianchi, "Il tema d'usura," *Athenaeum* 61 (1983) 321–42; 62 (1984) 136–53. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 295–98. –A.K.

UTENSILS (ἔπιπλα). Household implements and furnishings encompassed FURNITURE, VESSELS, cutlery (knife, spoon, and fork), lighting appliances (LAMPS), writing tools (inkstands, etc.); the distinction between utensils and tools (see TOOLS AND HOUSEHOLD FITTINGS), on the one hand, and utensils and liturgical vessels, on the other, as described in texts is sometimes conventional and reveals itself more in function than in form. Utensils were made of wood, stone, metal, clay (CERAMIC), glass, bone, skin, osier, and cloth; there was a hierarchy of materials in which gold and silver stood above bronze and iron, ebony and cedar above other kinds of wood, ivory above ordinary bone, etc. A 14th-C. historian (Greg. 2:788.15–18) stresses the hierarchy of materials when he exclaims that the poverty of the imperial court required the replacement of gold and silver vessels by those made of tin and "ceramic and clay." Ornament was another means to express the hierarchy of utensils, and glaze and coloring usually distinguished table dishes from plain kitchen pottery. For expensive utensils, gold, silver, precious stones, enamel, and ivory were applied. A simple method of ornamentation was to carve lines on wooden and ceramic objects. The most precious utensils were adorned with inscriptions (dedications), while ordinary objects occasionally bore marks (of craftsmen or owners?).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:60–116. E. Kislinger, "La cultura materiale di Bisanzio," *Schede medievali* 11 (1986) 299–313. –A.K.

ʿUTHMĀN (Οὐθμάν), caliph (early Nov. 644–17 June 656); born Mecca, ca.569 or 575, died Madīna 17 June 656. A merchant who converted to Islam, he was the chosen successor of ʿUMAR. Although the rate of Muslim territorial expansion slackened during ʿUthmān's caliphate, his forces overran Armenia. The Sasanian Empire ended with the death of YAZDGIRD III, and Muslim naval prowess increased. ʿUthmān approved the renewal of conquests to the west: in North Africa, Ibn Saʿd, his governor of Egypt, crushed GREGORY the exarch in 647 and, with the exception of Carthage, conquered much of Byz. Africa. This seriously threatened the remaining Byz. positions in the entire Mediterranean. Two critical maritime triumphs over Byz. in ʿUthmān's caliphate were the victory of the Battle of the Masts (655) and the first invasion of Cyprus (648). ʿUthmān was accused of indolence, corruption, and, in the later years of his caliphate, nepotism. Some allege that he modeled his administrative changes on Byz. and Sasanian models, but documentation for this is poor. Civil strife in ʿUthmān's caliphate disillusioned many Muslims. He was slain after his besieged house was stormed.

LIT. M. Hinds, "The Murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 3 (1972) 450–69. J. Wellhausen, "Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams," *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin 1899) 6:113–35. Caetani, *Islam* 7, 8:1–321. –W.E.K.

UTOPIA, a term coined in the 16th C. to designate a perfect commonwealth. The ancient mind created politico-geographical utopias, considering certain real (Sparta in Plato) or fictitious states as ideal systems. The ancient tradition of a world without labor and tyranny, spatially separated from the regular *oikoumene* and located at its edge, seems to have been preserved in chs. 4–21 of the EXPOSITIO TOTIUS MUNDI (C. Molè in *Le transformazioni della cultura nella tarda antichità* [Rome 1985] 2:730–36). Christianity shifted the emphasis from the spatial category to one pertaining to time: utopia, as elaborated particularly in APOCALYPSES, was placed in the future—as a perfect reign of an expected king, or an ESCHATOLOGICAL period of peace, or the Heavenly Kingdom. In LACTANTIUS this concept of the future happy era when everyone would praise the true God is combined with a Platonic social utopia and mythological imagery of the age of Saturn. The Byz. envisaged that the Kingdom of justice would be established after the second PAROUSIA; at the same time they thought that mankind had reached maturity following Christ's advent and therefore stressed that ideal life is attainable here and now. From antiquity they inherited the topos of the "happy barbarian" as opposed to the corrupted civilized man: this topos appears, for example, in Simokattes' account (Theoph.Simok. 6.2.10–16) of the Sklavenoi, who lived in a remote area on the Western Ocean and were distinguished for their height and beauty; they never used iron weapons and carried with them only lyres. The communities of the Brahmans were also represented as ideal societies as in PALLADIOS. Another type of ideal life was the image of the "angelic communities" of monks, esp. hermits dwelling in the DESERT, withdrawn from the world and to some extent resembling the Brahmans. The palace and Constantinople were viewed as representing the ideal "heavenly" order, although the Byz. understood the difference between the heavenly utopia of the palace or monastery and everyday reality.

The concept of political utopia was employed as a means of propaganda; thus CLAUDIAN predicted Stilicho's prosperous rule, and Andronikos I Komnenos claimed that he had brought the golden age of justice on earth: his portrait showed him as "the laborers' king," and Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 325.17–36) preserved the traces of a contemporary pamphlet whose author, using biblical citations (e.g., Mic 4:4), depicted the perfect life of satisfied subjects under his reign. On the other hand, utopia might appear as a form of political program, for example, in the case of PLETHON, who used Platonic traditions as a model for his (unrealistic) project of reforms in the Peloponnesos.

LIT. J. Irmscher, "Die christliche und die byzantinische Utopie," *StItalFCl*^{3} 3.2 (1985) 250–66. Mango, *Byzantium* 218, 223f. A. Kazhdan, "Certain Traits of Imperial Propaganda in the Byzantine Empire from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Centuries," in *Prédication et propagande au Moyen Age: Islam, Byzance, Occident* (Paris 1983) 23f. –A.K.

UTRIGURS. See COTRIGURS AND UTRIGURS.

UZES (Οὖζοι), Torki in Kievan sources, the confederation of Oghuz Turks that formed a part of the Old Turkic steppe empire; they were akin to the SELJUKS. Under CUMAN pressure the Uzes moved west, crossed the Volga, and in the 10th C., following the PECHENEGS, appeared in the area

north of the Black Sea and on the Middle Danube. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 9.114) suggested the Uzes as potential allies against the Pechenegs.

Closely involved in skirmishes with Rus' princes, in 1064 the Uzes crossed the Danube and invaded Byz. territory as far as Thessalonike. Attaleiates (Attal. 83.19–20) reckons that they numbered 600,000. Disease and starvation, however, as well as Bulgarian and Pecheneg attacks forced the Uzes to retreat; many were crushed by their own animals and vehicles. Some Uzes became Byz. MERCENARIES, some merged with the Pechenegs, others settled near Kiev as military colonists in the service of the Rus' princes (*černye klobuci*). In Byz. the corps of mercenary Uzes was still active in the second half of the 11th C. (*SkylCont* 144.13), then disappeared as a distinct force, leaving some echoes in toponymy (Lake Ouzolimne) and personal names (a commander Ouzas "of Sauromatian origin" in the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene). The Byz. identified the Uzes as Scythians (Skylitzes Continuatus) or Huns (Anna Komnene); TZETZES (*Hist.* 8.773), following an old tradition, placed the Uzes with the Huns in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea.

LIT. O. Pritsak, *Studies in Medieval Eurasian History* (London 1981), pts. VI, X, XIX. P. Golden, "The Migrations of the *Oğuz*," *ArchOtt* 4 (1972) 45–84. T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, *Czarni kłobucy* (Warsaw 1985). –O.P.

V

VAHRAM, known as *rabun*, "master," or *vardapet*, "teacher"; Armenian scholar active in the late 13th C. He calls himself "chancellor" at the court of Leo II, king of Armenian Cilicia (1270–89); little else is known of his life. His *Rhymed Chronicle* traces the history of Armenian Cilicia from its occupation by Ruben (see RUBENIDS) in the late 11th C. until 1276. His *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories* follows the tradition made popular in Armenia by works of (or attributed to) DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER.

ED. E. Dulaurier, ed., "Chronique rimée des rois de la petite Arménie," RHC *Arm.* 1:491–535, with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. in C. Neumann, *Vahram's Chronicle* (London 1831). *Lucmunk' "storogut'eanc'n" Aristoteli*, ed. G. Grigoryan (Erevan 1967). –R.T.

VAŁARŠAPAT (Vagharshapat, now Ējmiacin in Armenia), capital city under TRDAT THE GREAT; site of the martyrdom of Sts. Hŕip'simē, Gayanē and their companions. Since the 4th C., churches at Vałaršapat have commemorated the martyrs and the spot where GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR had a vision in which four lofty columns supporting vaults were called forth by a man descended from heaven. (The 12th-C. identification of the man as Christ explains the cathedral's dedication, Ējmiacin, "the Only-Begotten-One descended.")

The present cathedral is a 7th-C. cross-in-square church, with apses to the north, south, and west, as well as east. Seventeenth-century additions obscure the exterior. Beneath the apse and nave are remains of basilicas (and a Zoroastrian temple); A. Sahinyan's reconstruction of a 5th-C. cross-domed structure here (*REArm* n.s. 3 [1966] 39–71) is based on a misunderstanding of excavation notes (F. Gandolfo, *Le basiliche armene IV–VII secolo* [Rome 1982] 14–19).

St. Hŕip'simē (618) is the best-known example of a church plan type (including Džvari at MC'XET'A) peculiar to the Transcaucasus: four apses open out of a domed central area. Between the apses, steep, three-quarter-round chambers lead to four square corner rooms. St. Gayanē (630) is a cross-domed basilica. Like St. Hŕip'simē, its apse and auxiliary chambers are inscribed within a flat wall. Later churches at Vałaršapat (e.g., the 17th-C. Šołokat) presumably mark the sites of other 4th-C. *martyria*.

LIT. O.Kh. Khalpakhchian, *Architectural Ensembles of Armenia* (Moscow 1980) 97–157. A.B. Eremjan, *Chram Ripsime* (Erevan 1955). –A.T.

VALENS (Οὐάλης), augustus (from 28 Mar. 364); born Cibalae, Pannonia, ca.328, died near Adrianople 9 Aug. 378. A low-ranking army officer during the reigns of Julian and Jovian, he rose swiftly after the ascent to the throne of his brother Valentinian I. Valentinian appointed him *tribunus* (or *comes*) *stabuli*, and less than a month later he became co-ruler. After a division of responsibilities Valens retained the eastern part of the empire including Thrace and Egypt. The brothers reversed Julian's policies, depriving the curiae of state support and removing Julian's appointees. The pro-Julian elements gathered around the rebel PROKOPIOS. His revolt in 365, however, was suppressed. Less clear are the reasons for the so-called plot of Theodoros in 371/2 in which many influential people were involved; denunciation led to a series of severe punishments.

The situation on the Persian frontier was troublesome during his reign, and Valens spent the winters of 373/4 and 377/8 in Antioch negotiating such matters as the division of Armenia between Constantinople and Persia. The first war against the Goths ended with a peace treaty in 369 that was not favorable to the empire. In 376 Valens gave permission for a large number of Visigoths, fleeing from the Huns, to settle in Thrace. This operation was poorly handled, supplies of food ran out, and Roman officials took advantage of the situation to gain personal profit. As a result, the Visigoths rose in revolt and ravaged the Thracian countryside. Valens, then at Antioch, rushed westward, hoping to defeat the barbarians without the help of his nephew Gratian; as a result, he

was routed and killed in 378 at the battle of ADRIANOPLE.

Valens was a Christian; probably under the influence of his wife Domnica he accepted Arianism and toward the end of his reign began to persecute the Orthodox. He was not popular, esp. with the intellectuals, who ridiculed his lack of education and ignorance of the Greek language. In Constantinople Valens rebuilt the main AQUEDUCT, which has since borne his name.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:172–90. A. Nagl, *RE* 2.R. 7 (1948) 2097–2137. I. Opelt, "Ein Edikt des Kaisers Valens," *Historia* 20 (1971) 764–67. R. Snee, "Valens' Recall of the Nicene Exiles and anti-Arian Propaganda," *GRBS* 26 (1985) 395–419. –T.E.G.

VALENTINIAN I (Οὐαλεντινιανός), emperor (from 26 Feb. 364); born Cibalae, Pannonia, 321, died Brigetto, Pannonia, 17 Nov. 375. He was an officer in Julian's army but as a Christian could not expect a successful career. The accounts of his exile by Julian are contradictory. He subsequently became *tribunus* in the army of Jovian. When the latter emperor died, Valentinian was unanimously proclaimed augustus by the generals and civil officials. He soon promoted his brother VALENS as co-emperor. The brothers agreed to divide the empire and its administration (two *consistoria* were established), but to rule in cooperation. Valentinian held the West, residing in Milan and Trier.

Valentinian's domestic policy was inconsistent. He abolished some exemptions given by Julian to *curiales* and promoted the appointment of DEFENSORES CIVITATUM, but he was frugal like Julian and tried to reduce the expenditures of the court. His major source of support was among Pannonians, whereas few senators (e.g., PROBUS) collaborated with him. The thesis that Valentinian introduced a "reign of terror" against senators, at least after 368 (C. Schuurmans, *AntCl* 18 [1949] 25–38), is probably an exaggeration (P. Hamblenne, *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 198–225).

Valentinian did not intervene in Eastern affairs during the revolt of PROKOPIOS in 365, nor did he seek assistance when Firmus revolted in Africa. His foreign policy was also independent of the eastern half of the empire. His major concerns were Britain and the Rhine and Danube frontiers. In 375 he undertook operations in Pannonia against the Quadi and Sarmatians. During negotiations with them, he became so enraged that he died of a stroke.

His first wife was Marina Severa, mother of Gratian. In ca.370 he married Justina, widow of the usurper MAGNENTIUS, who bore him Valentinian II. Ammianus Marcellinus presents a negative image of Valentinian as alien to the classical ideal of man, avoiding military action, and frightened of magicians. On the contrary, Jerome (Eusebios, *Chronicon*, Lat. tr. by Jerome, ed. R. Helm, U. Treu [Berlin 1984] 244) praises him as an outstanding emperor whose biased adversaries portrayed his severity as cruelty and his economy as greed.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:172–83. A. Alföldi, *A Conflict of Ideas in the Late Roman Empire* (Oxford 1952). R. Soraci, *L'imperatore Valentiniano I* (Catania 1971). M. Fasolino, *Valentiniano I* (Naples 1976). –T.E.G.

VALENTINIAN II, Western emperor (from 22 Nov. 375); born Trier? 371, died Vienne (in Gaul) 15 May 392. Proclaimed as augustus by the army in Aquincum immediately after the death of his father Valentinian I, the child-emperor Valentinian II was kept in a subordinate position under the tutelage of his half-brother Gratian. When Gratian was murdered in 383, Valentinian's mother Justina ruled in his name. The major problems of her administration were the pressure of the Alemanni on the northern frontier that general Bauto managed to curb, in part with the help of the Huns and Alans; religious conflicts, since Justina leaned toward Arianism while AMBROSE exercised a strong Orthodox influence on the young emperor; and a powerful aristocratic elite that cherished paganism and traditional virtues and attempted to shift the burden of taxation to the urban population, esp. the merchants. The usurpation of MAXIMUS was particularly dangerous, compelling Valentinian to flee to Thessalonike in 387. This changed the balance of power between West and East. From 384 onward Theodosios I attempted to assume the role of the elder augustus. In 388 he, together with ARBOGAST, defeated Maximus. Valentinian ruled the West from Vienne, under the general control of Arbogast. Desirous of asserting his independence, Valentinian considered moving his court to Milan or using Ambrose as a mediator between himself and Arbogast; he attempted in vain to have Arbogast killed. Valentinian was subsequently found hanged in his palace—the sources either accuse Arbogast (B. Croke, *Historia* 25 [1976] 235–44), portray the death as suicide, or remain silent about it.

Valentinian is depicted on official monuments of his house, as co-emperor at age 17 on the missorium of Theodosios I (see LARGITIO DISHES, SILVER), and on the OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS. A bronze bust in Budapest (*Age of Spirit.*, no.19), found in Pannonia and possibly from a military standard, closely resembles the portraits of Valentinian on coins and medallions (Delbrück, pl.14.1–4).

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 7 (1948) 2205–32. Stein, *Histoire* 1:203f, 210f. P. Grattarola, "La morte dell'imperatore Valentiniano II," *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere. Classe di scuola di lettere di scienze morali e storiche* 113 (1979) 359–70. –T.E.G., A.C.

VALENTINIAN III, Western emperor (from 425); born Ravenna 4 July 419, died near Ravenna 16 Mar. 455. He was the son of GALLA PLACIDIA and the patrician Constantius. After the death of Honorius, Theodosios II was reluctant to use the family of Galla Placidia to maintain Eastern influence in the West. It was only under pressure from the revolt of a certain John that he had the young Valentinian made caesar on 23 Oct. 424 and augustus the next year. Galla Placidia dominated the Western court during her son's minority, although she was constantly challenged by her rival AETIUS, who relied on the support of the Gallic aristocracy. In 437 Valentinian married Licinia Eudoxia, daughter of Theodosios II; the marriage produced two daughters, Eudocia and Placidia. Valentinian had good relations with the Vandals and Eudocia married Huneric, son of GAISERIC. In 450 Valentinian, along with his wife and mother, wrote to Theodosios II asking him to repudiate the teachings of the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS. He attempted to secure independence from the tutelage of Aetius but was not always successful. Finally, in 454, he murdered Aetius with his own hand, but fell the next year to Optila, one of the former's supporters.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 7 (1948) 2232–59. G. Härtel, "Die Novellen Valentinians III. als wichtige zeitgenössiche Quelle," in *Studi in onore Cesare Sanfilippo*, vol. 1 (Milan 1982) 231–51. A. Musumeci, "La politica ecclesiastica di Valentiniano III," *SicGymn* 30 (1977) 431–81. –T.E.G.

VALENTINOS ARŠAKUNI (Βαλεντιανός or Βαλεντινός), usurper of the Byz. throne in 645. He presumably belonged to the Armenian Arsacid house and played a brief role in the succession of Herakleios. At first he seems to have supported Constantine Herakleios and his sons against MARTINA, with the help of Anatolian contingents stationed at Chalcedon, and he may have brought about the coronation of Constans II in 641. Four years later, however, after an unsuccessful expedition against the Arabs in Syria, he revolted and made his own bid for the throne. The scant Byz. notices (e.g., Theoph. 343.3–6) and the slightly longer account of the Armenian historian SEBĒOS disagree on the ultimate goal of Valentinos and on Constans II's acceptance of him as co-ruler. Nevertheless, they agree that Valentinos was brought to the throne by a military coup d'état and crowned. Soon thereafter, however, he aroused the hostility of the population of Constantinople, which rose against him and put him to death (645).

LIT. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:189f. J.B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2 (London 1889) 283–85. –N.G.G.

VANDALS (Βανδίλοι), a Germanic people. They first appear in 406 when they crossed the Rhine in company with the Alans and Suevi and devastated Gaul for three years. The coalition entered Spain in 409 and again inflicted considerable destruction before settling in the western and southern part of the peninsula. In 429 the Vandals and Alans crossed into Africa. Vandal authority over the two MAURITANIAS and NUMIDIA was recognized by Valentinian III in 435. Four years later the Vandals seized CARTHAGE. The peace treaty of 442 ceded control of AFRICA PROCONSULARIS, BYZACENA, TRIPOLITANIA, and eastern Numidia to the Vandals and retroceded Mauritania and western Numidia to the empire. Aware of the threats posed by Ravenna and Constantinople, the Vandals carved out a sphere of power in the western Mediterranean that included control of the Balearic Islands, Corsica, SARDINIA, and SICILY. Vandalic fleets carried out frequent attacks against the empire, one of which resulted in the sack of Rome (455). Following two unsuccessful Byz. attempts to recover Africa (465–66, 470), a treaty was signed in 474 bringing hostilities to a close

and reaffirming Vandal control as *foederati* over Africa.

The Vandals in Africa comprised the Vandal Hasdingi-Silingi clans, Alans, and small numbers of Hispano-Romans, Goths, and Suevi. After capturing Carthage, GAISERIC forcibly established a family dynasty. Subsequent Vandal kings—Huneric (477–84), Gunthamund (484–96), Thrasamund (496–523), Hilderic (523–30), and GELIMER (530–33)—were his direct descendants. In 456, the dynasty was linked to the house of Theodosios I by the marriage of Hilderic to Eudokia, daughter of Valentinian III. Power in Vandal Africa rested with the king and the Vandal elite, made up of the *optimates* (nobles), Arian clergy, and warriors. The so-called *sortes Vandalorum*, probably public lands in Africa Proconsularis, were provided by Gaiseric to the warriors. The Vandal kings reserved for themselves and their family similar allotments (probably former imperial estates) in Byzacena and eastern Numidia. Relations between the Vandals and the Roman-African population were sometimes strained. Some properties belonging to the Roman-African elite were seized, forcing the latter to seek refuge in western Numidia, Mauritania, Italy, and the East. Nevertheless, the Vandals maintained elements of the Roman administrative and political infrastructure, including the imperial cult. The *Latin Anthology* also attests to the encouragement by late Vandal kings of Latin literary culture. Relations between the Arian Vandals and the Orthodox African church were frequently hostile, although periods of toleration are known. The MAURI tribes initially cooperated with the Vandals and even fought together with them in some overseas campaigns, but Vandal military weakness in the late 5th C. contributed to the emergence of autonomous Mauri chiefdoms in Numidia and Byzacena.

The period of Vandal hegemony in Africa shows much continuity with the late Roman period. African grain, oil, and wine, although no longer linked to the ANNONA, were still exported in considerable quantity to Spain, Gaul, and the eastern Mediterranean. While there is a noticeable lack of civic building activity in African cities under the Vandals, this trend probably began in the 3rd C. In general the Vandals were too few in number to offer a serious cultural alternative to Roman-African civilization; they were thus being slowly assimilated at the time of Justinian I's invasion of Africa. The pretense for the invasion was Gelimer's deposition and murder of Huneric, the grandson of Gaiseric and Valentinian III. The end of the kingdom came with the fall of Carthage in 533. Vandal prisoners of war were organized into cavalry regiments known as the *Justiniani Vandali* and stationed in the East, where they disappear from history.

LIT. C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris 1955). Pringle, *Defence* 9–22. N. Duval, "Culte monarchique dans l'Afrique vandale," *REAug* 30 (1984) 26–73. F.M. Clover, "Carthage and the Vandals," *Excavations at Carthage Conducted by the University of Michigan* 7 (Ann Arbor 1982) 1–22. C. Bourgeois, "Les Vandales, le Vandalisme et l'Afrique," *AntAfr* 16 (1980) 213–28. –R.B.H.

VARANGIANS (Βάραγγοι), Norsemen or VIKINGS in the Byz. army; from the late 11th C. the term also refers to Anglo-Saxons (J. Shepard, *Traditio* 29 [1973] 53–92). The term is first encountered in Byz. sources with reference to events of 1034 (Skyl. 394.71–5) and then in documents exempting monasteries from billeting Varangians on their property. Scandinavians had been coming via Rus' to serve in Byz. from at least the early 10th C. The Varangians are often linked to or conflated with the RUS' (Rhos), or else they are designated "Tauroscythians" or "axe-bearers." Basil II organized them into a TAGMA in 988, when some 6,000 were sent by VLADIMIR I of Kiev for use against Bardas PHOKAS. Over the next two centuries the Varangians were prominent both in field armies and esp. in their role as a palatine corps in Constantinople with quarters in the Great Palace and (under the Komnenoi) at the Mangana and Blachernai palaces. The Varangian guard was elite, expensive to join, notoriously loyal (e.g., An.Komn. 1:92.12–17), and distinctive in physical appearance (cf. Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.507), dress, and weaponry, and in its traditional code of discipline. Its officers held standard palatine ranks (e.g., the *spatharokandidatos* HAROLD HARDRADA), but its commander (AKOLOUTHOS) is thought normally to have been a Greek. There were churches of the Varangians dedicated to the Virgin in Constantinople, Crete, and near Taranto.

LIT. S. Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, revised by S. Benedikz (Cambridge 1978). G. Schramm, "Die Waräger: osteuropäische Schicksale einer nordgermanischen Gruppenbezeichnung," *Die Welt der Slaven* 28 (1983) 38–67. –S.C.F., A.C.

VARDAN VARDAPET ("teacher"), Armenian scholar, born 1200 or 1210 in Greater Armenia (hence his frequent title *Arewelc'i*, "the Easterner"), died 1271 at monastery of Xor Virap. He is noted for a universal history, biblical commentaries, a study of grammar, and a brief *Geography*. He spent some years in Jerusalem and Cilicia. After 1243 he taught in numerous monasteries in Greater Armenia.

Vardan's *Historical Compilation* traces the fortunes of Armenia from the creation of the world to 1267. Although primarily based on earlier Armenian sources, it is of particular value for the history of Greater Armenia in the 12th–13th C. under Georgian and then Mongol domination. Ecclesiastical relations between the Greek and Armenian churches interest Vardan, but he otherwise pays little attention to Byz.

ED. *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean*, ed. L. Alishan (Venice 1862). Partial Fr. tr. in J. Muyldermans, *La domination arabe en Arménie, extrait de l'Histoire Universelle de Vardan* (Louvain 1927). H. Berbérian, *Aŝxarhac'oyc' Vardanay Vardapeti* (Paris 1960). Fr. tr. in J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, vol. 2 (Paris 1819) 406–71.

LIT. M. Brosset, "Analyse critique de la Vseobščaja istorija de Vardan," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St. Petersbourg*[7] 4.9 (1862) 1–30. R.W. Thomson, "Vardan's *Historical Compilation* and its Sources," *Muséon* 100 (1987) 343–352. –R.T.

VARDARIOTAI (Βαρδαριῶται), an ethnic (or possibly territorial) group that probably received its name from the river Vardar. The name first appears in an episcopal *notitia* of the 10th C. as a bishopric "of Vardariotai or TOURKOI" in the diocese of Thessalonike (*Notitiae CP*, no.7.308). The origin of the Vardariotai is unclear: pseudo-Kodinos (pseudo-Kod. 182.4–10) notes that they "were 'Persians,' whom the emperor [Theophilos, according to Gy. Moravcsik] transferred and settled on the Vardar"; their language was "Persian" (210.7–8). Despite this direct evidence, it has often been assumed that the Vardariotai were Hungarians. They formed a police corps under the command of a *primikerios* and probably replaced the MANGLABITAI (Oikonomides, *Listes* 328, n.241). They wore red uniforms and "Persian" headgear called *angouroton*, with a whip at their belt as a symbol of their function. A 13th-C. historian (Akrop. 131.26–30) relates that the Vardariotai accompanied the emperor to his military camp, and in a charter of 1195 there is a signature of a representative of a *sebastos* and *primikerios* of the Vardariotai, Constantine Taronides (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.56.31), or rather Taronites, whose service was connected with the sea.

The seals of at least two *vardarioi* of Thessalonike are known; one of them, Kosmas (10th–11th C.), was at the same time *kommerkiarios* and *protonotarios*. If *vardarioi* were somehow linked to Vardariotai, it reveals quite a different activity of these imperial guardians.

LIT. R. Janin, "Les Turcs Vardariotes," *EO* 29 (1930) 437–49. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:86f. V. Laurent, "Ho Bardarioton etoi Tourkon," in *Sbornik v pamet na prof. Petŭr Nikov* (Sofia 1940) 275–88. G. Konidares, "He prote mneia tes episkopes Bardarioton Tourkon," *Theologia* 23 (1952) 87–94, 236f. –A.K.

VARNA, ancient Odessos ('Οδησσός), city on the west coast of the Black Sea. Odessos prospered in the 4th–6th C. as indicated by numerous surviving inscriptions that were made by military officers, clergymen, merchants, and craftsmen (V. Beševliev, *IzvNarMus-Varna* 19 [1983] 19–34). There are remains of two Roman baths, a 4th-C. basilica with a mosaic floor, and two large Byz. churches, as well as a 6th-C. basilica outside the urban area. Coins of Herakleios were found in Odessos, but the city was burned in the 7th C., probably by the Avars and/or Slavs. Bulgars did not settle at Odessos, but in its vicinity, to which Theophanes gives the name Varna, whose etymology (possibly Slavic) is unclear. In the following centuries Varna is mentioned as a geographic name: the river of Varna (*De adm. imp.* 9.100) or the coast of Varna (Skyl. 433.28–29). In 971 John I Tzimiskes conquered the region. The fortress of Varna on a cliff overlooking the sea was built by the Byz. probably in the 11th or 12th C. In the 12th C. it was a port (V. Gjuzelev, *IzvIstDr* 28 [1972] 318f) and an important defensive base, with considerable urban development. Although Isaac II Angelos rebuilt the fortifications of Varna (Nik.Chon. 434.22), KALOJAN recaptured the city from the Byz. in 1201. In the 13th–14th C. it was the major port of the Second Bulgarian Empire, through which grain was exported in Venetian and Genoese ships (E. Todorova, *IzvNarMus-Varna* 18 [1982] 79–85; 21 [1985] 25–41). In 1389 the Ottoman Turks captured Varna; in 1399 TATARS from the Golden Horde sacked it. In 1444 a united Christian army was defeated by the Ottomans near Varna (see VARNA, CRUSADE OF).

LIT. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria* 49–56, 223–33, 323–33. V.I. Velkov, *Roman Cities in Bulgaria* (Amsterdam 1980) 245–49. V. Beševliev, "Iz starata istorija na Varnensko," *IzvNarMus-Varna* 16 (1980) 121–25. A. Kuzev, V. Gjuzelev, *Bŭlgarski srednovekovni gradove i kreposti*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1981) 293–310. D. Dimitrov, "Varna i bliskata i okolnost prez VII–IX v.," *IzvNarMus-Varna* 18 (1982) 55–77. –R.B.

VARNA, CRUSADE OF. As a result of the Crusade preached by Pope Eugenius IV in 1440, a predominantly Polish-Hungarian army of about 25,000 men—led by HUNYADI, *voivode* of Transylvania, King VLADISLAV III JAGELLO of Hungary and Poland, and GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ of Serbia—advanced in 1443–44 into the Balkans, where they won some significant victories over the Turks. Consequently MURAD II agreed to a ten-year truce with the Christians, which was ratified at Szegedin in July 1444. When Murad withdrew his troops, however, the Crusaders, with the exception of Branković, broke their oath (F. Pall, *BSHAcRoum* 22 [1941] 144–58; *Balcania* 7 [1944] 102–20) and attacked the Ottomans at VARNA on 10 Nov. 1444. After some initial success, the Christians were defeated and Jagello was killed.

The Crusade of Varna was the final attempt of Western Crusaders to stem the Ottoman conquest and preserve the Byz. capital of Constantinople. After the failure of the expedition, Emp. John VIII was forced to send congratulations and presents to the sultan. The battle is described in some detail by Doukas (Douk. 275.20–277.15) and CHALKOKONDYLES (ed. Darkò, 2:98–110), whose accounts are supplemented by a contemporary vernacular poem, written between 1456 and 1461 (N.G. Svoronos, *Athena* 48 [1938] 163–83). It is preserved in two versions, one by an eyewitness, Zotikos Paraspondylos (who is hostile to John VIII), the other, slightly later, by George Argyropoulos.

SOURCE. Gy. Moravcsik, *Hellenikon poiema peri tes maches tes Barnes* [= *Oungroellenikai meletai*, vol.1] (Budapest 1935).
LIT. M. Chasin in *HC* 6:276–310. O. Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna* (New York 1943). A. Hohlweg, "Der Kreuzzug des Jahres 1444," in *Die Türkei in Europa*, ed. K.-D. Grothusen (Göttingen 1979) 20–37. B. Tsvetkova, *La bataille mémorable des peuples* (Sofia 1971), esp. 322–66. –A.M.T.

VASMOULOS. See GASMOULOS.

VASPURAKAN (Βαασπρακανία, Βαασπρακάν, Ἀσπρακανία, etc.), district in southeast ARMENIA identified by this name only after the Byz.-Persian partition of the country in 591; it was first overrun by the Arabs in 653. Gradually dominated by the house of Arcruni, Vaspurakan reached its zenith under Gagik-Xač'ik Arcruni (908–43/4) who was crowned by the Muslims in opposition to the BAGRATID king Smbat I and eventually recognized by Byz. as well. During his reign, the balance of power in Armenia shifted to Vaspurakan. In 924, Gagik gave asylum to the historian JOHN V KATHOLIKOS, who fled to him from the Muslims, and the primates of Armenia remained in Vaspurakan until 961. Gagik also built the Church of the Holy Cross next to his palace on the island of AŁT'AMAR in Lake Van. His successors, however, failed to maintain the unity of his kingdom. Threatened by the Dailamite precursors of the Seljuks, the last Arcruni king, Senekerim-Yovhannes, ceded Vaspurakan to Basil II in 1021/2 in exchange for Sebaste and domains in Cappadocia. As part of the 11th-C. Byz. expansion to the east, the kingdom of Vaspurakan with some additional territories became the Byz. catepanate of Basprakania (Asprakania) with its center at Van; it served as the bulwark of the empire in the southeast until the Turks overran it after 1071. The archbishop of Vaspurakan at Ałt'amar, however, kept his see and proclaimed himself *katholikos* in 1113, a claim his see maintained until 1895.

LIT. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "Fema Vaspurakan (territorjal'nyj sostav)," *Vestnik obščestvennych nauk Arm. AN* 9 (1974) 92–99. M. Thierry, "Notes de géographie historique sur le Vaspurakan," *REB* 34 (1976) 159–73. S. Der Nersessian, *Aght'amar, Church of the Holy Cross* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). –N.G.G.

VATATZES (Βατάτζης, fem. Βατατζίνα), a noble Byz. lineage known from ca.1000, when a certain Vatatzes moved from Byz. to Bulgaria (Skyl. 343.74). Vatatzes lived in Macedonia, where he probably possessed estates. In the 11th–12th C. the family occupied important military positions: the *megas domestikos* John in the late 12th C.; the *domestikos* of the East, Basil (later, the *domestikos* of the West); *doux* of the West, Nikephoros; governors of various regions (Bulgaria, Thrakesion, etc.). John's father (perhaps Theodore) was granted the high title of DESPOTES. The Vatatzai married with the BRYENNIOI, KOMNENOI, and ANGELOI. In 1047 John Vatatzes supported the rebellion of Leo TORNIKIOS; the Vatatzai were loyal to the Komnenoi but fought against Andronikos I and perhaps against the Angeloi. JOHN III VATATZES became emperor of Nicaea and was succeeded by his son THEODORE II (who assumed his mother's name, LASKARIS) and grandson JOHN IV LASKARIS. Driven from the throne by the PALAIOLOGOI, the Vatatzai were still important up to the mid-14th C. when John, *stratopedarches* and *protokynegos*, was governor of Thessalonike (died 1345).

The name Diplovatatzes ("Double Vatatzes") was used at least from the second half of the 13th C. for those who had Vatatzes ancestors on both sides. The romance of BELISARIOS listed them among the upper crust of the aristocracy. A certain Diplovatatzina was the mistress of Michael VIII Palaiologos; Alexios Diplovatatzes is known as *sebastos*, *megas hetaireiarches*, and landowner in 1307–10.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 106–11. F. Barišić, "Jovan Vatac, protokinig," *ZbFilozFak* 11.1 (1970) 283–87. *PLP*, nos. 2512–25, 5506–16. –A.K.

VATOPEDI MONASTERY, sometimes called Batopedion (Βατοπέδιον, lit. "Bramble-bush valley"), located at the midpoint of the northeast coast of the Mt. ATHOS peninsula. Since the rich archives of the monastery have only been partially published, the early history of the monastery is still obscure. One legend, evidently fantastic, attributes its foundation to Emp. Theodosios I; another, closer to reality, says that in the mid-10th C. three *archontes* from Adrianople—Athanasios, Nicholas, and Antony—came to Athos and at the urging of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS restored a ruined monastery. The first documentary evidence is an act of the *protos* Paul of 985 on which the signature of Nicholas, *hegoumenos* of Vatopedi, is the last among the *hegoumenoi* (*Ivir.* 1, no.7.5 and 63). In 996, however, another *hegoumenos* of Vatopedi, Nikephoros, signed the act of the *protos* John ahead of all the other *hegoumenoi* (*Lavra* 1, no.12.25). Thereafter Vatopedi ranked with IVERON in second place in the Athonite hierarchy, just after Lavra. Vatopedi played an important role in the development of Hesychasm after the young Palamas took the monastic habit there.

By the end of the 13th C. Vatopedi had become a major landowner. A chrysobull of Andronikos II of 1292 lists several villages in the theme of Serres, *metochia* and *monydria* in various places (e.g., in Thessalonike), a fair (*panegyris*), an enclosure for cattle, a parcel of land "with beautiful trees," and the island Amoliane among the properties of Vatopedi (ed. Regel, *infra*, no.1). As a result of this ownership Vatopedi was involved in litigation with other monastic institutions, such as ESPHIGMENOU (e.g., L. Maurommates in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:308–16). From the end of the 12th C. onward the influx of Slavic monks to Vatopedi became significant: in the 1190s SAVA OF SERBIA stayed in Panteleemon and Vatopedi before building his own cell in Karyes. In Apr. 1230 John Asen II gave Vatopedi a Slavic chrysobull granting the monks a village near Serres (M. Andreev, *Vatopedskata gramota* [Sofia 1965]). STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN and JOHN UGLJEŠA also conferred upon Vatopedi sundry privileges (M. Lascaris, *BS* 6 [1935–36] 166–85). In Oct. 1393 Constantine Dragaš, Serbian ruler of Melnik, donated a *monydrion* of the Pantanassa to Vatopedi (V. Laurent, *REB* 5 [1947] 171–84).

The library is particularly rich in Byz. MSS, containing over 600 codices, including some rare geographical works by Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pausanias, two illuminated Psalters (codd. 760, 761: Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, nos. 15, 54), and a fragment of a richly illustrated OCTATEUCH.

Mosaic decoration on both the exterior and interior of the church includes a Deesis, two Annunciations, and a bust of St. Nicholas (G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos* [Paris 1927] pls. 1–4) variously ascribed to the 11th, early 12th, and 14th C. Frescoes in the church are dated by inscription to 1312 but heavily restored (ibid., pls. 81–94). Vatopedi is distinguished for its mosaic icons (Furlan, *Icone a mosaico*, nos. 24–25) and was the source of the miniature mosaic of St. John Chrysostom now at Dumbarton Oaks (O. Demus in *DOP* 14 [1960] 109–14). A. Grabar (*Revêtements*, no.25) hypothesized that the monastery housed a workshop making gold and silver icon frames in the early 14th C. Among the many panels so treated are the so-called "Dolls of Theodora" (icons of Christ and the Virgin, ibid. no.32) and one of the Hodegetria, presented by an otherwise unknown woman named Papadopoulina in honor of her sister (ibid. no.21). Other treasures include a silver reliquary depicting St. Demetrios defending Thessalonike (A. Grabar, *DOP* 5 [1950] 1–3) and a jasper cup said to have been given by the *despotes* MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS.

SOURCE. W. Regel, *Chrysoboulla kai grammata tes en to Hagio Orei Atho hieras kai sebasmias megistes mones tou Batopediou* (St. Petersburg 1898). M. Goudas, "Byzantina grammata tes en Atho hieras mones tou Batopediou," *DChAE* 3 (1926) 35–45. Idem, "Byzantiaka engrapha tes en Atho hieras mones tou Batopediou," *EEBS* 3 (1926) 113–34; 4 (1927) 211–48. G.I. Theocharides, "Hoi Tzamplakones," *Makedonika* 5 (1959) 125–83. M. Lascaris, *Actes serbes de Vatopedi* (Prague 1935).

LIT. D. Papachryssanthou in *Prot.* 91. F. Dölger, "Chronologisches und diplomatisches zu den Urkunden des Athosklosters Vatopedi," *BZ* 39 (1939) 321–40. S. Eustratiades and Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924). S. Eustratiades, *Sympleroma hagioreitikon katalogon Batopediou kai Lauras* (Paris 1930).

–A.K., A.M.T., A.C.

VAULT (*κρυπτή*), a ceiling or roof of brick, stone, or concrete built on the principle of the ARCH. In Byz. architecture vaults were constructed of brick, using the pitched-brick masonry technique, and occasionally ribbed. Types of vaults employed were (1) the barrel, or tunnel, vault, constructed of a single layer of bricks, slightly pitched, laid across the axis of the vault and set in thick beds of mortar; (2) the cloister, or domical, vault, composed of four, eight, or twelve curved surfaces or segments in the form of a DOME; (3) the groin, or cross, vault, created by the interpenetration at right angles of two barrel vaults of equal diameter and height, with the lines of intersection (groins), forming a diagonal cross. In general, Byz. vaults were not built with great care or skill and exhibit many irregularities.

LIT. J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Notes on the Structure and Building Methods of Early Byzantine Architecture," in *Great Palace, 2nd Report* 52–104. F.W. Deichmann, *Studien zur Architektur Konstantinopels* (Baden-Baden 1956) 38–40. Ch. Bouras, *Byzantina staurotholia me neuroseis* (Athens 1965).

–M.J.

VAZELON MONASTERY, also called Zaboulon, located on a cliff face on Mt. Zaboulon, about 45 km southwest of Trebizond. Dedicated to St. John the Baptist, the monastery of Vazelon (*Βαζελών*) was, according to legend, founded in the 3rd C., destroyed by the Persians in the 5th or 6th C., and restored by Belisarios in the 6th C. The first reliable historical data about Vazelon does not appear, however, until the 13th C. when the GRAND KOMNENOI of Trebizond became generous benefactors of the monastery.

The 180 surviving Byz. documents from Vazelon (dating from the 13th to 15th C.) provide valuable information on the topography of the MATZOUKA region and social and economic conditions; for example, they describe a mixed agriculture, in which a variety of crops was grown, including wheat, fruits, nuts, and olives. The acts of Vazelon, to a greater extent than those of ATHOS, include private charters, such as the wills of individuals and transactions between peasants (A. Bryer in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Ottoman Society* [Birmingham–Washington, D.C., 1986] 5f, 53–86).

Like SOUMELA, Vazelon had a sacred cave; virtually nothing remains of its Byz. buildings on account of massive reconstruction in the 19th C. The exception appears to be a small, barrel-vaulted chapel of St. Elias (Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 289–94).

SOURCES. Acts—F.I. Uspenskij, V.V. Beneševič, *Vazelonskie akty* (Leningrad 1927).

LIT. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 350–70. S. Ballance, A. Bryer, D. Winfield, "Nineteenth-Century Monuments in the City and Vilayet of Trebizond," *ArchPont* 30 (1970) 289–98. Janin, *Églises centres* 283–86.

–A.M.T.

VEGETABLES. See HORTICULTURE.

VELBUŽD (*Βελεβούσδιον*), ancient Pataulia, modern Küstendil, city and fortress in southern Bulgaria. It first appears under its Slavic name in the 11th C. as a bishopric of Justiniana Prima (*Notitiae CP*, no.13.836, 850). Seals of several bishops of Velbužd have survived (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, nos. 1501–02; 5.3, no.2019; Zacos, *Seals* 2.1, no.676).

Velbužd is best known as the site of a battle on 28 July 1330 in which the Serbian ruler STEFAN UROŠ III DEČANSKI and his son Stefan Dušan won a victory over a Byz.-Bulgarian coalition led by Emp. Andronikos III and MICHAEL III ŠIŠMAN. In spring 1330 Andronikos and Michael had formed an alliance against the growing power of the Serbs, a coalition strengthened by new family ties between the two rulers: in 1326 Michael had repudiated his wife Anna-Neda, sister of Stefan III Dečanski, and their three sons, in order to marry Andronikos's sister Theodora, widow of Michael's predecessor THEODORE SVETOSLAV. Then Andronikos invaded Serbian territory at the head of several thousand mercenaries. The Serbian army was about 15,000 strong, including some German and Spanish mercenaries; the Bulgarians assembled about the same number of men. When the Byz. and Bulgarian armies began to march toward each other, Stefan III made a surprise attack on Michael at Velbužd, in order to prevent a rendezvous. The Serbian king totally destroyed the Bulgarian forces; Michael was wounded, taken captive, and soon died. Stefan III then forced Andronikos to retreat to his frontier.

The Serbian victory at Velbužd was a turning point in Balkan history, leading to Serbian domination of Macedonia. Stefan III signed a peace treaty with the Bulgarians whereby they were forced to install his nephew Ivan Stefan on the Bulgarian throne (1330–31), together with his mother Anna-Neda. The way was open for Stefan Dušan's penetration into Macedonia.

LIT. Fine, *Late Balkans* 271–74. A. Burmov, "Istorija na Bŭlgaria prez vremeto na Šišmanovci (1323–1396 g.)," *Izbrani proizvedenia* 1 (Sofia 1968) 256–64. *VizIzvori* 6:336 n. 130.

–J.S.A.

VELJUSA MONASTERY, located in the village of Veljusa near Strumica in Macedonia. The monastery was dedicated to the Virgin of Mercy or Theotokos Eleousa; Veljusa is a Serbian form of the Greek Eleousa. An inscription over the door to the church informs us that it was built in 1080 by Manuel, bishop of Tiberioupolis (Strumica). Manuel, formerly a monk on Mt. AUXENTIOS, also built a modest monastic complex to house ten monks. He provided them with a *typikon* (composed between 1085 and 1106), in which he emphasized a cenobitic way of life, the absolute autonomy of the monastery, and extraordinary privileges and independence for the *hegoumenos*. Admission was restricted to those 18 or older. The monastic property, originally quite limited, grew in the 12th C. thanks to the patronage of the Komnenian dynasty. An inventory dated to 1449, records the treasures of the monastery and the 68 volumes in the library, primarily liturgical. In the early 13th C., probably under the Bulgarian tsar JOHN ASEN II, Veljusa came under the control of the IVERON MONASTERY on Athos, where most documents relating to Veljusa are still preserved today, including its 14th–15th-C. cartulary.

The church was built by Manuel, probably as his mausoleum if, as Miljković-Pepek supposes, an arcosolium in the narthex is the *ktetor*'s tomb. The church is a domed tetraconch, like the chapel adjoining it to the south, and built of a mixture of brick and fieldstone, plastered to simulate cloisonné masonry. The interior has an opus sectile floor and a finely carved templon, reconstructed in the restoration of 1968–69. An enthroned Virgin and Child dominates an iconographical program that includes four hierarchs attending the Hetoimasia (see LAST JUDGMENT) and such relatively rare subjects as the Ancient of Days (see CHRIST: Types of Christ) in the narthex cupola and the manifestation of Christ in Glory to St. Niphon, bishop of Constantiniae, depicted in the south chapel. Miljković-Pepek dates this and the paintings in the naos, choir, and narthex to 1085–93, while attributing frescoes in the south porch and exonarthex to painters who also worked at NEREZI.

SOURCE. L. Petit, "Le monastère de Notre-Dame de Pitié en Macédoine," *IRAIK* 6 (1900–01) 1–153.

LIT. P. Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa: Manastir Sv. Bogorodica Milostiva vo seloto Veljusa kraj Strumica* (Skopje 1981). V. Laurent, "Recherches sur l'histoire et le cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Pitié à Stroumitsa," *EO* 33 (1934) 5–27.

–A.M.T., A.C.

VELUM (*βῆλον*), a Latin term meaning "curtain." Curtains played an important role in imperial ritual, courtiers being obliged to wait in front of the *velum* while the emperor prepared for certain ceremonies (Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 55f). According to the 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 131.16–18), the DEUTEROS was responsible for care of *ta bela* of the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS in the Great Palace. The word *vela* also designated the groups of dignitaries who entered the ceremonial halls together. In the context of the Hippodrome *velum* has been interpreted as awning, flag (R. Guilland, *Speculum* 23 [1948] 676–78), or curtain.

A special group of JUDGES, *kritai tou belou*, functioned in Constantinople from the 10th C. onward; the first mention is in the TAKTIKON of Escurial of 971–75. According to Balsamon, they formed a college of 12. V. Gardthausen (*BNJbb* 3 [1922] 342–50) considered them as umpires in the horse races at the Hippodrome; in reality they formed one of the highest tribunals. The name probably originates from the place of their meetings behind a curtain at the Hippodrome. The office seems not to have survived after 1204, al-

though some lists of offices of the 14th C. continue to mention it, and in the early 15th C. John Argyropoulos named a certain Katablattas judge of the *velum* (P. Canivet, N. Oikonomides, *Diptycha* 3 [1982–83] 63.502). An inferior category of judges were the so-called *kritai* of the Hippodrome; the distinction between the two groups is not always clear.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 322f. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:438–65. –A.K.

VENICE (Βενετία), Italian port city built on islands and lagoons in the north Adriatic. According to legend, it was officially founded on 25 March 421; the earliest reliable information, however, is from the period of the Lombard invasion of the late 6th C., when the region provided sanctuary for many refugees. The territory was administered by a *magister militum* under the command of the exarch of RAVENNA; the ecclesiastical authority over the region belonged to the bishop of AQUILEIA and later GRADO. When Ravenna fell to the Lombards in 751, Venice remained under the jurisdiction of Constantinople; an attempt by the Franks to conquer Venice in 810 failed, and the treaty of Aachen between the two empires recognized Venice as a Byz. province. Venice was governed by local nobles (*tribuni*) under the supervision of a Byz. official (*doux*), whose functions were gradually taken over by local officials, doges, who were granted Byz. titles (e.g., *spatharios*) and paid by Constantinople. The first local bishopric appeared sometime between 780 and 790 on the island of Olivolo, as a counterbalance to Grado; the first head of the diocese bore the Greek name Christopher. Five new bishoprics were created in the area in the 9th C.

Venetian independence from Constantinople was slowly attained during the 9th C. Under Doge Peter Tribuno (888–920) Venice was proclaimed a *civitas*; the translation of the relics of St. MARK from Alexandria in 828 contributed to the development of a local pride and sense of identity. The major factor in the growth of Venice was its role as a maritime power whose fleet was active in the struggle against the Arabs in the Adriatic Sea. Veneto-Byz. contacts are attested in the 9th and 10th C.: according to the *Chronicon Venetum* the Venetian doge Orso II (864–81) sent 12 BELLS to Constantinople, thus introducing their use in Byz.; Venetian ships brought Western ambassadors to Constantinople; its merchants sold slaves to Greeks (prohibited in 960) and bought garments that, in the words of Liutprand of Cremona, "were worn by Italian harlots and conjurers." In his chrysobull of 992 Basil II provided the Venetians with special privileges that could not be extended to Jews or inhabitants of Amalfi and Bari traveling on Venetian ships. Alexios I Komnenos granted the Venetians another chrysobull, probably in 1082 (the dates of 1083 and 1092 are also suggested—O. Toma, *BS* 42 [1981] 171–85): they received certain properties in Constantinople and customs exemptions in various cities of the empire, CORINTH and HALMYROS being the ports they visited most frequently.

In 1171 Manuel I Komnenos expelled the Venetians from Constantinople. Even though negotiations for a reconciliation began soon thereafter, relations remained tense: not all Venetian property was restored and compensation payments were still continuing under the Angeloi; Venice was apprehensive not only of the direct actions of the emperor but also of the danger of pirates in Byz. waters and of competition from the other Italian republics, esp. PISA but also GENOA. The Fourth CRUSADE created a convenient opportunity for Venetian intervention in Byz. affairs: having first destroyed the harbor of ZARA, Doge Enrico DANDOLO cleverly diverted the crusade against Constantinople. The Venetians profited most from the conquest of the Byz. capital in 1204: in accordance with the terms of the PARTITIO ROMANIAE they received CRETE, numerous cities in Thrace and Propontis, including LAMPSAKOS on the eastern shore of the Sea of Marmara, KORONE and METHONE in the Peloponnesos, and properties in Constantinople. Some territories were occupied not by Venice as a state but by semi-independent Venetian knights. They were also awarded special trading privileges. A Venetian, THOMAS MOROSINI, was elected patriarch of Constantinople. Venetian attempts to encroach upon the eastern coast of the Adriatic (Dyrrachion, Kerkyra, etc.) failed, however.

The role of the Venetians in the occupation of Constantinople, their active participation in plundering the Byz. capital, and their seizure of vast territories made both the empire of Nicaea and the state of Epiros hostile toward the Italian republic. Michael VIII Palaiologos gained the support of Venice's rival, Genoa, in his war against the LATIN EMPIRE. The period from 1261 to ca.1328 was one of an unstable truce between Byz. and Venice, interrupted by a number of clashes of varying severity. From 1328 onward Byz. sought a balance of power between Genoa and Venice, often leaning toward an alliance with Venice. John V and Manuel II effected a pro-Venetian policy. In the 14th–15th C. the Venetians were active in trade in Constantinople (see BAILO; BADOER, GIACOMO) and penetrated the Black Sea (including Trebizond), competing there with the Genoese. They established trading colonies in Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor. The growth of Ottoman power should have prompted a policy of unity and cooperation between Byz. and the Italian republics, but it was difficult to realize; thus in 1376 the Genoese and Venetians were at war over TENEDOS; exploiting the weakness of the Byz., Venice was granted Thessalonike in 1423 but was able to hold it only until 1430, when the Turks captured the city. During the final years of the empire, Venice received with honor two Byz. emperors—Manuel II and John VIII—but its military aid to Constantinople remained minimal. Cardinal BESSARION bequeathed to Venice in 1468 his collection of Greek MSS, which became the nucleus of the Bibliotheca Marciana.

LIT. *Le origini de Venezia* (Florence 1964). D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice* (Cambridge–New York 1988). F. Thiriet, *Études sur la Romanie greco-vénitienne* (London 1977). Idem, "Die venezianische Wirtschaftspolitik im byzantinischen Reich," *BBA* 52 (1985) 109–18. M. Martin, "The Venetians in the Byzantine Empire before 1204," *ByzF* 13 (1988) 201–14. Lilie, *Handel und Politik*. –A.K.

Monuments of Venice. The monument in Venice most strongly influenced by Byz. art and architecture is the Church of S. Marco. The will of Doge Justinian Partecipacius (died 829) decreed the foundation of a church to house the relics believed to be those of St. Mark. Burned in 976 and repaired, the first church was replaced by Doge Domenico Contarini (1042–71). Sixteenth-century sources date the start of construction to 1063 and state that the chief architects came from Constantinople. The relics of St. Mark were installed in the new crypt in 1094.

The early 12th-C. *Translatio Sancti Nicolai* notes that S. Marco was "of the same artful construction as the church of the Twelve Apostles in Constantinople" (O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice* [Washington, D.C., 1960] 90). By copying the Justinianic Church of the HOLY APOSTLES, the patron may have intended to express S. Marco's unique association with the doges (comparable to the association of the prototype with the Byz. emperors), or its status, like that of the Holy Apostles, as an *apostoleion*. At S. Marco the distinctive original plan, a freestanding cross with five domes, was enlarged by annexes (north and west porches and a baptistery) around the western cross arm. The façades were decorated with columns, capitals, and reliefs taken from Constantinople in the sack of 1204. Other booty exhibited includes four bronze horses from the Hippodrome, formerly displayed above the west porch; porphyry tetrarchs, possibly from the Philadelphion, immured outside the treasury; and the so-called Acre pillars, probably from St. POLYEUKTOS. The treasury contains many priceless works of art, mostly looted from Constantinople. Byz. objects were also acquired by gift or purchase, including the earliest parts of the PALA D'ORO and a bronze DOOR of ca.1080 inside the west porch.

Like its Constantinopolitan model, S. Marco was decorated with figural mosaics, mostly by local craftsmen. As at MONTECASSINO, the craft was introduced by artists from Constantinople; unlike Montecassino, the local workshop thus established never died out. Mosaic-making was virtually continuous at S. Marco from the late 11th through the 14th C., with changes in style echoing those in Byz. Demus identifies repeated waves of Byz. influence, which he attributes to the use of Byz. MODEL-BOOKS and to the occasional interventions of visiting Byz. mosaicists. But the work is diverse and many other sources came into play. A most interesting example is the decoration of five small cupolas in the west and north porches with scenes copied from the Late Antique Cotton GENESIS, presumably acquired in 1204.

LIT. Demus, *Mosaics of San Marco*. F.W. Deichmann, et al., *Corpus der Kapitelle der Kirche von San Marco zu Venedig* (Wiesbaden 1981). *Treasury S. Marco*. –D.K.

VERGIL (Publius Vergilius Maro), Roman epic poet; born 70 B.C., died 19. Vergil remained popular in the late Roman Empire: the 4th-C. grammarian Servius compiled a Latin commentary on Vergil. The poet was also known in the East; Egyptian and Palestinian papyri of the 5th and

6th C. contain more fragments of and glossaries to Vergil than to any other Roman poet. According to CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS, Vergil's statue was placed in the Baths of ZEUXIPPOS. Directly or indirectly Vergil influenced late antique EPIC poets, such as QUINTUS OF SMYRNA and possibly TRIPHIODOROS and NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS. In his *Speech to the Assembly of Saints*, Constantine I—following LACTANTIUS (*Divine Institutes* 7.16–25)—quoted and analyzed Vergil's *Fourth Eclogue* as a prophecy of the birth of Christ. JOHN LYDOS referred not only to Vergil but also to Servius's commentary. Malalas (Malal. 216.3–6, 285.5–11) quotes the *Aeneid*, book 4, vv. 302–03, and identifies Vergil as a "wise Roman poet" who wrote on the fall of Troy and the story of Dido and Aeneas. B. Baldwin (*Hermes* 111 [1983] 127f) found another vestige of Vergil in PROKOPIOS OF GAZA.

Vergil achieved the status of the canonical Latin poet, and the word *birgilios* acquired in hagiography the meaning of "the wisest" (V. Peri in *ItMedUm* 19 [1976] 1–40). From the period of the 4th to 6th C. two elaborately illuminated codices survive, the "Vatican Vergil" (Vat. lat. 3225), devoted to the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* (*Vergilius Vaticanus* [Graz 1984]) and the "Vergilius Romanus" (Vat. lat. 3867), somewhat cruder than the first MS but including illustrations to the *Eclogues* (*Picturae Ornamenta Complura Scripturae Specimina Codicis Vaticani 3867* [Rome 1902]).

The *Souda* and *Geoponika* contain many references to Vergil; thereafter he is mentioned infrequently (e.g., by Tzetzes and Holobolos). Unlike OVID, Vergil was neither translated nor imitated by the late Byz. There is no direct connection between Vergil and the *Idyll* of PLANOUDES (*Maximi Planudis Idyllium*, ed. F.M. Pontani [Padua 1973] 6, n.12). Further, an anonymous idyll published by J. Sturm (*BZ* 10 [1901] 433–52) belongs to the 16th, not the 15th C.

LIT. *Enciclopedia virgiliana* (Rome 1984–). B. Baldwin, "Vergil in Byzantium," *AntAb* 28 (1982) 81–93. A. Meschini, "Per il Virgilio greco: Le 'Bucoliche' tradotte da D. Halsworth," *Orpheus* 5 (1984) 110–14. P. Courcelle, "Les exégèses chrétiennes de la quatrième éclogue," *REA* 59 (1957) 294–319. G. d'Ippolito, *Trifiodoro e Vergilio* (Palermo 1976). E. Rosenthal, *The Illuminations of the Vergilius Romanus* (Zurich 1972). –P.A.A., A.K., A.C.

VERINA (Βερίνα), more fully Aelia Verina, wife of Leo I, whom she married before 457; died fort of Papyrios (Paperon), Isauria, ca.484. She bore Leo two daughters, ARIADNE and Leontia, and a son (name unknown) who died in infancy in 463 (G. Dagron, *AB* 100 [1982] 271–75). After Leo's death in Jan. 474 Verina expected to rule as the grandmother of the minor Leo II, while Zeno, the husband of Ariadne and father of Leo II, was proclaimed emperor. Leo II, however, died in Nov. 474, and Verina, disappointed in her expectations, began to intrigue against Zeno. She wanted to replace him with her paramour, the *magister officiorum* Patrikios, whom she planned to marry. She sought assistance from her brother BASILISKOS, but he deceived her, received the crown himself, and executed Patrikios. Verina then conspired for the return of Zeno (476); the actual government fell to his supporter ILLOS. Verina and Ariadne plotted against Illos but in vain. Verina was exiled to Tarsos and forced to become a nun. In 479 Marcian, the son of ANTHEMIOS and husband of Verina's daughter Leontia, revolted against Zeno, as if resenting Zeno's treatment of his mother-in-law; he nearly overthrew the emperor. In 482 Ariadne convinced Zeno, and through him Illos, to liberate her mother, but in 484 Verina joined Illos in Tarsos as he revolted against Zeno and proclaimed his ally LEONTIOS as emperor. In the ensuing war Illos was defeated and Verina died. The Verina presented as a witch in the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI (ch.89) is perhaps the wife of Leo I.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 8 (1958) 1546–48. Bury, *LRE* 1:335, 390–98. –T.E.G.

VERNACULAR, the spoken language of everyday communication. Byz. literature was dominated by ATTICISM. The language spoken by all classes in day-to-day use, which differed from the literary language in MORPHOLOGY, vocabulary, and SYNTAX, is attested between the 6th and 12th C. in occasional verbatim quotations by historians and chroniclers; in subliterary texts such as popular hagiography, legal documents; occasionally in personal names and place names; and—until the 8th C.—in PAPYRUS letters and other documents from Egypt. All these are liable to show the influence of the literary language. In the 12th C. occasional sustained attempts to imitate spoken Greek in literature (e.g., by PTOCHOPRODROMOS and Michael GLYKAS), attest to a new interest in the vernacular, which is also displayed by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE in his Homeric commentaries. Virtually no vernacular texts survive from the turbulent 13th C.

Only in the early 14th C. does a body of literature in vernacular Greek appear, with a greater or lesser admixture of learned elements. This comprises ROMANCES of chivalry, pseudo-historical poems on ALEXANDER and BELISARIOS, the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA and the CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO, satirical beast FABLES, short religious poems, poems by Stephen SACHLIKES, and a recension of DIGENES AKRITAS. These poems are composed in a fairly uniform language, with many alternative forms but few local dialect features. This points to the existence, at least in the cities, of a common vernacular Greek. Ottoman rulers of the 14th through 15th C. used this common language in their diplomatic correspondence with Byz. emperors. Few vernacular poems can be dated precisely. Some are adapted, or even translated, from Western models, but Western influence should not be exaggerated. This literature, which aimed largely at entertainment, owes more to relaxation of linguistic rigor by the educated than to literary ambitions of the less educated. Prose literature, and indeed all "serious" writing, remained the preserve of the learned tongue. Apart from the *Chronicle* of Leontios MACHAIRAS and one or two other texts in Cypriot dialect, the only prose work showing marked vernacular features is the *History* of DOUKAS.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur*. B. Knös, *Histoire de la littérature néo-grecque* (Stockholm 1962). Jeffreys, *Popular Literature*. E.M. & M.J. Jeffreys, "The Style of Byzantine Popular Poetry: Recent Work," in *Okeanos* 309–43. M.J. Jeffreys, "The Literary Emergence of Vernacular Greek," *Mosaic* 8.4 (1975) 171–93. H. Eideneier, "Leser- oder Hörerkreis? Zur byzantinischen Dichtung in der Volkssprache," *Hellenika* 34 (1982–83) 119–50. G. Böhlig, "Das Verhältnis von Volkssprache und Reinsprache im griechischen Mittelalter," in *Aus der Byzantinistischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, ed. J. Irmscher, vol. 1 (Berlin 1957) 1–13. T.V. Popova, *Vizantijskaja narodnaja literatura* (Moscow 1985). –R.B.

VEROLI CASKET. See CASKETS AND BOXES.

VERONA LIST, conventionally called *laterculus Veronensis*, a short list compiled in 297 or some time later and preserved in a 7th-C. MS, now in the library of the cathedral in Verona. It contains an enumeration of 12 Roman dioceses established by Diocletian's reform, from Oriens to Africa, with indication of the provinces of each diocese. It is supplemented by catalogs of barbarian tribes under the power of the emperor; of tribes in Mauretania; and of *civitates* (cities?) located beyond the Rhine.

LIT. T. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 5 (Berlin 1908) 561–88. –A.K.

VERRIA. See BERROIA.

VERSINIKIA (Βερσινικία), a battle site north of Adrianople near modern Malamirovo (V. Beševliev, *XI Congrès international des sciences onomastiques* [Sofia 1972] 1:128). In response to attacks by the Bulgarian Khan KRUM, in May 813 Emp. Michael I led into Thrace a large army drawn from various themes. At Versinikia the Byz. and Bulgars clashed on 22 June. The Macedonian and Thrakesian troops, led by the general John Aplakes, successfully attacked the Bulgarian flank but were eventually overwhelmed when the other Byz. forces retreated. The Bulgars, fearing a trap, at first hesitated and then routed the fleeing soldiers. Michael retreated to Constantinople, where he was deposed three weeks later. Many scholars suspect that treachery induced the Byz. defeat, since the Anatolikon troops reportedly were the first to flee (*Script.incert.* 336.14–339.18) and their general subsequently became emperor (Leo V).

LIT. Bury, *ERE* 349–52. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:266–70. Beševliev, *Geschichte* 251–54. –P.A.H.

VESPERS (ἑσπερινός), an evening liturgical service to thank God for the day's graces and seek his pardon for one's sins. With ORTHROS, one of the two original major HOURS to open and close the day, vespers was celebrated at sundown, the lamplighting hour, whence its alternate name *lychnikon*. As at *orthros*, the basic symbol was LIGHT, the evening lamp being a symbol of Christ, the light of the world.

The vespers service in the ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA of Constantinople opened with variable PSALMODY, followed by Psalm 140 with a TROPARION, the entrance of the patriarch, a responsory, and three ANTIPHONS. The service concluded with a LITANY, three LECTIONS on some days, a *troparion*, and dismissal (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:xxii–xxiii; 2:305f).

In the hybrid urban-monastic service that re-

sulted from the gradual introduction of Palestinian monastic vespers into Constantinople (see SABAITIC TYPIKA), elements from the Palestinian HOROLOGION were combined with elements of the cathedral vespers of Constantinople (*asmatikos hesperinos*). In the final Sabaitic *typika*, this hybrid vespers could take three forms: "daily" vespers; "Great Vespers," with an introit, on days when there was Great DOXOLOGY at *orthros*; and "Little Vespers," celebrated only in some monasteries, this being an abbreviated vespers before some feasts to close the day before initiating the festive VIGIL with Great Vespers.

LIT. M. Arranz, "L'office de l'Asmatikos Hesperinos ('vêpres chantées') de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," *OrChrP* 44 (1978) 107–30, 391–412. Idem, "Les prières sacerdotales des vêpres byzantines," *OrChrP* 37 (1971) 85–124. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 361–65. –R.F.T.

VESSELS (*σκεύη*, also sing. *docheion*, *angeion*, etc.). Vessels could be distinguished according to their function into LITURGICAL VESSELS (PATEN, CHALICE, *thalassa*), ornamental vases, and domestic UTENSILS; according to their material into those made of gold, silver, bronze, tin, iron, stone, glass, CERAMIC, or fabric; and according to their form. Niketas Choniates gives manifold terms for vessels: *pithos*, large jar or barrel; *amphoreus*—AMPHORA; *hydrochoos* or *hydreion*, vessel for holding water, bucket; *gaulos*, milk-pail; *louter*, bathing-tub; *tryblion* and *lopas*, dish (can be used generically for "vessel"); *lebes*, caldron; *chytra*, earthen pot; *krater*, *lekanis*, *plynos*—basin or bowl; *oinochoe*, vessel for wine; *kaddion*, small pitcher; *kissybion*, rustic drinking-cup; *kondy*, *kotyle*, cup; *poterion*, *ekpoma*, *skyphos*, drinking-cup, used also for chalice; *kylix*, *kypellon*, beaker, goblet; *askos*, *thylakos*, skin bag, wineskin; *kaneon*, *kophimos*, *kyrtos*, *sargane*, basket; *amis*, chamber pot. Vessels (esp. amphoras) were sometimes used in construction, particularly for erection of VAULTS; amphoras filled with sand and cement were employed to repair city walls (N. Cambi, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 63–64 [1961–62] 145–50). Bowls and plates were also used on walls as CERAMIC ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION. –A.K.

VESTARCHES (*βεστάρχης*), title first mentioned in the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escurial, originally applied to the eunuch-*patrikios*. In the 11th-C. hierarchy it occupied a place between the MAGISTROS and VESTES. Several high-ranking generals held this title: Michael BOURTZES (Skyl. 483.8), Nikephoros MELISSENOS (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2697), BASILAKES (no.2691), probably the future emperor Nikephoros III (no.2686), and the future emperor Romanos IV (Attal. 97.8). It was also conferred on some officials of lower status such as the *kritai* (judges) of the VELUM (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, nos. 14 and 188) and even SYMPONOS (no.340). Michael PSELLOS was granted this title as well. It was probably devalued at the end of the 11th C. when the title of *protovestarches* was given to judges and notaries (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.48A.197–99). *Vestarches* was in use at the beginning of the 12th C. (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.56.29) but seems to have disappeared soon thereafter.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 299f. Dölger, *Beiträge* 35. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 153f. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 225–28, 286f. –A.K.

VESTES (*βέστης*), title first mentioned under John I Tzimiskes, who is said to have exiled "Nikephoros the *vestes*" (Skyl. 284.12). This was not Nikephoros Ouranos (as Dölger, *Beiträge* 35) but the son of Leo Kouropalates. Dölger also suggested that the *vestes* was identical with the VESTARCHES; they were, however, distinct. Thus the seal of Nikephoros Botaneiates, *doux* of Edessa, calls him *magistros*, *vestes*, and *vestarches* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2686). In the 11th C. *vestes* was a high title conferred on prominent generals such as Isaac Komnenos, the *stratopedarches* of the East (no.2680), and Leo TORNIKIOS (Attal. 22.8), often combined with the title of *magistros* (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, no.76). The 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escurial distinguished bearded *vestai* who were at the same time *magistroi* or *patrikioi* from eunuch *vestai* who were *praipositoi* (see also Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no.53). At the end of the 11th C. *vestai* were lower-ranking officials, such as the imperial ANTHROPOS Peter (*Lavra* 1, no.48.7) or the notary John Karianites (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.48A.200). The title *protovestes* appeared at the same time (e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.48G.236); it was conferred among others on a certain John "the Rhos" (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, no.69). Neither *vestes* nor *protovestes* seems to have survived the reign of Alexios I. The alleged connection between *vestes* and the service of the imperial VESTIARION has no support in the sources, despite their common etymology.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 294. J. Ebersolt, "Sur les fonctions et les dignités du Vestiarium byzantin," in *Mél. Diehl* 1:87f. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 229–36, 287. –A.K.

VESTIARION (*βεστιάριον*), state warehouse and treasury, sometimes described as *basilikon* and rarely *mega* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 161.12). The CHARTOULARIOS of the *vestiarion* is mentioned in the 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij; some seals of the *chartoularioi* of the imperial *vestiarion* are dated by Laurent to the 8th C. (*Corpus* 2, nos. 688–91). The *vestiarion* was planned as an institution parallel to the SAKELLION, as an arsenal to supply the fleet and the army and to store precious goods; the distinction, however, was not consistent, and the *vestiarion* dealt also with money. Basil I built two structures close to the Pharos, one called *thesaurophylakeion*, another *vestiarion* (*TheophCont* 336.10–11); various payments had to be received in equal parts by the *sakellion* and the imperial *vestiarion*. The staff of the *vestiarion* included notaries, *mandatores*, *archon* of the CHARAGE, and several officers (KENTARCHOS, LEGATARIOS, and so on), whose functions are obscure.

After the 12th C. the *vestiarion* became the only state treasury, and the archaic word *tameion* referred only to it. Evidence for the emperor's private *vestiarion* is insufficient: e.g., imperial notaries of the *vestiarion* who together with (their?) PRIMIKERIOS took care of precious vessels after the imperial banquet (Oikonomides, *Listes* 277.1–4) are indistinguishable from imperial notaries under the *chartoularios* of the *vestiarion* and could be state officials; nor are the *archontes* of the imperial *vestiarion* in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 227.27) radically different from the *sekretikoi*, *chartoularioi*, and notaries who precede them.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 27–31. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:353–81. J. Ebersolt, "Sur les fonctions et les dignités du Vestiarium byzantin," in *Mél. Diehl* 1:81–89. –A.K.

VESTIARIOS (*ὁ βεστιαρίου*, *βεστιάριος*), according to a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 186.18–23), a special treasurer: when the emperor set off on a naval expedition the *vestiarios* followed him in a ship that carried the VESTIARION. In the hierarchical list he comes after the PROKATHEMENOS of the *vestiarion* and was probably his assistant. The *vestiarios*, sometimes called imperial *vestiarios* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1891), is known on seals from the 7th C. (no.1433). Schlumberger (*Sig.* 623) dated the seal of the *vestiarios* Epiphanios Artabasdos to the time of the Komnenoi. The seals do not clarify the functions of the *vestiarios*. The title of one of the epigrams of Theodore of Stoudios equates *vestiarioi* with tailors (*Jamben*, ed. P. Speck [Berlin 1968], no.15); the origin of this title is, however, unclear. The word is rare in documents; in 1337 the emperor's *oikeios*, the *vestiarios* Kyr Manuel, possessed lands which were eventually transferred to the monastery of Docheiariou (*Docheiar.*, no.18.16–17).

LIT. J. Ebersolt, "Sur les fonctions et les dignités du Vestiarium byzantin," in *Mél. Diehl* 1:87, n.5. A. Failler, "L'eparque de l'armée et le bestiariou," *REB* 45 (1987) 199–203. –A.K.

VESTIARITES (*βεστιαρίτης*), imperial bodyguard, according to a 12th-C. historian (An.Komn. 1:152.2), who calls *vestiaritai* the courtiers closest (*oikeioteroi*) to the emperor. The first known *vestiarites* was Iberitzes in 1049 (Sathas, *MB* 5:197.2). They are mentioned in chrysobulls from 1074 onward, often together with MANDATORES. According to N. Oikonomides (*TM* 6 [1976] 129), they replaced the MANGLABITAI. In the 13th C. *vestiaritai* acquired fiscal functions such as the levy of soldiers and wagons (MM 4:251.7); they served under the command of the DOMESTIKOS of the Eastern themes as arbiters of conflicts concerning property (Dölger, *Beiträge* 31). They existed at least through 1387. The chief of the *vestiaritai* was called *primikerios* of the *vestiaritai* (Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 218–20) and probably from the 13th C., *protovestiarites*, a position different from the PROTOVESTIARIOS; he occupied a lower rank on the hierarchical ladder of the 14th C. (Guilland, *Institutions* 2:203–11).

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 160. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XV (1967), 3–10. Oikonomides, *Listes* 297, n.57. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:589. –A.K.

VESTIOPRATES (*βεστιοπράτης*), merchant of luxury garments (and some fabrics?, e.g., BLATTIA), primarily of SILK but also of fine linen (*Bk. of Eparch*, ch.9, par.1). The term, unknown before the 9th C., derives from the Latin *vestis*, used by Malalas (Malal. 322.21) in the form *bestion* to designate clothing handed out to the population of

Constantinople together with charitable distributions of bread, wine, and meat. According to the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.4), the *vestiopratai* formed a guild that dealt in garments produced domestically, as opposed to the PRANDIOPRATAI who handled Syrian textiles. They acquired their goods either from the *archontes* of workshops (ARCHONTES TON ERGODOSION) or from *serikopratai*, silk merchants.

The activity of *vestiopratai* was rigorously controlled by the eparch: they could not purchase garments costing more than 10 nomismata without the eparch's knowledge and were strictly forbidden to sell to foreigners certain materials, esp. purple stuffs; the so-called *blattia* could be bought and sold only under the eparch's supervision. *Vestiopratai* were also assigned certain state functions: for the emperor's processions to Hagia Sophia they were responsible for decorating the Tribounalion (a hall in the Great Palace, on the way from the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS to CHALKE) with *blattia* and other precious textiles, while the ARGYROPRATAI displayed gold and silver vessels (*De cer.* 12.19–21). The 9th-C. seal of the *vestioprates* Constantine is probably connected with his official duties. The term was not used after the 10th C., except in the corrupted form of *bestoprotes* on a 13th-C. seal.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 31f. *Bk. of Eparch* 148–56. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:338f. –A.K.

VESTITOR (*βεστίτωρ*), courtier of modest rank known from seals beginning in the 6th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 395, 582). According to the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, the *vestitores* belonged to the category of SENATORS and together with SILENTIARIOI stood under the command of the EPI TES KATASTASEOS. A 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.* 305.14–15) reports that they helped the PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI dress the emperor, while a 9th-C. historian (Theoph. 226.19–20) indicates that they were in charge of the imperial crown. On seals from the 8th C. onward, they are called predominantly imperial *vestitores* and in the 9th C. they often combine their title with the duty of the *protonotarios* of a theme (e.g., Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, nos. 210, 233; Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1937 and others) or *kommerkiarios* (vol. 1, nos. 2671A, 3168). The term was in use as late as the 10th C., when an anonymous teacher addressed letters to two *vestitores* (R. Browning, B. Laourdas, *EEBS* 27 [1957] 170, 185).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 25. Dölger, *Beiträge* 35. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 236f. –A.K.

VESTMENTS, LITURGICAL. See ENCHEIRION; EPIGONATION; EPIMANIKIA; EPITRACHELION; OMOPHORION; ORARION; PHELONION; POLYSTAURION; STICHARION.

VETERINARY MEDICINE. See HIPPIATRICA.

VICAR (*βικάριος*, from Lat. *vicarius*), deputy, representative, or lieutenant, applied primarily to the heads of DIOCESES as deputies of the PRAETORIAN PREFECTS. The diocesan vicars were identical with *agentes vices* (M. Arnheim, *Historia* 19 [1970] 593–603) and, together with their symbols of office, they appear in illustrated copies of the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM. In some dioceses the heads had different titles, such as *praefectus Augustalis* of Egypt and *comes* of Oriens. The vicar's functions were vague, and his position intermediary, between the governor and prefect: he held the right of appeal, as well as partial control over jurisdiction, tax collection, and the *cursus publicus* (see DROMOS). The vicar had no military functions. His staff was headed by a *princeps*. The office disappeared with the collapse of the diocesan system; Justinian I transferred some financial functions from the vicar to the praetorian prefect, and litigants preferred to appeal to the prefect rather than the vicar (Jones, *LRE* 1:281).

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 8 (1958) 2015–44. –A.K., A.C.

VICES (sing. *κακία*). By the term *vice* one understands a certain habitually evil disposition, a weakness and inclination to do evil, an explicit predisposition to individual SINS. Vice as such cannot coexist in man together with the opposing VIRTUE. A man of vice, however—so long as other virtuous inclinations are present—can still perform other good works in place of, or next to, the chief sin. Eastern monasticism developed Origen's doctrine of eight vices (systematized by EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS), which later in the West was shortened by Pope Gregory the Great to seven vices (the seven deadly sins). Other enumerations failed to gain acceptance. Opinions vary concerning the pre-Christian origins of this doctrine. The eight vices or sins are: gluttony, fornication, avarice, despair, anger, sloth, vainglory, and arrogance. This system of vices was developed for monks, with listing of categories of special temptations instigated by DEMONS, and then applied to laymen.

LIT. I. Hausherr, "L'origine de la théorie orientale des huit péchés capitaux," *OrChrAn* 30 (1933) 164–75. S. Wenzel, "The Seven Deadly Sins: Some Problems of Research," *Speculum* 43 (1968) 1–22. A. Vögtle, "Woher stammt das Schema der Hauptsünden?" *ThQ* 122 (1941) 217–37. –G.P.

VICINA (*Βιτζίνα*, called Disina by al-Idrīsī), a city in the delta of the Danube, cited in a variety of sources. According to PORTULANS, it was a major port in the 13th–14th C. It is listed as a metropolis in the episcopal *notitia* of Michael VIII. The district of Vicina formed a Byz. enclave in the empire of the Tatars, probably granted to Michael VIII by his son-in-law and ally NOGAY. The Tatars conquered Vicina in 1337/8. The earlier history of Vicina is obscure. It is first mentioned by Anna Komnene as being occupied by some Pecheneg chieftains.

The exact location of Vicina has incited heated discussion: J. Bromberg (*Byzantion* 12 [1937] 178) places it between DOROSTOLON and CHILIA; E. Todorova (*EtBalk* 14 [1978] no.2, 134), between Carsium-Hîrşova and AXIOPOLIS; C. Giurescu (*Peuce* 2 [1971] 258), in NOVIODUNUM; P. Diaconu, in PĂCUIUL LUI SOARE; A. Kuzev (*EtBalk* 13 [1977] 121), in Ismail on the left bank of the river-branch Kilia; V. Beševliev (*IzvNarMus-Varna* 21 [1985] 21f), at the estuary of the river Kamčija; etc.

LIT. G. Brătianu, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Alba* (Bucharest 1935). P. Năsturel, "Les fastes épiscopaux de la métropole de Vicina," *BNJbb* 21 (1971–74) 33–42. Idem, "Mais où donc localiser Vicina?" *ByzF* 12 (1987) 145–71. V. Laurent, "Le métropolite de Vicina Macaire et la prise de la ville par les Tartares," *RHSEE* 23 (1946) 225–32. –A.K.

VICTORIA. See NIKE.

VICTOR TONNENSIS, Latin chronicler, bishop of Tonnena (or Tunnuna) in Africa Proconsularis; died Constantinople after 567. Victor spent much of his life in Constantinople. A staunch Chalcedonian, in 543 he opposed Justinian I in the THREE CHAPTERS controversy, resulting in many years of imprisonment in various places ranging from the fortified monastery of Mandracion (near Carthage) to Alexandria. After trial in 556 the unrepentant Victor was confined to a monastery in Egypt, and in 565 at Constantinople. There he composed a world chronicle from Creation to 567, of which only the last part, from 444, written in formal continuation of Prosper of Aquitaine, survives. Its earlier perspective is mainly Eastern, with Africa understandably becoming more prominent as Victor reaches his own time; there is the same dichotomy between secular and ecclesiastical topics. Though often thin, chronologically unsound, and prejudiced on doctrinal issues, Victor's chronicle can be a valuable source on secular matters, offering, for example, unique information on the last days of the young Leo II (B. Croke, *GRBS* 24 [1983] 82f) and the death of Theodora, wife of Justinian I (J. Fitton, *Byzantion* 46 [1976] 119).

ED. Th. Mommsen, MGH *AuctAnt* 11:178–206.

LIT. S.T. Stevens, "Victor of Tonnena, a Chronicler of African Resistance," 11 *BSC Abstracts* (1985) 3f. Av. Cameron, "Byzantine Africa—The Literary Evidence," *University of Michigan Excavations at Carthage* 7 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982) 29–62. A.S. Kozlov, "Idejnopolitičeskaja napravlennost' chroniki Viktora Tunnunskogo," *ADSV* 23 (1987) 25–41. –B.B.

VICTOR VITENSIS, late 5th-C. bishop of Vita in BYZACENA and ecclesiastical historian. After refusing to attend the council of Arians and Orthodox at Carthage on 1 Feb. 484, Victor went into exile near Tripoli. There he composed his *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae* in Latin, publishing it ca.489. Its three books (five in the older editions) describe the Arian persecution of the Orthodox church in Africa under the Vandal kings GAISERIC and HUNERIC (477–84). Victor paints an often horrible picture of this period, with sickening emphasis on scenes of torture. His style is a strange blend of rhetoric and poeticisms mixed with gross syntactical errors. He provides, however, a contemporary, often eyewitness, account of 5th-C. Africa, made more valuable by his laudable habit of inserting official documents, for example, a list of Catholic bishops drawn from the *Notitia Africae* of 484. The *Passio septem monachorum*, describing the martyrdom of seven bish-

ops at Carthage, which is attached to the older editions, is now generally regarded as not by Victor.

ED. *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae*, ed. M. Petschenig (Vienna 1881). C. Halm, MGH *AuctAnt* 3.1.

LIT. C. Courtois, *Victor de Vita et son oeuvre: Étude critique* (Algiers 1954). H.J. Diesner, "Sklaven und Verbannte, Märtyrer und Confessoren bei Victor Vitensis," *Philologus* 106 (1962) 101–20. –B.B.

VIDIN (Βιδίνη), city and fortress on the Danube in northeastern Bulgaria. In Roman times, under the name Bononia, it was a fortress of secondary importance, probably abandoned in the 6th C. A Bulgarian city, Bdin (Vidin), arose on its site. From the 9th C. it was the seat of a bishop and under SAMUEL OF BULGARIA the capital of a province. Captured by Basil II in 1003, the city remained in Byz. hands after the reestablishment of Bulgarian independence in 1186/7. In the early 13th C. Vidin became the center of an independent Bulgarian principality under Prince Šišman and his son, and in 1323 was incorporated into the restored Bulgarian state. Situated in a frontier zone, it was repeatedly attacked by Hungarians and Serbs and was under Hungarian occupation in 1365–69. Later Vidin was the center of a semi-independent Bulgarian principality under Ottoman sovereignty. In 1396 BAYEZID I captured it. A revolt in 1408 expelled the Turks, who recaptured the city only in 1413. In 1444 Janos HUNYADI captured and burned Vidin. In the later 14th C. it was a center of Bulgarian culture; several manuscripts copied there survive. The existing fortress dates from the period of the Second Bulgarian Empire.

LIT. A. Kuzev, V. Gjuzelev, *Bŭlgarski srednovekovni gradove i kreposti*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1981) 98–115. Idem, "Prinosi kŭm istorijata na srednovekovnite kreposti po Dolnija Dunav, III," *IzvNarMuz-Varna* 4 (1968) 37–49. P. Nikov, "Istorija na Vidinskoto knjažestvo do 1323 g.," *GSU FIF* 18.8 (1922) 3–124. I. Božilov, "Zur Geschichte des Fürstentums Vidin," *BBulg* 4 (1973) 113–19. D. Polyvjannyj, "K istorii Vidinskogo despotstva v XIV veke," in *Rec.Dujčev* (1980) 93–98. V. Gjuzelev, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Königreiches von Vidin im Jahre 1365," *SüdostF* 39 (1980) 1–16. –R.B.

VIENNA GENESIS. See GENESIS.

VIGIL (*παννυχίς, παραμονή, ἀγρυπνία*), any night prayer or liturgical service involving sacrifice of sleep, or the eve of a FEAST, when FASTING and keeping vigil were customary. Liturgical vigils were adumbrated in the pre-Constantinian custom of private prayer at night and of keeping vigil before a martyrdom and at the tombs of martyrs. From the 4th C. onward, they were formalized in the daily nocturns or vigil (*mesonyktikon*) of the monastic HOURS and in occasional all-night vigils before days of EUCHARIST (Sundays and feasts), before BAPTISM, by the bier of the departed, or for special purposes, such as to counteract heresy.

Vigils were of varying length and structure. The *Typikon of the Great Church* mentions some types (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:285, 309, 311): nocturnal psalmody prefixed to ORTHROS; *pannychis,* comprising VESPERS with lections plus the *pannychis* proper (despite its name, the *pannychis* was not an all-night affair, but a brief service similar to APODEIPNON; it consisted of three ANTIPHONS and five prayers with their corresponding litanies); and *paramone,* a solemn vespers with lections celebrated on the eve of 15 feasts. The later SABAITIC TYPIKA kept the old Constantinopolitan *paramone* before Nativity and Epiphany, but inherited for other feasts the Palestinian monastic *agrypnia,* comprising vespers, the entire Psalter with all ten canticles, and Sabaitic *orthros.*

LIT. Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours*, esp. 165–213. Taft, "Mount Athos" 187f. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 358–70. –R.F.T.

VIGILIUS, pope (from 29 Mar. 537); born Rome before 500, died Syracuse 7 June 555. He was the scion of a senatorial family. In 536 Vigilius journeyed with Pope AGAPETUS I to Constantinople where he seems to have concluded an agreement with Justinian I's wife, the empress THEODORA, promising to soften Western opposition toward Monophysitism. When BELISARIOS captured Rome, the pro-Gothic pope Silverius (536–37) was deposed and replaced by Vigilius. His position between the Western clergy and Justinian (who claimed political power over the West) explains the pope's vacillation, as revealed esp. during the affair of the THREE CHAPTERS. After his arrest in Sicily during the liturgy (22 Nov. 545) and his transfer to Constantinople in Jan. 547, Vigilius tried to preserve the principles of the Council of CHALCEDON and at the same time—under pressure from Justinian—to accept, at least partially, the condemnation of the three "heretical" theologians. At first Vigilius excommunicated Patr. MENAS, but then he resumed his communication with the patriarch and on 11 Apr. 548 sent him his verdict accepting the condemnation of the Three Chapters. This decision raised such indignation in the West, however, that Vigilius was forced to withdraw his opinion; this change of mind led to a direct conflict with Justinian, and the pope fled to Chalcedon.

A reconciliation of emperor and pope in 552 was but partial, and Vigilius did not participate in the Second Council of Constantinople in 553. In fact he criticized the decisions of the council, and in the *Constitutum I* (14 May 553) rejected the condemnation of the Three Chapters, although he did condemn approximately 60 "erroneous" sentences in THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. In the *Constitutum II* (23 Feb. 554) he yielded to imperial pressure and revoked his previous defense of the Three Chapters. Thereafter Vigilius was allowed to return home, but died en route.

LIT. L. Duchesne, *L'église au VI^e siècle* (Paris 1925) 156–218. G. Every, "Was Vigilius a Victim or an Ally of Justinian?" *Heythrop Journal* 20 (1979) 257–66. P. Hildebrand, "Die Absetzung des Papstes Silverius (537)," *HistJb* 42 (1922) 213–49. –A.K.

VIGLA (*βίγλα*, from Lat. *vigilia*, "watch"). In Rome the term designated night guards, but from the 4th C. onward *vigiliae* were guards of all kinds in the army (R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung* [Berlin 1920] 225). Theophanes (Theoph. 307.26) speaks even of the *vigla* (sentinels?) of the Persian king Chosroes II. From the 8th C. onward, the term referred to the contingent of paramilitary troops assigned to protect the imperial palace. The word was used—interchangeably with *arithmos* in some *taktika* (Bury, *Adm. System* 60–62)—primarily in connection with the official called DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS. –A.K.

VIKINGS first came into contact with Byz. in the mid-9th C., initially as armed traders or plunderers, later principally as mercenaries. Three main groups are mentioned in Byz. sources: the Rhos (RUS'), the VARANGIANS, and the Koulpingoi (Russian *Kolbjagi*), most likely from Old Norse *Kylfingar*, which probably derives from *kylfa*, a staff or club. Kylfingaland in some Icelandic sources denotes Rus' (E. Mel'nikova, *Drevneskandinavskie geografičeskie sočinenija* [Moscow 1986] 131–38, 209–10). References to the latter two groups only begin in the 11th C. and in the second half of the century they are named in chrysobulls (e.g., those of Michael VII [March 1075] and Nikephoros III [May 1079]) as foreign units in the Byz. army. The distinction between the three terms is not always clear. It may be that *Varangian* and *Koulpingoi* came to denote specifically the army units, after the term *Rhos* had become ambiguous through association with the increasingly Slavicized rulers of RHOSIA. The Varjagi and Kolbjagi of Rus' texts exactly correspond to them (A. Sobolevskij, *VizVrem* 1 [1894] 460f). Viking tales of Byz. survive in SAGAS.

LIT. A. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica* (Aarhus 1953) 89–113. H.R. Ellis Davidson, *The Viking Road to Byzantium* (London 1976). –S.C.F.

VILLA, term designating a luxurious urban or rural mansion in the Roman Empire. Villas usually possessed an atrium, external portico, sometimes cisterns, swimming pools (if the villa was constructed near the seashore), and elements of fortification (esp. in remote provinces); FLOOR MOSAICS and BATHS are their most conspicuous remains. Late Roman villas are known in Antioch, Ephesus, Italy, and Sicily (e.g., PIAZZA ARMERINA), Africa, Gallia, and the Danubian provinces (Pannonia, Raetia, etc.). S.P. Ellis (*AJA* 92 [1988] 565–76) attributed the increasing elaboration of such structures in the 4th to mid-6th C. to the concentration of wealth in the hands of Roman aristocrats and the growing practice of conducting business from the home.

The term *villa* was also applied to the entire ESTATE. E. Štajerman (Schtajerman, *infra*) contrasts the villa based on slave labor with the *latifundium* that exploited the work of *coloni*; she views the replacement of the old, slave-oriented villa—by necessity modest in size—with great estates with prefeudal type of labor organization as one of the features of the crisis that befell the Roman Empire in the 3rd C. and finally led to its economic decline and political fall. It is questionable, however, whether this scenario is appropriate to Byz. in part because the slave-based villa was never common in the Roman east.

LIT. A.W. Van Buren, *RE* 2.R. 8 (1958) 2142–59. E.M. Schtajerman, *Die Krise der Sklavenhalterordnung im Westen*

des Römischen Reiches (Berlin 1964) 89–106. E.B. Thomas, *Römische Villen in Pannonien* (Budapest 1964).
–A.K., A.C.

VILLAGE, the geographic, economic, and administrative entity of the countryside designated in narrative sources by the classical term *kome* (typical also of Egyptian papyri) and by the new term CHORION.

The history of the village in the late Roman Empire is not well known; archaeological evidence indicates that, from the 4th C. in northern Syria, large-scale landowning declined as larger economic units were replaced by VILLAGE COMMUNITIES (Tchalenko, *Villages* 1:385), and from the 7th C. in the southwestern Crimea, village settlements flourished (A. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovye sel'skie poselenija Jugo-Zapadnoj Tavriki* [Leningrad 1970] 181). Villages seem to have been large, as is attested by terms such as METROKOMIA and *komopolis*. According to Laiou (*Peasant Society* 39–42), the 14th-C. Macedonian village contained an average of 33 households. The *Treatise on Taxation* distinguished three kinds of country sites (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 115.13–20): *chorion*, hamlet (*agridion*), and estate (PROASTEION). A village consisted of STASEIS; individually cultivated CHORAPHIA, vineyards, and gardens were located far from the KATHEDRA of the *chorion*, and documents mention roads and small paths leading to them or forming their boundaries.

A village could include streams; hills covered with forests; groves of chestnut, walnut, and other trees; sea and lake shores. The clearing of the woods and occupation of virgin lands allowed some households to move to remote areas of the village's property; first they formed dependencies closely connected with the maternal village, but later these could be transformed into independent *agridia*. On the other hand, various reasons led to the desertion of villages. Dependent villages could contain estates of several owners, secular and ecclesiastical, alongside tenements of free peasants, soldiers, etc. In theory villages were considered under the control of a local urban center, but it seems that in fact villages were free of urban control from the 7th C. At least in the 13th–15th C., some villages possessed PYRGOI for defense.

LIT. J. Lefort, "En Macédoine orientale au Xe siècle," in *Occident et Orient au Xe siècle* (Paris 1979) 251–72. K. Chvostova, "K voprosu o strukture pozdnevizantijskogo sel'skogo poselenija," *VizVrem* 45 (1984) 3–19. A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskoe sel'skoe poselenie," *VizVrem* 2 (1949) 215–44. H. Antoniadis-Bibikou, "Villages désertés en Grèce, Un bilan provisoire," *Villages désertés et histoire économique. XI^e–XVIII^e siècle* (Paris 1965) 343–417. –M.B.

VILLAGE COMMUNITY (*κοινότης τοῦ χωρίου*), a fiscal and legal unit made up of landowners usually living in a single VILLAGE. It was once commonly believed that the origin of the Byz. village community could be found in the importation of the alleged Slavic village community institution, later called the *mir*, into Byz. in the 7th C.; it is more likely, however, that the Byz. village community was an indigenous development arising from the crises in Byz. of the 6th–8th C., during which time the relative decline of the urban centers allowed increased autonomy among the villages. The village community included privately owned cultivated lands of the members, common lands (*koina topia*), and the dwellings found within the official *periorismos* ("delimitation of the boundaries") of the village community, while excluding property detached from the *periorismos*, such as *idiostata* and KLASMA, even if located within the "physical" village.

The village community is probably best thought of as a corporation (JURISTIC PERSON), a legal entity recognized as such by the state, that could intervene in the affairs of its members, administer and have CHRESIS of the properties of its members, make payments, sell property, and take part in legal suits (e.g., *Ivir.* 1, no.9). The members of the village community were usually free peasants (though it could indeed include wealthy landowners and ecclesiastical corporations) who had no restrictions on alienating, bequeathing, or abandoning their lands. They are commonly designated by the words *georgos*, "farmer," or *chorites*, "member of a CHORION." Frequently, however, the sources use vaguer, less specialized terms: *ktetor*, *kyrios*, and *kleronomos*, which emphasize the members' full ownership of their property; *convicanus*, *consors*, *synkleronomos*, *synchorites*, *homochoros*, and *plesiochoros*, which emphasize the close spatial proximity of the NEIGHBORS; *syntelestes*, *synteles*, *syntelon*, and *homokensos*, which emphasize their collective tax obligations, perhaps the most fundamental and distinguishing characteristic of the free village community (ALLELENGYON, EPIBOLE). The principle of joint tax liability, which made the members of the village community responsible collectively for the taxes of their defaulting fellow members, lasted at least until the 12th C.

The village community was the fundamental unit of Byz. taxation, and, thus, as 10th-C. legislation shows, the state was interested in maintaining its integrity. Nevertheless, the institutions of *klasma* and SOLEMNION weakened the village community by allowing DYNATOI to acquire more property within the village and thereby enervate the solidarity of the village community. Throughout the Byz. era it is possible to see aspects of the village community; even in the 13th–15th C., villages of PAROIKOI at times act as corporate bodies (e.g., MM 4:217–20, 6:212–14). As an economic and fiscal unit, the village community would often act collectively in defense against robbers, in a court trial with a neighboring village or a lord, in building a bridge or in a common feast (Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 180). The village had its (irregular?) assemblies, "rural courts," and *protogerontes*—elders who dealt with imperial officials, primarily tax collectors. Local priests and monks of small monasteries played an important organizational role in the life of the village community, as teachers, scribes-*nomikoi*, and leaders of religious ceremonies that frequently were connected with agrarian activity (rain magic, extermination of locusts, etc.).

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 18, 75–84, 93–108, 195–99. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 21–56. Ju. Vin, "Evoljucija organov samoupravlenija sel'skoj obščiny i formirovanie votčinnoj administracii v pozdnej Vizantii," *VizVrem* 43 (1982) 201–18. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, A. Guillou, "Vizantijskaja i postvizantijskaja sel'skaja obščina," *VizVrem* 49 (1988) 24–39. D. Górecki, "The Slavic Theory in Russian Pre-Revolutionary Historiography of the Byzantine Farmer Community," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 77–107. –M.B.

VILLANUS COMMUNIS. See VILLEIN.

VILLEHARDOUIN, GEOFFREY, French historian of the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204; born near Troyes before 1152, died between 11 Dec. 1212 and 1218. Prominent feudal officer of the counts of Champagne (marshal in 1185), one of six commissioners entrusted with negotiating the Fourth Crusade's transport to the East with the Venetians, Villehardouin played a key role in the conquest and subsequent governance and defense of Constantinople, where he became Marshal of Romania. Circa 1208 he began writing his Old French *Conquest of Constantinople*, which provides a detailed account of events from 1202 to 1207 from the Latin perspective and sheds light on the empire's historical geography, the topography and monuments of Constantinople (e.g., on the Jewish quarter of Galata [ch.159] and on a triumphal column [chs. 307–08]), ceremonies (ch.207, chs. 212–15), booty (ch.255), and other matters. His testimony on the cause of the diversion of the Crusade, that it was a series of accidents, has been judged not to be intentionally misleading (Queller, *Fourth Crusade* 10–16, 219f).

ED. *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral, 2 vols. (Paris 1938–39), with mod. Fr. tr. Eng. tr. M.R.B. Shaw, *Chronicles of the Crusades* (Baltimore 1963) 29–160.

LIT. J. Longnon, *Recherches sur la vie de Geoffroy de Villehardouin* (Paris 1939). J. Dufournet, *Les écrivains de la IVe croisade. Villehardouin et Clari*, 2 vols. (Paris 1973). C. Morris, "Geoffrey de Villehardouin and the Conquest of Constantinople," *History* 53 (1968) 24–34. K. Gagova, "Njakoi svedenija za istoričeskata geografija na Trakija u Žofrua de Vilarduen," *Vekove* 15 (1986) 48–53. –M.McC.

VILLEIN (Lat. *villanus*), the term for a dependent peasant used in the territories of Byz. conquered by the Latins. The Latins considered all indigenous population, both rural and urban, as villeins, with the exception of *archontes*, *archontopouloi*, and a few emancipated rank-and-file inhabitants. In Crete, which was under the direct authority of Venice, a specific category of villeins is attested, *villani Co⟨m⟩munis* (i.e., of the republic of Venice), who probably were descendants of the Byz. DEMOSIARIOI. They were in a slightly better economic and legal position and had a greater chance of being enfranchised than other villeins. The villeins of the Commune paid an annual tax, *villanzio*, and were forbidden to leave the land they held; they could not be transformed into the villeins of individuals, and the state could reclaim all the fugitive *villani Comunis*. The institution of the villeins of the Commune offers insight into Byz. agrarian history before 1204.

LIT. D. Jacoby, *HC* 6:207–14. F. Thiriet, "La condition paysanne et les problèmes de l'exploitation rurale en Romanie greco-vénitienne," *StVen* 9 (1967) 35–69, esp. 55f, 60–63. E. Santschi, *La notion de "feudum" en Crète vénitienne* (Montreux 1976) 172–78. –M.B.

VINEYARD (*ἀμπελών*, also *ampeloperibolion*). Together with the CHORAPHION, the vineyard was the most typical form of cultivated land in Byz., where bread and WINE constituted the main alimentary products. In 14th-C. Macedonia the majority of

peasants possessed vineyards: 83.7–92 percent according to N. Kondov (*EtBalk* 9 [1973] 69), 74–96 percent according to Laiou (*Peasant Society* 174). The size of the vineyards belonging to a single household varied (according to Kondov) between .5 and 22 *modioi*, but Laiou stresses as a basic fact of peasant life "the relatively equal distribution of vineyards" among a population economically unequal in other respects. Usually the vines were untrellised; farmers used vine props or trained the vines to wrap themselves around trees in GARDENS. In MSS such props are shown as simple forked wooden sticks (A. Bryer, *BSA* 81 [1986] 64f, 71, figs. 13, 14, 16). The cultivation of vines involved arduous work. The GEOPONIKA devoted five books (4–8) to vines and WINE PRODUCTION. It has been estimated that the yield of a 2-*modios* vineyard furnished a total of 820 liters of wine per year (M. Kaplan, *Klio* 68 [1986] 211).

Chvostova (*Osobennosti* 131) considers vineyards as lands of best quality, whereas Schilbach (*Metrologie* 242–44) distinguishes three categories of vineyards with respect to their quality. Both the price of and the rent from vineyards varied significantly.

The vineyard acquired an important role in biblical exegesis: it was a metaphor for the church, and neglect of the vineyard meant the loss of paradise.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:122–29, 280–95. T. Gal, "Vineyard Cultivation at Emek Harod and its Vicinity during the Roman-Byzantine Period," *Haaretz Museum Yearbook* 20/21 (1985/6) 129–38. N. Kondov, "Lozarstvoto po bŭlgarskite zemi prez srednovekovieto," *Gradinarska i lozarska nauka* 13 (1976) no. 1, 103–21. P. Topping, "Viticulture in Venetian Crete (XIII[th] C.)," *Pepragmena tou D' diethnous Kretologikou synedriou*, vol. 2 (Athens 1981) 509–20.
–J.W.N., A.K.

VIRANŞEHIR. See CONSTANTINA; MOKISSOS.

VIRGIN, TYPES OF. See VIRGIN MARY: Types of the Virgin Mary.

VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA (Βλαχερνίτισσα, Βλαχερνιώτισσα). Several different icons of the Virgin are known to have existed in the monastery of BLACHERNAI. There was a miraculous image of the Virgin and Child there in the 8th C. (vita of St. Stephen the Younger, PG 100:1076B, 1080AB); of the images housed there in the 10th C., only one is described in enough detail for us to be able to visualize it (*Der cer.* 555.8–10): in the imperial bath area near the chapel of St. Photeinos was a marble image of the Virgin from whose outstretched hands flowed the *hagiasma*, or holy water. An ancient painted icon of the Virgin was uncovered in 1030/1 during restoration work in the church undertaken by Romanos III Argyros; it was apparently the bust of the Virgin holding Christ (Skyl. 384.19–28; cf. E. Trapp, *JÖB* 35 [1985] 193–95). One of these Blachernai icons, was kept in the right side of the monastery church covered by a veil that miraculously lifted without human aid every Friday evening. This "habitual miracle" is not mentioned before the second half of the 11th C. or after 1204. Another Virgin icon known as the Blachernitissa regularly accompanied emperors on military campaigns during the 11th C. (Attal. 153.4–14).

Coins and seals of the 11th C. identify an *orans* figure of the Virgin, hands outstretched, as the Blachernitissa (W. Seibt in Oikonomides, *Sigillography* 50–54). A number of extant marble slabs repeat the type, probably echoing specifically the image at the imperial bath (the hands have been bored), though none is labeled (Lange, *Byz. Reliefikone* 43f). Thus it is very likely that the primary Blachernai image, perhaps a figure in the apse, was of this venerable type: a Virgin *orans* without Christ.

Another popular image (sometimes designated the VIRGIN PLATYTERA), an *orans* Virgin with the bust of Christ Emmanuel in a medallion before her chest, has also been associated in modern scholarly literature with the name Virgin Blachernitissa, but it is labeled as such on only one seal of the 11th C. It is called the Episkepsis on another seal, and this name, the Virgin Episkepsis, has been most recently adopted to designate the image. C. Belting-Ihm has proposed that what Romanos III uncovered was an old icon of the VIRGIN NIKOPOIOS, and that this image was subsequently merged at Blachernai with the *orans* type to form this new image, the Virgin *orans* with medallion (cf. also W. Seibt, *Byzantina* 13 [1985] 551–64). To complicate the issue further, a late 11th-C. icon at the monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai has an image of the Virgin labeled "the Blachernitissa" (Soteriou, *Eikones*, pl. 148) that depicts neither of the above types, but one we would ordinarily call a VIRGIN ELEOUSA.

LIT. C. Belting-Ihm, *"Sub matris tutelis"* (Heidelberg 1976) 50–56. V. Grumel, "Le 'miracle habituel' de Notre-Dame des Blachernes à Constantinople," *EO* 30 (1931) 129–46. M. Tatić-Djurić, "Brata slova: Ka liku i značenju Blachernitise," *ZbLikUmet* 8 (1972) 61–88. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN DEXIOKRATOUSA. See VIRGIN HODEGETRIA.

VIRGIN ELEOUSA (Ἐλεοῦσα). The epithet "compassionate" was applied to the Virgin from the 8th–9th C. onward, and was also attached with rather little consistency to a wide variety of her images (H. Hallensleben, *LCI* 3:170f). It is used today to designate one specific icon type: the image of the tender mother who bends her head to touch her cheek to the cheek of her child. Christ puts his arm around her neck; the Virgin may be either standing or seated. The image, which probably evolved from the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA, is known from the 10th C. (N. Thierry, *Zograf* 10 [1979] 59–70), perhaps even as early as the 7th C. (P. Nordhagen, *Bollettino d'Arte* 47 [1962] 351–53). It was particularly popular in the Komnenian period, perhaps owing to the contemporary Passion liturgy celebrating the mother's love for her son, both as a child and at his death. The 12th-C. imperial monastery of the PANTOKRATOR in Constantinople had a church dedicated to the Virgin Eleousa, but it is unknown whether its icon belonged to the type we would call Eleousa and thus contributed to the spread of the image. The best-known example of this type of Virgin is the VIRGIN OF VLADIMIR.

Images of this type may differ slightly in emphasis and bear a variety of names besides Eleousa (Virgin Episkepsis, Gorgoepekoos, Panton Chara, even VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA). The Virgin Pelagonitissa, named after a famous lost original somewhere in Pelagonia (Macedonia), perhaps of the 13th C., shows the Child almost from behind, throwing his head back and squirming to touch his mother's cheek with his hand. A Cypriot variant, the Kykkotissa, is thought to reproduce an icon given to the Kykkos monastery by Alexios I Komnenos. Here Christ also twists restlessly; he wears a short sleeveless chiton (cf. D. Mouriki, *DOP* 41 [1987] 406), and the Virgin wears an extra veil over her *maphorion*. In a particularly Cretan variant, the Virgin Kardiotissa, Christ stretches out both arms to embrace his mother. The term Glykophilousa is applied to the Eleousa image only in post-Byz. times.

LIT. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 167–73. V. Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," *ArtB* 20 (1938) 36–42. A. Grabar, "Les images de la Vierge de Tendresse," *Zograf* 6 (1975) 25–30. L. Hadermann-Misguich, "Pelagonitissa et Kardiotissa," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 10–16. P. Santa Maria Mannino, "La Vergine 'Kykkotissa' in due icone laziali del Duecento," in *Roma Anno 1300: Atti della IV Settimana di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Medievale dell'Università di Roma* (Rome 1983) 487–92. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN EPISKEPSIS. See VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA.

VIRGIN GALAKTOTROPHOUSA. See VIRGIN MARY: Types of the Virgin Mary.

VIRGIN GLYKOPHILOUSA. See VIRGIN ELEOUSA.

VIRGIN GORGOEPEKOOS. See VIRGIN ELEOUSA.

VIRGIN HAGIOSORITISSA (Ἁγιοσορίτισσα, lit. "the Virgin of the holy Soros"), an iconographic type in which the Virgin is depicted nearly in profile with both her hands extended out from her chest in prayer or entreaty, the very pose she assumes in DEESIS compositions. Sometimes the figure of Christ appears as a bust in the upper part of the composition, or he may occupy a corresponding panel, as when the two figures adorn the piers flanking the TEMPLON. The image probably reflects an original in a church with a holy SOROS, or reliquary chest, probably the Soros chapel in the Constantinopolitan monastery of BLACHERNAI rather than the Church of the CHALKOPRATEIA. The image bears the name Hagiosoritissa first on seals from the 1040s (W. Seibt in Oikonomides, *Sigillography* 48–50) and on coins from the 12th C.; it is closely related to the VIRGIN PARAKLESIS, except that the Virgin here does not carry a scroll. Images of this type also may be labeled the Virgin Paraklesis, Kecharitomene, or Episkepsis. (For ill., see next page.)

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, "Two Images of the Virgin in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP* 14 (1960) 78–81. T. Bertelè, "La Vergine Aghiosoritissa nella numismatica bizantina," *REB* 16 (1958) 233f. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN HAGIOSORITISSA. Relief of the Virgin Hagiosoritissa; marble, mid-11th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

VIRGIN HODEGETRIA (Ὁδηγήτρια), an icon of the Virgin known to have been housed, at least from the 12th C. onward, in the HODEGON MONASTERY in Constantinople. On special occasions it was taken in procession to other parts of the city: John II Komnenos requested that it be brought to the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY and kept overnight near his tomb on the days commemorating his death or that of his wife (P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 81.883–83.900); in 1187, it was taken up onto the walls to protect the city under siege (Nik.Chon. 382.57–58). How early this latter practice began remains unclear: in the *Triodion* account of the 7th-C. attacks on the city, it is assumed that the icon brought onto the walls at that time was that of the Virgin Hodegetria (PG 92:1352D), but 10th-C. accounts make only general reference to icons of the Virgin and Child (PG 92:1356D). The icon was kept in the Pantokrator monastery during the Latin occupation, but Michael VIII Palaiologos entered the capital in 1261 walking behind it, whereupon it was returned to the Hodegon. During the 14th C. it was regularly taken to the BLACHERNAI palace the Thursday before Palm Sunday, and remained there until Easter Monday. Two visitors to Constantinople in the Palaiologan period, CLAVIJO and TAFUR, witnessed a ceremony that took place at the monastery every Tuesday, attracting large crowds. Special bearers clad in red in turn carried the heavy icon, which was very large and covered with silver and jewels, out into the crowd. The icon was cut up into four pieces when the city fell in 1453. The popular tradition that the icon was painted by the Evangelist Luke is recorded no earlier than the end of the 12th C. (Mercati, *CollByz* 2:476, par.4).

In the image known as the Hodegetria, the Virgin holds the Christ Child on her left arm; she gestures toward him with her right hand while directing her gaze either at the viewer or off into the distance. Christ sits erect and comfortable in her arms, holding a scroll on his lap, and blessing with his right hand; he looks directly out of the picture. The type, which predates Iconoclasm, was frequently used on patriarchal seals from the 9th C.; the term Hodegetria is first associated with the image on 11th-C. seals (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 251–52; 5.2, no.1202). A variant, referred to as the Dexiokratousa, has the Virgin holding the Child on her right arm. Both versions may be used within a single church (e.g., in the mosaics of HOSIOS LOUKAS).

The Hodegetria was the most widely copied of all types of the Virgin. Certain images attempt to represent the actual icon: it appears in 14th-C. illustrations of the AKATHISTOS HYMN (A. Grabar, *CahArch* 25 [1976] 144–47) and in images of the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY (where it is supported by angel-bearers clad in red). A miniature in the Hamilton Psalter may also represent the icon itself (Belting, *Illum. Buch,* fig.1). Many replicas of the icon went on to perform miracles in their own right and were given new epithets; among them "Psychosostria" and "Peribleptos." The somewhat more sentimental VIRGIN ELEOUSA type grew out of the Hodegetria image, in which the balance between reserve and affection was always strictly maintained.

LIT. R.L. Wolff, "Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria," *Traditio* 6 (1948) 325–28. Janin, *Églises CP* 203–06. A. Grabar, "L'Hodigitria et l'Eléousa," *ZbLikUmet* 10 (1975) 3–14. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN HODEGETRIA. Panel of the Virgin Hodegetria; ivory, 10th C. Rijksmuseum het Catharijne convent, Utrecht.

VIRGINITY (παρθενεία) had two distinct aspects in Byz.: the physical virginity expected of women until their wedding night, and the spiritual Christian notion of complete sexual abstinence exercised by those who dedicated themselves to God. The first was required for a successful MARRIAGE. A husband could repudiate a nonvirgin bride but only on the first night (e.g., *Peira* 49.5); parents therefore kept their daughters closely chaperoned, though not always successfully. The second constituted a MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENT, as it deprived a husband of his conjugal rights. Ascetic men who lived with virgins or *parthenoi syneisaktoi* (a practice condemned by John Chrysostom, PG 47:495–532) or couples who lived as brother and sister renounced SEXUALITY altogether. But when THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR and his wife emulated this commitment to virginity, his father-in-law protested angrily at their failure to produce children (Theoph. 2:15–16). The early church maintained an order of virgins, and the vow of perpetual virginity was common among female ascetics. Basil the Great condemned the dedication of young girls to virginity solely in order to favor their brothers' inheritance, but Byz. parents regularly committed their sons and daughters to lives of CELIBACY. Saintly children also fled from arranged marriages in order to preserve their virginity. For female martyrs and devout Christians, the loss of virginity was considered a form of death.

LIT. P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York 1988). Brock-Harvey, *Women* 30f, 71, 165. Patlagean, *Structure,* pt.VIII (1969), 1353–69. A. Emmett, "Female Ascetics in the Greek Papyri," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 507–15. –J.H.

VIRGIN KARDIOTISSA. See VIRGIN ELEOUSA.

VIRGIN KECHARITOMENE. See VIRGIN HAGIOSORITISSA.

VIRGIN KYKKOTISSA. See VIRGIN ELEOUSA.

VIRGIN KYRIOTISSA. See VIRGIN NIKOPOIOS.

VIRGIN MARY, mother of Jesus Christ, *aeiparthenos* and THEOTOKOS in Greek terminology. The Gospels give little historical data concerning Mary

other than her betrothal to Joseph, the birth of Jesus, and her presence in Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jerusalem, at the miracle of CANA, and at her son's execution, when she stood beneath the cross and Jesus recommended her to his "beloved disciple." Matthew relates that Joseph, Mary, and the infant Jesus fled to Egypt from the persecutions of King Herod, while Luke dwells on the themes of ANNUNCIATION and VISITATION, John mentions her presence at the marriage at Cana and at the foot of the cross, and the Acts mention that she prayed with the Apostles. The scarcity of biographical detail in the New Testament was supplemented by the apocrypha, esp. the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, which depicts Mary as the daughter of Ioakeim of Nazareth and Anna of Bethlehem, who presented her to the Temple for upbringing and, at the age of 14, married her to Joseph. After Christ's Ascension she lived quietly in Nazareth, died with many miraculous signs, and was taken up into heaven (see DORMITION). Her life was also described in vitae by Maximos the Confessor, Epiphanios the Monk, Symeon Metaphrastes, and other authors, and in a number of homilies.

THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES. The focal point of Mary's history was the conception and birth of Christ, presaged by the Annunciation. The Cappadocian fathers emphasized not only the virginal birth of Christ but also Mary's perpetual virginity; Basil the Great (PG 31:1468B), while refuting EUNOMIOS, stated that, although only Mary's virginity at the time of the conception of Jesus is a binding dogma, he joined those *philochristoi* who believed that the Theotokos had never ceased to be a virgin. Cyril of Alexandria saw Mary's virginity as the basis for God's becoming the Father of all mankind (PG 75:1008B). Accordingly, church fathers considered the "brothers of Jesus" mentioned in the New Testament as Joseph's children from a first marriage. Jerome explained the usage of the term *adelphoi/adelphai* (brothers and sisters) of Jesus in Gospels as meaning "cousins" and connected "the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James and Joseph" (Mk 6:3) with a different Mary.

The problem of Mary's role in the process of SALVATION was hotly discussed in the 5th C.—was she only a vessel (a "channel") in which the Logos dwelled temporarily or was her action indispensable in the process of INCARNATION? Orthodox doctrine, as formulated by JOHN OF DAMASCUS (*Exp. fidei* 56.27–28, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:134), stressed the active role of Mary: Christ was born not *through* the woman but *of* the woman; from her he received his human nature, as he received his divine nature from the Father.

Mary's cult reflected social expectations of the poor and humble (J. Vogt, *VigChr* 23 [1969] 241–63), esp. of women. Many churches were dedicated to the Virgin, and several festival days were celebrated in her honor: the feast of the Annunciation on 25 Mar. instituted in the 6th C., and the feast of the Dormition on 15 Aug., established by Emp. Maurice. Liturgical hymns, esp. the AKATHISTOS HYMN, celebrate Mary's virginity.

Some attempts to discourage her veneration took place under Leo III and Constantine V, the latter reportedly comparing Mary to an empty purse from which gold coins had been taken. Nevertheless her veneration remained strong: she was the mediator between suffering mankind and Christ (see DEESIS) and esp. the protectress of Constantinople, the new Jerusalem, and, hence, the empire (cf. E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* [Munich 1968] 100–04).

Old Testament PREFIGURATIONS of Mary included the BURNING BUSH that was not consumed (e.g., Gregory of Nyssa, PG 46:1136BC), the ladder reaching to heaven, the star of the house of Jacob, the closed door of the restored temple, the fleece of Gideon soaked with dew from heaven, and the stone quarried from the mountain without human hands (e.g., Proklos of Constantinople, PG 65:680C–681B). As Christ abolished the sin of Adam, Mary was "the new Eve"; she was also contrasted to the pagan ATHENA as the truly powerful supporter of Byz.

LIT. *Theotokos: A Theological Encyclopedia,* ed. M. O'Carroll (Wilmington, Del., 1982). H. du Manoir, *Maria,* vol. 1 (Paris 1949). E. Testa, *Maria Terra Vergine* (Jerusalem 1984). L. Heiser, *Maria in der Christusverkündigung des orthodoxen Kirchenjahres* (Trier 1981). *BHG* 1046–1161d. –G.P.

REPRESENTATION IN ART. Narratives of the Virgin's life focus either on her conception and childhood, narrated in the so-called Protoevangelion of James, or on her Dormition. Imagery drawn from the Protoevangelion emerges in the 5th C. and abounds in the 6th, albeit in cycles of Christ's INFANCY rather than those of Mary. The earliest surviving Virgin cycle (at Kızıl Çukur, Cappadocia, 869–70?) must reflect earlier models, but evidence of a systematic Marian imagery appears only in the 10th–11th C. The events of her life celebrated as church feasts acquire standard compositions—the conception, the BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN, and her PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE (all found already in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II), and the Dormition. A codified narrative cycle based on the Protoevangelion appears in sidechapels of churches (e.g., Hagia Sophia in KIEV). The late 11th–12th C. saw the expansion of this cycle (e.g., in the exceptional, 63-scene illumination of the homilies of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS) and its transfer into the naos of churches dedicated to the Virgin, traceable from DAPHNI (five scenes in the narthex complement two in the naos) through LAGOUDERA, where Marian feasts dominate the naos. These developments unite in the long Palaiologan cycles adorning the naves of churches dedicated to the Virgin. In Palaiologan painting, too, the Dormition is incorporated into an extensive cycle narrating Mary's death and burial.

LIT. X. Jacob, "La vie de Marie interprétée par les artistes des églises rupestres de Cappadoce," *Cahiers de l'art médiéval*[6] 6.1 (1971–73) 15–30. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:161–94. –A.W.C.

TYPES OF THE VIRGIN MARY. Most Byz. images of the Virgin stress her role in Christ's Incarnation and show her as the Theotokos, holding her young child in a variety of ways. The "types" differ mainly in the way in which these two figures are shown responding to each other, whether it is with grave respect, mutual tenderness, playfulness or foreboding, or with the Virgin nursing the Child in her guise of Galaktotrophousa (A. Cutler, *JÖB* 37 [1987] 335–50). In some images of the Virgin, Christ's independence of his human mother is made explicit by showing him enclosed in a medallion set before her chest, a medallion that in some cases she neither holds nor even touches with her hands. If the Virgin is represented alone, without her child, it is usually in the role of intercessor with her risen son, now the judge of mankind (e.g., VIRGIN PARAKLESIS).

Emp. Leo VI was the first to put the image of the Virgin on a coin. Both seals and coins, on which the images are frequently labeled, can serve as a guide for reconstructing the appearance and early history of the various types of the Virgin (W. Seibt in Oikonomides, *Sigillography* 35–56), but the task is not simple. Though the various iconographic types of the Virgin can be quite easily grouped and distinguished one from another, we find considerable discrepancy between the type depicted and the Byz. name attached to it: even identical images may be accompanied by quite different epithets or designations. This is because the designations are not in fact iconographic in character. They are either names of sanctuaries, or poetic epithets that aim at conveying some important quality in the Virgin.

An icon of the Virgin was presumed to be at once an image of the Virgin herself and the replica of some famous icon original, one that was either extremely venerable—of some it was even claimed that they had been painted by St. Luke—or esp. miraculous. Each replica could thus share in the miraculous powers both of the Virgin herself and of the specific icon it reproduced. An icon of the Virgin will thus often bear the name of the sanctuary where the famous original was housed (e.g., the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA from the HODEGON MONASTERY, or the VIRGIN HAGIOSORITISSA).

Difficulties arise when the sanctuary has more than one important icon: replicas of both, even if they are quite different in appearance, may both bear the name of that sanctuary (e.g., VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA). Furthermore, a replica of a famous icon in one sanctuary made for a different sanctuary may take on the name of its new home without any alteration in the image.

Many epithets of the Virgin found on Byz. icons do not refer to famous originals but rather to special aspects of the Virgin's nature. These "qualitative" epithets, most of which derive from metaphors used for the Virgin in liturgical poetry, may accompany an image expressing their meaning (e.g., VIRGIN ELEOUSA, VIRGIN PLATYTERA), but they are also quite freely applied to a variety of different iconographic types (e.g., Virgin Episkepsis). As both image and epithet have their own independent history and particular resonance, the interplay of the two, while confusing to the modern scholar, does serve to enrich the meaning of the icon.

How and why later variants of well-known types were introduced and established is a problem that has received relatively little scholarly attention. Some variants may result from the increased viv-

idness of the liturgical poetry, esp. the Passion celebrations (e.g., VIRGIN OF THE PASSION), some from attempts to bring certain traditional images closer to the poetic epithets that accompany them or to appropriate the special qualities of one type for another. When it comes to determining by what process the new types became established, the role of the individual artist must be taken into account, as well as the history of the actual icon and of the sanctuary for which it was made. The fame of newer icons depended not on their beauty but on the miracles they could produce: their fortune and the popularity of the new type was intimately connected with that of the sanctuaries that housed them.

LIT. N.P. Kondakov, *Ikonografija Bogomateri*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg 1914–15). H. Hallensleben, H. Skrobucha, *LCI* 3:161–281. V. Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," *ArtB* 20 (1938) 26–65. M. Vloberg, "Les types iconographiques de la mère de Dieu dans l'art byzantin," in *Maria*, ed. H. du Manoir, vol. 2 (Paris 1952) 403–43. G. Babić, "Epiteti Bogorodice koju dete grli," *ZbLikUmet* 21 (1985) 261–75. I. Tognazzi Zervou, "L'iconografia e la 'vita' delle miracolose icone della Theotokos Brefokratoussa: Blachernitissa e Odighitria," *BollBadGr* 40 (1986) 215–87. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN MARY, DEATH OF. See DORMITION.

VIRGIN NIKOPOIOS (Νικοποιός, lit. "the Victory-maker"). The type, the frontal bust of the Virgin holding directly before her a medallion containing an equally frontal figure of Christ, appears as early as the 7th C. on icons (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, no.B28), though it acquires the label Nikopoios only in the 11th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.900). The venerable icon discovered in the Blachernai church by Romanos III in 1030/1 may have been of this type (see VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA); at any rate Romanos put this image on his seals, and an image of the Virgin Nikopoios is known to have been in the Blachernai palace in the 14th C. (pseudo-Kod. 227.13–15; 228.1). The Komnenian icon in San Marco in Venice, which tradition claims to be the original Nikopoios, differs in that Christ is not enclosed in a medallion and the icon is not inscribed. The icon type without the medallion was sometimes called the Kyriotissa (S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada bei Kranidi* [Munich 1975] 213–16), perhaps after an image of this kind housed in the monastery "ta Kyrou" in Constantinople; at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai this latter type became known as the VIRGIN TES BATOU.

LIT. A. Rizzi, "Un'icona costantinopolitana del XII secolo a Venezia: La Madonna Nikopeia," *Thesaurismata* 17 (1980) 290–306. W. Seibt, "Der Bildtypus der Theotokos Nikopoios," *Byzantina* 13 (1985) 551–64. R.L. Wolff, "Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria," *Traditio* 6 (1948) 326, n.41. M. Tatić-Djurić, "L'icône de Kyriotissa," 15 *CEB*, vol. 2.2 (Athens 1976) 759–86. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN OF THE PASSION (τοῦ Πάθους), the conventional term for a late variant of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA type, in which the Christ Child, clasping his mother's hand, turns his head away from her to confront the bust of the archangel Gabriel holding the cross. The inscription that sometimes accompanies the figures stresses the theme of Gabriel's "second Annunciation," that of the coming PASSION OF CHRIST. The type, which is also known as the Virgin Amolyntos ("Immaculate"), was esp. favored on Crete in the 15th C. (esp. by the painter Andreas Ritsos), where the figure of St. Michael was added carrying the other symbols of the Passion, the lance and the sponge. The image itself first appears in a fresco at LAGOUDERA (a.1192), where, however, the Virgin is called the Arakiotissa, following the dedication of the church, as well as Kecharitomene; Christ lies horizontally in her arms, a pose that may be a conscious reference to the image of CHRIST ANAPESON.

LIT. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 173–80. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN OF THE SOURCE. See PEGE.

VIRGIN OF VLADIMIR, a processional icon of the VIRGIN ELEOUSA brought to Kiev in the 12th C. and famous since then as a palladium of the Russian church and state. Now in the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, it is a bilateral ICON; on the obverse the Virgin is depicted with her cheek against that of her child, who embraces her neck as she gazes at the viewer. Only the faces are original; they belong to the early 12th C. The reverse has a 15th-C. painting or repainting of an altar with cross and instruments of the Passion. The POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET relates that the icon

was brought from Constantinople in 1131/2 (to be, according to Onasch, a counterpart in Rus' to the Constantinopolitan Eleousa icon venerated by the ruling Komnenian dynasty), and that ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO took it when he transferred his power to Suzdal (1155), installing it in a superb cover in the new Dormition Cathedral in Vladimir after benefiting from its miracles. It was taken temporarily in 1395 and finally in 1480 to the Dormition Cathedral in Moscow, where it preserved the city from Tatar invasions on this and two subsequent occasions, commemorated in its three feasts (26 Aug., 21 May, 23 June).

LIT. A.I. Anisimov, *Our Lady of Vladimir*, tr. N.G. Yaschwill, T.N. Rodzianko (Prague 1928). M. Alpatov, V. Lasareff, "Ein byzantinisches Tafelwerk aus der Komnenenepoche," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 46 (1925) 140–55. K. Onasch, "Die Ikone der Gottesmutter von Vladimir," *OstkSt* 5 (1956) 56–64. V.I. Antonova, "K voprosu o pervonačal'noj kompozicii ikony Vladimirskoj Bogomateri," *VizVrem* 18 (1961) 198–205. –A.W.C.

VIRGIN PARAKLESIS (Παράκλησις), the Virgin Intercessor. This type shows the Virgin almost in profile holding a scroll on which are inscribed the words of a dialogue with Christ in which she pleads for mankind (the customary text is preserved in the *Hermeneia* of Dionysios of Fourna, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus [St. Petersburg 1909] 280). Christ's image is often included in the upper corner. Although the epithet *paraklesis* is not found attached to the image before the 14th C., the image itself occurs several centuries earlier (mosaic on a pier of the bema in St. Demetrios, Thessalonike, 9th C.?); a 12th-C. icon of the Virgin in Spoleto reproduces the type, which is closely related to that of the VIRGIN HAGIOSORITISSA. It occurs frequently on Cyprus, where a corresponding figure of Christ may be painted on the opposite pier of the templon, and a nearby figure of John the Baptist may complete a sort of DEESIS as, for example, at Moutoullas (D. Mouriki in *Byz. und der Westen* 189–91). A 15th-C. icon at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai shows the Virgin Paraklesis in a true Deesis composition (Soteriou, *Eikones*, pl.170).

An icon of this type accompanied the body of Stefan Nemanja, according to the illustration of the translation of his remains in the narthex chapel of SOPOĆANI. Images of the Virgin Paraklesis are sometimes labeled the VIRGIN ELEOUSA.

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, "Two Images of the Virgin in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP* 14 (1960) 81–86. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN PELAGONITISSA. See VIRGIN ELEOUSA.

VIRGIN PERIBLEPTOS. See VIRGIN HODEGETRIA; PERIBLEPTOS MONASTERY.

VIRGIN PLATYTERA (Πλατυτέρα), the Virgin "wider (than the heavens)," an epithet of the Virgin derived from the liturgy of St. Basil, and often inscribed on her images, esp. those in apse compositions (Ihm, *Apsismalerei* 64). Though not a consistent type of the Virgin, it is most often associated with the second type of the VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA: a Virgin *orans* whose arms spread out to fill the conch, while Christ appears in a medallion on her chest.

LIT. A. Weis, *Die Madonna Platytera* (Königstein 1985) 20–44. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN PSYCHOSOSTRIA. See VIRGIN HODEGETRIA.

VIRGIN TES BATOU (τῆς Βάτου), the Virgin of the (Burning) Bush. The Bush that burned but was not consumed (Ex 3:2–5) became a metaphor for the Virgin and was understood as a PREFIGURATION of her. The epithet was applied from the 13th C. onward to a particular image of the Virgin associated with the monastery of St. CATHERINE on Mt. Sinai, the alleged site of the BURNING BUSH. The Virgin, shown standing, is holding the seated frontal Christ Emmanuel directly before her chest; the Child gives a blessing, and holds a roll (Soteriou, *Eikones*, pl.155). The image itself is not new: it is essentially that of the Virgin Kyriotissa (see VIRGIN NIKOPOIOS). But it does appear esp. frequently on Sinai icons after the 12th C., and on works in which the figure of the Virgin is often flanked by pairs of saints of particular significance to Sinai.

An image of the Virgin, though a different one, was also incorporated into compositions of Moses and the Burning Bush. In a version of the VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA type, she appears *orans* within the Bush, with the medallion of Christ Emmanuel,

previously represented alone inside the Bush, visible before her chest.

LIT. D. Mouriki, "Four Thirteenth-Century Sinai Icons by the Painter Peter," in *Studenica i vizantijska umetnost oko 1200*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade 1988) 331f, 337f. K. Weitzmann, "Loca Sancta and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *DOP* 28 (1974) 53f. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN ZOODOCHOS PEGE. See PEGE.

VIRTUE (*ἀρετή*), a concept that was well developed in antiquity, esp. by Plato and the Stoics. The significance of the quartet of four cardinal virtues—courage (*andreia*), righteousness (*dikaiosyne*), prudence in the sense of moderation (*sophrosyne*), and prudence as good sense (*phronesis*)—was emphasized by ancient moralists and developed by MENANDER RHETOR. This quartet remained the foundation of the lists of virtues in Byz. MIRRORS OF PRINCES, but to the four cardinal virtues were added other qualities, such as generosity, wisdom (SOPHIA), gentleness (PRAOTES), PHILANTHROPY, and piety. By the second half of the 11th C., nobility of lineage and military prowess were also considered secular virtues (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 24–32).

The church fathers' teaching on virtue is based on the interpretation of Holy Scripture. They developed both the general idea of virtue and the categorization of individual virtues. Christian exegetes understood the virtues of human behavior as gifts of God that should lead us back to him and that are therefore connected with the three theological virtues (faith, hope, and love [*agape*]) as their presupposition. Virtue was engendered by the soul, not of its own power but in its capacity as the bride of Christ; it presupposed intelligence and free will.

Monastic-ascetic ETHICS, even though it preserved some elements of the ancient system, or at least its terminology, in fact diverged from classical principles: the role of reason in the system of virtues decreased while experience as the source of virtue was emphasized; the classical magnanimity (or *megalopsychia*) (G. Downey, *TAPA* 76 [1945] 279–86) was replaced by humility (*tapeinotes*). John of Damascus (PG 95:85C) drew up a list of virtues that included the ancient cardinal virtues, three theological virtues, and others—prayer, humility, mildness, tolerance, clemency, and 23 more. Michael PSELLOS (*De omnifaria doctrina*, pars. 66–81) defined and classified the virtues, esp. the cardinal virtues, following the tradition of Plato and Aristotle, without evaluating or combining the different independent lists. Hagiography presents virtues (esp. faith, hope, and love) in action; even though acts of MARTYRS readily exaggerated the saintly virtues, a cautious and negative attitude toward excessive deeds of virtue is sometimes seen, esp. in the vitae of the 12th C. PERSONIFICATIONS of both imperial and monastic virtues, usually female and dressed in nonclassical garb, were depicted in Byz. art.

LIT. G.W. Forell, *History of Christian Ethics*, vol. 1 (Minneapolis 1979). E. Osborn, *Ethical Patterns in Early Christian Thought* (Cambridge 1976). T. Imamichi, "Die Notizen von der Metamorphose der klassischen Ethik bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern," *StP* 5 (1962) 499–507. A. Ioannides, "Ho horos arete kai he ennoia autou eis ten Hagian Graphen kai tous pateras tes ekklesias," *Kleronomia* 15 (1983) 5–70. –G.P.

VISIGOTHS (*Οὐσίγοτθοι*), a polyethnic people within the union of the GOTHS. The initial entry of the Visigoths into the Roman Empire resulted in the Battle of ADRIANOPLE (378), at which Valens was killed. The Visigoths subsequently ravaged Thrace and threatened Constantinople until 382, when Theodosios I settled them as FOEDERATI in Thrace. In 395 the Visigoths, now under ALARIC, rebelled and pillaged Thrace and Illyricum. Attempts by STILICHO to thwart them and establish Western imperial control over Illyricum were viewed with apprehension by Arkadios, who appointed Alaric *magister militum* for Illyricum. In 401 the Visigoths invaded Italy and sacked Rome in 410. Following a failed attempt to cross from Italy to Africa and the sudden death of Alaric, the Visigoths under Athaulf moved into southern Gaul. In 414 Athaulf married GALLA PLACIDIA. In 416–18, in their capacity as *foederati*, the Visigoths invaded Spain and crushed the Siling VANDALS and Alans.

After another unsuccessful effort to cross into Africa, the Visigoths were forced to return to Gaul, where they settled in Aquitania and Septimania. This marks the beginning of the Visigothic kingdom centered on Toulouse, which under Theodoric II (453–66) and Euric (466–84) was extended into Spain. In 507 the FRANKS under Clovis defeated and killed Alaric II near Poitiers. Aquitania passed into Frankish hands, but an Ostrogothic protectorate (508–22) kept Septimania and Spain in Visigothic hands. The Visigoth kingdom in Spain proved to be a successful sub-Roman successor state. Relations between the Arian Visigoths and orthodox Hispano-Roman population were generally harmonious, protected, as it were, by law codes for both the former (*Code of Euric* and *Book of Judges* [654]) and latter (*Breviary of Alaric*).

The kingdom was susceptible to Constantinopolitan influence through its lively commercial contacts with the East and, after 552, by Justinian I's establishment of a province along the southeastern coast of the peninsula. Although Africa remained the prime source of olive oil for the Visigothic coastal cities, oil, wine, perfume, and pottery were imported in considerable quantities from Asia Minor and the Levant. East Roman architectural and artistic influences are evident in Visigothic churches and in the long halls constructed at Reccopolis, the city founded by King Leovigild (568–86) east of modern Madrid. Key Visigothic church and literary figures, such as Leander of Seville, Martin of Braga, JOHN OF BICLAR, and ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, were deeply influenced by their contacts or experience with Constantinopolitan culture. Visigothic kings from Leovigild onward likewise adopted the regalia and court ceremonial of the Eastern emperors. The political unification of Visigothic Spain achieved by Leovigild may also be attributed in some measure to his decision to make Toledo (Toletum) the royal capital in imitation of Constantinople.

At the same time, Eastern cultural influences were used to define further a Visigothic-Spanish identity distinct and even in opposition to Constantinople (this despite the conversion of the kingdom to orthodoxy under Reccared in 586). This opposition was fundamental in the expulsion of Byz. forces from Spain in 621 and the emergence of a mature Visigothic kingdom that survived until the early 8th C.

LIT. G. Garcia Volta, *Die Westgoten* (Berg 1979). E.A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford 1969). E. James, *Visigothic Spain* (Oxford 1980). J. Fontaine, *Culture et spiritualité en Espagne du IVe au VIIe siècle* (London 1986). S.J. Keay, *Roman Spain* (Berkeley 1988) 202–217. L.A. Garcia Moreno, *El fin del reino visigodo di Toledo* (Madrid 1975). *Los Visigodos, historia y civilizacion en Antiguedad y Cristianismo*, ed. D.A. Gonzales Bianco (Murcia 1986). –R.B.H.

VISIONS (*ὀπτασίαι*), supernatural phenomena viewed primarily by prophets and saints. Visions should be distinguished from illumination, a final act of spiritual purification (the divine light of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN and the HESYCHASTS), and from diabolical apparitions, aimed at the deception and ruin of men. A vision could occur in sleep or in waking hours and could be experienced by an individual or a group. It might consist of signs (Constantine I's vision of a cross in heaven), figures (visions of Christ, Mary, angels, or saints), or developed images (Hell, Paradise, images of the near or remote future).

Vision or DREAM literature as a genre existed in both antiquity and the BIBLE: the church fathers were esp. concerned with the Old Testament themes of the ladder of Jacob, the theophany at SINAI, and prophets' visions as well as the New Testament themes of the TRANSFIGURATION, Christ's appearances after the Resurrection, and the vision of PAUL on the road to Damascus (a theme dwelt on, like the visions of Isaiah and Ezekiel, in the late 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY and illuminated MSS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES). Visions became a substantial element in hagiography: they conveyed prophetic messages, revealed events happening at a distance or in the past, and offered consolation at time of distress.

A vision of Hell and Paradise could form a part of a saint's vita (e.g., the vision of Theodora in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER) or an independent work (visions of ANASTASIA, DOROTHEOS, or of the monk Kosmas). From these visions we should distinguish satirical travels to Hades, in imitation of LUCIAN, which contained no visionary elements or supernatural revelation. Prophetic visions in APOCALYPTIC literature often displayed political tendencies.

Representation in Art. All representations of the divine can be said, in a sense, to be visionary. A special class of such images, however, are those of the prophets, who are often depicted reacting in astonishment to the vision that is vouchsafed to them. Such scenes are found as early as ca.500 at HOSIOS DAVID in Thessalonike. The depiction of such epiphanies reached their peak in the 9th–10th C. when, according to A. Grabar (*Iconoclasme* 244), scenes of this sort are to be understood as part of a larger Iconodule emphasis upon visual experience. The largest surviving cluster of these

prophetic visions is in the apses of churches in CAPPADOCIA (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne in *Synthronon* 135–43).

LIT. P. Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visionsliteratur im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart 1981). H.R. Patch, *The Other World according to Descriptions in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950). *Papyrus Bodmer XXIX: Vision de Dorothéos*, ed. A. Hurst et al. (Cologne-Geneva 1984). M. Fantuzzi, "La visione di Doroteo," *Atene e Roma* 30 (1985) 186–91.
–J.I., A.K., A.C.

VISITATION (ἀσπασμός, "greeting"), the meeting of the pregnant Virgin and Elizabeth, when Elizabeth's child, JOHN THE BAPTIST, leapt in her womb. The episode is notable for Elizabeth's acclamation of Christ and for Mary's Magnificat (Lk 1:39–56). In art, the former quite displaces the latter; only in Psalters—where it is a canticle—is the Magnificat occasionally illustrated. The Visitation is represented only in cycles of the INFANCY OF CHRIST. In 6th-C. art, there were three variants: the women may shake hands (Grabar, *Ampoules*, pls. XLVI, LI), converse (apse mosaic, POREČ), or embrace (Grabar, *Ampoules*, pl.XLVII). The third variant becomes standard. A curious maid (Poreč; Çambasli Kilise at Ortahisar, where she becomes a donor portrait—N. Thierry, *Peintures d'Asie Mineure et de Transcaucasie au X^e et XI^e siècles* [London 1977], pt.XI, pl.4), or Zacharias (NEREZI) may serve as witness, but further elaboration is rare. Exceptions include the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.113v) where the blessing Christ Child and kneeling John the Baptist appear behind their mothers, the MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS that illustrate the event with nine scenes, and the late 14th-C. mural at Pelendri on Cyprus, where the gesturing infants are visible in their mothers' bodies. Though the Byz. church calendar knows no such feast, the passage from Luke was read at the feast of the Deposition of the Virgin's Robe (*esthes*) in the BLACHERNAI church on 2 July (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:328–33).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:1093–99. –A.W.C., R.F.T.

VITA, or Life (βίος, usually *bios kai politeia*, "life and deeds"), biography of a SAINT. Unlike the MARTYRION, which emphasizes heroic death for Christian beliefs, the vita depicts ideal Christian behavior. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA created the genre in his biography of Constantine I the Great, the VITA CONSTANTINI, in which he emphasized didactic purpose over factual trustworthiness; equally influential, ATHANASIOS of Alexandria elaborated the framework of the Christian biography in his vita of ANTONY THE GREAT. Though preserving certain traditions of ancient biography, the vita was a new genre, typified by a new ideal of behavior (rejection of earthly values for the sake of future reward), a new type of storyteller who understood and accepted his humble position in comparison with the saint (see MODESTY, TOPOS OF), a new view of the legendary and miraculous as normal and ordinary (within the sphere of the saint's influence), and a new concept of time as a series of independent episodes without any claim to coherency. The stereotypical saint's biography coexisted with vivid details of both real life (making some vitae invaluable for their political, social, and economic data) and MIRACLES, VISIONS, wondrous lands, and the heavenly realm. Delehaye (*infra* 106–09) distinguished six types of HAGIOGRAPHY on the basis of credibility, from authentic sources to hagiographical romances. The differentiation is in fact more complex: vitae differed in ideology, language, the role of the hagiographer, his interest in detail, etc. Vitae were collected in MENOLOGIA.

Illustration of Vitae. Only those vitae included in the *menologion* of SYMEON METAPHRASTES were ever regularly illustrated in MSS; these texts were most often accompanied by portraits, and narrative cycles are almost invariably brief. Vita ICONS (also known as "hagiographical" icons) and fresco cycles (see HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION) may illustrate a dozen or so episodes from the life of a saint but they draw from a variety of sources, both visual and written, and can rarely be traced to any single vita text.

SOURCE. *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana* (Antwerp 1643–Brussels 1925).

LIT. H. Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques*[4] (Brussels 1955), Eng. tr. D. Attwater (New York 1962). L. Rydén, "New Forms of Hagiography: Heroes and Saints," 17 *CEB, Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 537–54. N.P. Ševčenko, "An Eleventh Century Illustrated Edition of the Metaphrastian Menologium," *East European Quarterly* 13 (1979) 423–30. –A.K., N.P.Š.

VITA BASILII, a biography of BASIL I, the second section of THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, written most probably by CONSTANTINE VII ca.950. The *Vita Basilii* is a panegyric presenting Basil as a descendant of noble ancestors and as a wise administrator. The author emphasized that Basil established a just government and that the poor were able to till their fields peacefully; the emperor himself took part in judicial tribunals and protected peasants from tax collectors. Thus the program described in the vita differed radically from that of ROMANOS I. The author was hostile to high officials and he esp. hated eunuchs. On the other hand, he did not portray Basil as a great general and was reticent in describing his expeditions; he did not conceal Basil's military defeats. In contrast, the emperor was portrayed as a great builder: the vita is our most important source for imperially sponsored architecture and decoration of the period, both within and beyond the GREAT PALACE in Constantinople and elsewhere in the empire. Jenkins, who stressed the influence of PLUTARCH on the vita, argued that the author used both the biography of Antony and the lost biography of Nero (*Studies*, pt.IV [1954], 13–30). At the same time the author uses ancient imagery cautiously: he contrasts rather than compares Basil with ancient heroes. To Basil is opposed his antihero, Michael III, the embodiment of evil. It seems that the vita was a source of GENESIOS or was based upon a common source.

ED. *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1838) 211–353. Germ. tr. L. Breyer, *Vom Bauernhof auf den Kaiserthron* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1981).

LIT. I. Ševčenko, "Storia letteraria," in *La civiltà bizantina dal IX all'XI secolo* (Bari 1978) 89–127. A. Kazhdan, "Iz istorii vizantijskoj chronografii X v. 3," *VizVrem* 21 (1962) 95–117. V. Lichačeva, Ja. Ljubarskij, "Pamjatniki iskusstva v 'Žizneopisanii Vasilija' Konstantina Bagrjanorodnogo," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 171–83. –A.K., A.C.

VITA CONSTANTINI, a Life of the emperor CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT in four books, according to T.D. Barnes (*infra*) written between 337 and 339. It is now generally accepted as a work of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, although there has been much controversy over its historical value. Embarrassed or repelled by its flatteries, many critics have impugned its honesty and even denied its authenticity. In a much-quoted extreme judgment, J. Burckhardt (*Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen* [Basel 1853] 260, 283) dismissed its author as the first thoroughly dishonest historian of ancient times, the most disgusting of all eulogists. More sober readers are bothered by its undeniable sins of omission, internal and external inconsistencies, and doublets, while the Constantinian documents it contains have also provoked suspicion. Much of this stems from a failure to take the work on its own terms. It was intended to be a public eulogy in the classical tradition, akin to the contemporary PANEGYRICI LATINI; hence its tone. The defects in presentation are the result of Eusebios dying before the piece was finished and revised. At least one document (Constantine's letter to the provincials after the defeat of Licinius) has been vindicated by the discovery that a text preserved on papyrus (*P.Lond.* III 878) corresponds verbatim with most of *Vita* 2.26–29 (A.H.M. Jones, *JEH* 5 [1954] 196–200). There are also later Lives of Constantine and his mother Helena (*BHG* 362–369K), often embellished by legendary stories.

ED. *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 1.1, ed. F. Winkelmann (Berlin 1975). Eng. tr. E.C. Richardson, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*[2], vol. 1 (Oxford–New York 1890; rp. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1971) 481–540.

LIT. Barnes, *Constantine & Eusebius* 265–71. R.T. Ridley, "Anonymity in the Vita Constantini," *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 241–58. –B.B.

VITA CONTEMPLATIVA, contemplative life, Latin term used by Augustine and the scholastics and derived from the Greek philosophical concept of βίος θεωρητικός; it was introduced by Aristotle and developed by the Stoics and is usually coupled with and opposed to the *vita activa*, βίος πρακτικός. The distinction also appears in the paired words *praktikos-gnostikos*, or in a tripartite form *praktikos-physikos-theologikos*. For ancient Greek philosophers, *praktikos* always had a secular connotation denoting either manual work (Plato), or activity in general (Aristotle), or political activity (Stoics), whereas *theoretikos* had a sublime and even divine connotation. Far from accepting the ancient concept of noble LEISURE, church fathers held in high respect the human ability to contemplate; pseudo-Basil (PG 31:1340D–1341A) says that the soul has a twofold force (*dynamis*)—one part giving life to the body, the other contemplative or rational. ORIGEN stressed that contemplative and active life should be complementary: Mary is the symbol of contemplative life, Martha of the practical or active (*Commentary on John* 11:18, frag.80, ed. Preuschen, p.547). EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS took the next step and developed a hierarchical notion: the practical life (which has nothing in common with Aristotelian "activity") is for

Evagrios the first stage of ascetic behavior, the purpose of which is to prepare oneself for contemplation of God; the practical life leads to HESYCHIA, tranquil lucidity. Only after having reached this point is the ascetic ready for genuine contemplation. The Evagrian concept influenced Byz. monastic ethical ideals, including the teaching of Symeon the Theologian.

LIT. A. and C. Guillaumont in *Evagre le Pontique, Traité pratique ou le Moine*, vol. 1 (Paris 1971) 38–63. M.E. Mason, *"Active Life" and "Contemplative Life"* (Milwaukee 1961).
–A.K.

VITALIAN (Βιταλιανός), usurper (513–15); born Zaldaba in Moesia, died Constantinople after 10 July 520. He was probably the offspring of a mixed marriage since he was called Scythian or Thracian, whereas his mother was a sister of Patr. Makedonios II (496–511). Military commander of barbarian mercenaries in Thrace, Vitalian in 513 revolted against Emp. Anastasios I, attacked the *magister militum* HYPATIOS, and marched on Constantinople, posing as the champion of Orthodoxy. His revolt apparently gained support for both social and political reasons since his army included farmers as well as soldiers. He was initially successful and recognized as *magister militum* of Thrace, but in 515 he was defeated at sea and withdrew into Thrace. After the death of Anastasios in 518, Justin I came to terms with Vitalian and honored him with high office, making him *patrikios* in 518 and consul in 520. He was a strong supporter of Chalcedonian Orthodoxy and took part in negotiations with the papacy to end the AKAKIAN SCHISM. He was murdered in the palace, allegedly at the order of the future Justinian I, who had reasons to fear Vitalian's rivalry.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 2:447–52. *PLRE* 2:1171–76. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 9 (1961) 374–78. –T.E.G.

VITICULTURE. See VINEYARD.

VITIGES (Οὐίττιγις), king of the Ostrogoths (Nov. 536–May 540); died ca.542 on Byz. eastern frontier. An experienced military commander, although not of noble origin, Vitiges was raised on the shield because the Goths resented the sluggish warfare of THEODAHAD. Vitiges married MATASUNTHA to add legitimacy to his rule, but she hated him personally and politically and became involved in pro-Roman plots. He had to confront BELISARIOS, who entered Rome on 9/10 Dec. 536. Vitiges bought peace with the Franks by ceding them territories in southern Gaul and paying 2,000 pounds of gold; he then besieged Rome at length but in vain. When Byz. troops invaded Picenum in Feb. 538 Vitiges retreated to Ravenna. He tried to draw CHOSROES I into an alliance against Justinian I, but the Persian expedition came too late and the Franks proved dangerous allies. Beleaguered in Ravenna, Vitiges sued for peace, proposing to divide Italy between Byz. and the Goths. Belisarios delayed agreement and, under duress, the Goths opened the gates. Vitiges was arrested and sent to Byz. with his relatives; there, having abjured his Arianism, he received the title of *patrikios* and rich estates on the Persian border, where he died.

LIT. Wolfram, *Goths* 342–52. Stein, *Histoire* 2:347–68. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 9A 1 (1961) 395–400.
–W.E.K., A.K.

VIVARION (βιβάριον, loanword from Lat. *vivarium*), a preserve for wild animals (Prokopios, *Wars* 5:22.10) or for fish. John TZETZES (*Historiae* 8:142–51 [pp.302f]) relates that Crassus kept a domesticated sea eel in an elaborately ornamented *vivarion*. The word commonly appears in documents of the 13th-15th C., with the meaning of a place to keep fish (a pond, riverbank, or marsh). Charters of 1229–34 mention *vivaria* on the river Hermon that constituted the *pronoia* of a certain Kalegopoulos (MM 4:239.29); in a will of 1284 (*Lavra* 2, no.75.34–35) a *vivarion* is named together with a marshland as one of the "rights" (*dikaia*) conveyed to a certain Theodore Kerameas and, in a *praktikon* of 1301 (Dölger, *Sechs Praktika*, p.36.30), rent for a *vivarion* is mentioned alongside rents for a mooring place (*skaliatikon*) and a place for washing flax (*linobrocheion*). On the other hand, a *praktikon* of 1317 that describes the village of Doxompous, where the inhabitants made their living primarily by FISHING, lists several peasant households in possession of *vivaria*, sometimes as many as 12 to 15 each (*Lavra* 2, no.104.21, 41), in this case, probably small ponds to keep fish.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:341–43. Dölger, *Schatz.* 188, 191.
–J.W.N., A.K.

VIVARIUM MONASTERY (*monasterium Vivariense*), founded by CASSIODORUS in the mid-6th C. on the bay of Squillace, Calabria; the name originates from the fishpond (*vivarium*) on the rocky coast near the modern town of Copanello di Staletti. It is plausible that Cassiodorus organized the institution after his visit of ca.549–53 to Constantinople, where he learned about the theological school in Nisibis that he decided to emulate (R. Macina, *Muséon* 95 [1982] 131–66). At any rate, Vivarium was modeled on Byz. monasticism, not the Italian practices that are revealed in the contemporary Rules of St. Benedict of Nursia (K. Zelzer, *WS* 19 [1985] 235f). A religious and cultural center developed around the library and scriptorium at Vivarium; many Greek works were translated there into Latin (R. Hanslik, *Philologus* 115 [1971] 107–13): for example, Epiphanios Scholastikos translated church histories of Theodoret, Sozomenos, and Sokrates. After founding Vivarium, Cassiodorus spent the rest of his life in the monastery, although it is unclear whether he himself became a monk. A sarcophagus identified as that of Cassiodorus was found at the Church of San Martino, which is all that remains of the monastery.

LIT. P. Courcelle, "Nouvelles recherches sur le monastère de Cassiodore," *5 IntCongChrArch* (Rome-Paris 1957) 511–28. A. Van de Vyver, "Les *Institutiones* de Cassiodore et sa fondation à Vivarium," *Revue bénédictine* 53 (1941) 59–88. R. Farioli, "Note sull'edificio tricono di S. Martino nel monastero 'Vivariense sive Castellense' di Cassiodoro," *Magna Graecia* 10.1–2 (1975) 20–22. –A.K.

VLACHIA (Βλαχία), a district in Thessaly, near HALMYROS, mentioned in some 12th-C. sources, beginning with BENJAMIN OF TUDELA. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 638.50, with corr. I. Dujčev, *BZ* 72 [1979] 51) speaks of Great (Megale) Vlachia, which he locates near Thessalian METEORA. In the army of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros in 1258 were brave soldiers, according to Pachymeres, "whom [his son John] called Megalovlachitai" (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:117.15). After Pachymeres the term *Megale Vlachia* disappears and reappears only in the 15th C. as a designation not for the district in Thessaly, but for a region on the Lower and Middle Danube (WALLACHIA). Megale Vlachia was an administrative unit: in 1276 the *pinkernes* Raoul Komnenos held the post of the *kephale* of Megale Vlachia. Besides Great Vlachia there are references to Upper Vlachia in Epiros, Little Vlachia in Acharnania and Aetolia, and "Vlachia in Hellas" (i.e., in Thessaly).

LIT. G. Soulis, "Blachia—Megale Blachia—he en Helladi Blachia," *Geras Antoniou Keramopoullou* (Athens 1953) 489–97. Idem, "The Thessalian Vlachia," *ZRVI* 8.1 (1963) 271–73. –A.K.

VLACHS (Βλάχοι), an ethnic group that lived in mountainous areas of Thessaly (VLACHIA) and the northern Balkans. They were most probably the descendants of THRACIANS and DACO-GETANS who, under the pressure of Germanic and Avaro-Slavic invasions, migrated to isolated areas. The name first appears in Byz. sources of the 11th C. (Skylitzes, Kekaumenos, then in Anna Komnene); the anonymous chronicle of Bari mentions Vlachs in the Byz. army in Italy between 1025 and 1027 (M. Gyóni, *ActaAntHung* 1 [1951] 235–45). Kekaumenos identified the Vlachs with the Dacians conquered by Trajan—but one should be very cautious with regard to the ethnic perceptions of Byz. authors. The Vlachs earned their living primarily by TRANSHUMANCE and are mentioned in registers of monasteries as sheep- and cattle-owners. By the end of the 11th C., Vlach DOULOPAROIKOI played an important role in the economy of Mt. ATHOS; Alexios I, however, expelled the Vlachs from the Holy Mountain, to the great regret of the monks (Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 163). Sometimes the Byz. government confiscated lands that the Vlachs considered as their [common?] property; thus, in 1293 Andronikos II conferred upon a certain Leo Koteanitzes the land in Preasnitza "taken from various Vlachs" (*Chil.*, no.11.6–7).

The Byz. sources preserve a view of Vlachs as liars, thieves, and unbelievers, who make solemn oaths and then immediately break them (Kek. 268.14–21). It remains under discussion whether the Byz. were able or willing to distinguish between Vlachs and Bulgarians; the identity of the Blachoi who played the leading role in the revolt against the Byz. in 1185 (Nik.Chon. 368.53–57) is thus unclear.

LIT. D. Dvoichenko-Markov, "The Vlachs," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 508–26. V. Marinov, "Rasselenie pastuchov-kočevnikov vlachov na Balkanskom poluostrove i za ego predelami," in *Slavjano-Vološskie svjazi* (Kišinev 1978) 162–77. G.

Litavrin, "Vlachi vizantijskich istočnikov," *Jugovostočnaja Evropa v srednie veka* (Kišinev 1972) 91–138. P. Năsturel, "Les Valaques balcaniques aux Xe–XIIIe siècles," *ByzF* 7 (1979) 89–112. T.J. Winnifrith, *The Vlachs* (New York 1987) 39–122. –A.K.

VLADIMIR, prince of GALITZA (from 1141); born ca.1110, died 1153. He was the grandson of Rostislav of Tmutorakan and Lanka, daughter of Béla I of Hungary. Involved in constant conflicts with Polish and Volhynian princes and, from 1146, with Hungary and Kiev, Vladimir concluded an alliance with Byz., probably ca.1146–47. Kinnamos (Kinn. 115.18–19) describes him as "a man allied with (*hypospondos*) the Romans," which suggests the existence of a treaty, but which has been wrongly interpreted as denoting Vladimir's vassalage. In Manuel I's war against Hungary, Vladimir and JURIJ DOLGORUKIJ were Byz.'s allies. With Byz. support, Vladimir established the bishopric of Halič ca.1150. His son Jaroslav Osmomysl' (1153–87) briefly supported the future emperor Andronikos I Komnenos before returning to the alliance with Manuel I.

LIT. Hruševs'kyi, *Istorija* 2:417–36. G. Vernadsky, "Relations byzantino-russes au XII^{e} siècle," *Byzantion* 4 (1927–28) 273–76. V. Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika drevnej Rusi* (Moscow 1968) 167–69, 173–78. –An.P.

VLADIMIR (Russian town). See SUZDAL'.

VLADIMIR I (Βλαδιμηρός), prince of Kiev, son of SVJATOSLAV and grandson of IGOR; sole ruler of Kievan Rus' (from 980); baptismal name Basil; died 15 July 1015. In Sept. 987 Vladimir I formed an alliance with Basil II, sealed a year later by Vladimir's marriage to Basil's sister ANNA. Vladimir was baptized on Epiphany, the multitude of Kievans probably on Pentecost 988, and a metropolitan see subordinate to Constantinople was established in Kiev. Vladimir sent several thousand warriors from Rus' to fight in battles at Bithynian Chrysopolis (Jan. 989) and at Abydos (13 April 989), contributing to Basil's victory over Bardas PHOKAS. CHERSON, which rebelled against the emperor, was captured by other troops of Vladimir before 27 July 989. (According to the traditional view, Cherson was taken by the still-pagan Vladimir in order to accelerate his marriage.) During Vladimir's reign, auxiliary troops from Rus' participated in Basil's campaigns in Asia Minor and against Bulgaria.

In the *Povest' vremennych let* the baptism of Vladimir and Rus' is presented as determined by Providence, with the Greeks as its agents. The conversion of Rus' was mistrusted in Byz. society: Basil's allies were regarded as an apocalyptic force that threatened the empire.

LIT. Poppe, *Christian Russia*, pt.II (1976), 197–244. –An.P.

VLADIMIR MONOMACH, prince of Perejaslavl' (1094–1113) and Kiev (1113–25); his father was VSEVOLOD, prince of Kiev, and his mother was allegedly a daughter of CONSTANTINE IX MONOMACHOS (V.G. Brjusova, *VizVrem* 28 [1968] 127–35); born 1053, died 19 May 1125 at L'to River. In his foreign policy Vladimir tried to secure southern Rus' against the CUMANS through concerted action by the Rjurikid princes. In 1116–18 he encroached on Byz. interests by sanctioning two attempts to occupy towns on the lower Danube, the first led by the enigmatic Leo, known to some sources as "son of Diogenes," who was probably related to Vladimir by marriage (M. Matthieu, *Byzantion* 22 [1952] 133–48; A. Gorskij, *Istoričeskie zapiski* 115 [1987] 308–328). If there was a rift with Byz., it was apparently healed by 1122, when Vladimir's granddaughter was married into the Komnenian lineage. A later Muscovite legend casts Vladimir as a powerful tsar who was kept from attacking Constantinople only by rich gifts from Alexios I Komnenos.

Vladimir's image as the model prince of Rus' stems largely from his cultural activities, including a redaction of the POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET that he sponsored, his correspondence with Metr. NIKEPHOROS I, and esp. his *Instruction* [*Poučenie*] to his children (ca.1124?), a kind of MIRROR OF PRINCES mixed with autobiography. It was included in the *Povest' vremennych let.* Vladimir quotes from translated compilations of patristic writings (F. Thomson, *Slavica Gandensia* 10 [1983] 20f, 84f). Thematic parallels have been found in various paraenetic works from Byz. and western Europe (M.P. Alekseev, *TODRL* 2 [1935] 39–80; T. Čyževśka, *WSlJb* 2 [1952] 157–60); its sources include Byz. liturgies (N.V. Šljakov, *ŽMNP* [June 1900] 227–37) and patristic authors, such as BASIL THE GREAT (L. Müller, *RM* 1 [1973] 30–48).

ED. *Povest' vremennych let*, ed. D.S. Lichačev (Moscow-Leningrad 1950) 1:153–67, 2:425–57.

LIT. A.S. Orlov, *Vladimir Monomach* (Moscow-Leningrad 1946). Fennell-Stokes, *Russ. Lit.* 64–79. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 215–18. D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 83–114. –S.C.F., P.A.H.

VLADISLAV III JAGELLO, or Władysław III Jagiełło (Λαδίσλαος), king of Poland from 1434 and of Hungary from 1440 (as Ulászló I); born Krakow 31 Oct. 1424, died Varna 10 Nov. 1444. With the support of HUNYADI, who had secured the young king's victory over his Habsburg rivals in Hungary, Vladislav fought a victorious campaign in 1443/4 against the Turks and in 1444 agreed to the secret peace negotiations of Hunyadi and GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ with the Ottoman sultan MURAD II. Although a treaty was signed at Szeged in August 1444—securing a ten-year truce, reinstating Branković in Serbia, and promising tribute and aid from the sultan for Hungary—Vladislav was persuaded by the papal legate, Giuliano Cesarini, to break the peace and lead a Polish-Hungarian army against the Turks, having been assured of Venetian and papal support. This Crusade of VARNA ended in disaster, however; the legate and Vladislav perished while fighting heroically. According to Chalkokondyles (Chalk. 2:106–08), the young king tried personally to attack the sultan but was surrounded by janissaries and killed; his head was brought to Murad.

LIT. J.J. Dąbrowski, *Władysław I Jagiełłończyk na Węgrzech 1440–1444* (Warsaw 1922). A.S. Atiya, *HC* 3:654–56. B. Cvetkova, "Die Feldzüge Wladislaw III. Jagiello und Ianku de Hunedoara (1443–1444), der Südosten Europas und die Bulgaren," *RESEE* 19 (1981) 17–29. Ch. Kolarov, "Otstŭplenieto na krŭstonosnata armija na kral Vladislav III Jagelo po vreme na pŭrvija mu pochod na Balkanite (1443–1444 g.)," *Bŭlgarsko srednovekovie* (Sofia 1980) 105–12. –J.B., A.K.

VLASTIMIR (Βλαστίμηρος), mid-9th-C. Serbian prince (*archon*); son of Prosegoes and grandson of Rodoslav. According to Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 32.33–38), these princes were "in servitude and submission" to Byz. During Vlastimir's rule Presian of Bulgaria (836–52) unsuccessfully attacked the Serbs. V. Zlatarski (*Ist.* 1.1:346) suggests that the Serbo-Bulgarian war lasted from 839 to 842, and that it was Emp. THEOPHILOS who incited Vlastimir against Presian. Constantine also records that Vlastimir married his daughter to Kraina, *župan* (ruler) of Terbounia and proclaimed him an independent *archon* (*De adm. imp.* 34.7–10). After Vlastimir's death, three of his sons, Muntimer, Strimer, and Goinikos, divided up the country.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, "Porfirogenitova hronika srpskih vladara," *Istoriski časopis* 1 (1948) 25. –A.K.

VODENA (τὰ Βοδηνά), ancient Edessa, a city in southern Macedonia on the via Egnatia, controlling the entrance to a pass through the mountains. In the 7th C. Edessa was a bishopric. The Slavic name Vodena appears first in the story of Basil II's capture of the stronghold (*phrourion*) in 1001 (Skyl. 345.20–24). Zlatarski (*Ist.* 1.2:654f), however, hypothesized that Vodena and not VIDIN had been a center of the KOMETOPOULOI in the late 10th C. Due to its strategic importance, Vodena was often fought over: thus, BOHEMUND temporarily captured it in 1083; John III Vatatzes, during his campaign against Thessalonike, occupied Vodena in 1253; John VI Kantakouzenos disputed it with the Serbians; and it was taken by STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN in Jan. 1351. Little is known of the administrative organization of Byz. Vodena. An 11th-C. seal of a *doux* of Edessos (Zacos, *Seals* 1.3, no.2686) may refer to Vodena. An enigmatic list of the estates of Lavra monastery mentions the *archontia* of Vodena (*Lavra* 1, app. II.50), and in a charter of 1375 THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ named himself the lord of the *toparchia* and *kastron* of Vodena (*Lavra* 3:146.17–18). In an ecclesiastical list of Bulgaria (11th to the beginning of the 12th C.) two bishoprics are named: Edessa or MOGLENA and Vodena (*Notitiae CP* no.13.839–41). The Ottoman Ghāzī Evrenos seized the fortress in the late 14th C.

LIT. J. Ferluga, *LMA* 3:1565–67. –R.B., A.K.

VOISLAV, STEFAN, ruler (*archon*) of the Serbians, according to Skylitzes (Skyl. 408.73–74); born in Brusna, a district of Drina, died between 1043 and 1052. Reared in Bosnia and Dubrovnik, Voislav (Βοϊσθλάβος) married a relative of SAMUEL OF BULGARIA, according to the PRIEST OF DIOKLEIA (343f). Voislav revolted against Byz. rule ca.1034. He was captured and taken to Constantinople. Escaping before 1040, he renewed his rebellion. The Byz. governor Theophilos Erotikos was expelled from Diokleia, where Voislav established

an independent principality. Kekaumenos (Kek. 170.30) calls him toparch, indicating an alliance with Byz. Voislav subdued some Dalmatian fortresses and Ston, north of Dubrovnik. The revolt of DELJAN helped Voislav consolidate his power. Voislav's struggles with Byz. proved victorious; he seized a Byz. treasure ship wrecked off Diokleia, refused Michael IV's demand for restitution, and destroyed Byz. troops sent against him under George Probatas. He also defeated (ca.1042) the army of Michael, *strategos* of Dyrrachion, which was supported by the princes of Raška and Zachlumia, and enlarged his territories. Voislav's victory and the subsequent escape of Byz. troops through subterranean galleries are depicted in the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 543–44). After Voislav's death, his son Michael (Michaelas) emerged as "*archegos* of the Triballians and Serbians" (Skyl. 475.13–14); he signed a treaty with Byz. and received the title of *protospatharios*.

LIT. Fine, *Early Balkans* 203–07, 211–13. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 371–75. Idem in *VizIzvori* 3:156–62. T. Wasilewski, "Stefan Vojislav de Zahumlje, Stefan Dobroslav de Zéta et Byzance au milieu du XIe siècle," *ZRVI* 13 (1971) 109–26.
–C.M.B., A.K., A.C.

VOITECH, GEORGE, a Bulgarian magnate in Skopje; died 1073? According to SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS (163.14–15) Voitech (Βοϊτάχος) was kin to the Kopchanoi, whom Zlatarski (*Ist.* 2:138, n.1) understood as *kauchans* (anc. Bulg. "aristocrats"). Voitech's rebellion in Skopje, probably in Aug.–Sept. 1072, was supported by the ruler of DIOKLEIA, who sent an army under CONSTANTINE BODIN and general Petrilos to aid Voitech. They shunted him aside, defeated the Byz. *strategos* Damianos DALASSENOS, and occupied the theme of Bulgaria by seizing Ohrid and Devol. Petrilos lost a battle at Kastoria and retreated to Diokleia. A Byz. army commanded by Michael Saronites approached Skopje, and Voitech agreed to betray the town in exchange for his personal safety. He then changed his mind and summoned Bodin's army from Niš (Dec. 1072). Bodin, however, was defeated and captured. The Byz. took Voitech captive; he died from torture on the way to Constantinople.

LIT. Fine, *Early Balkans* 213f. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija* 402–10. – A.K., C.M.B.

VOLUME STYLE, a term introduced by E. Kitzinger (*DOP* 20 [1966] 31f, 45) to denote a phase of 13th–14th-C. Byz. art first thoroughly analyzed by Demus. Most clearly identifiable in MONUMENTAL PAINTING of the second and third quarters of the 13th C., esp. in Serbia, the "volume style" is distinguished by an exaggerated sense of sculptural monumentality. Apparently a reaction to the highly mannered trend of the later 12th C. known as the DYNAMIC STYLE, it continued into the 14th C. in a more decorative form at the CHORA MONASTERY in Constantinople. Kitzinger argued that this style, with its evocation of classical antiquity, exercised a formative impact on Italian Renaissance painting, and specifically on Giotto.

LIT. O. Demus, "Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei," 11 *CEB* (Munich 1958) 26–31. –G.V.

VOTIVES (ἀφιερωτικοί). Objects of varying shapes and decoration were offered at Byz. shrines for the continuance of a donor's prayers, either of supplication or thanksgiving, reflecting a pagan tradition (THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Cure of Pagan Maladies* 8, 64). Leaf-shaped silver plaques (*pinakes*) with CHRISTOGRAMS survive from the 4th C.; the 6th-C. MAʿARAT AL-NUʿMĀN TREASURE includes one large pentagonal version with a representation, possibly of St. Symeon the Stylite the Younger, and a group of very small plaques with orant figures or pairs of eyes. Such objects belong to a subcategory of votives directly associated with PILGRIMAGE. Other than graffiti—usually invoking intercession for travelers or for those who stayed behind—pilgrims' votives were generally of two sorts. On the one hand, valued possessions, such as jewelry or pack animals, were deposited as thanks for blessings received or anticipated; thus, the Holy Sepulchre was laden with "bracelets, rings, tiaras, plaited girdles, belts, emperors' crowns of gold and precious stones" (PIACENZA PILGRIM, ed. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 18); later on, numerous icons were added to the array (P. Nordhagen, *DOP* 41 [1987] 453–60). The THEKLA shrine at Meriamlik was richly endowed with votive birds, some from exotic lands, which gave delight to the children who played in the gardens of the sanctuary (vita of Thekla, ed. Dagron, 350.23–352.32). On the other hand, inscribed artifacts—plaques, crosses, metal or clay body parts—were left to record a specific request or thanks. SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem describes such a votive at the shrine of Sts. KYROS AND JOHN (*Miracles* 69) recording the cure of a blind man from Rome.

A number of major works of Byz. art were votive (*ex voto*) offerings. The earliest surviving large-scale iconic figures are the votive mosaics in the Church of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike; famous sumptuary objects—the cross of Justin II and Sophia in Rome, the crown of Leo VI in Venice—were votive gifts; innumerable icons were *ex votos*—visitors to Constantinople speak of icon painters outside Hagia Sophia ready to supply icons for votive offerings. The many small, repetitive icons at the monastery on Mt. Sinai indicate that pilgrims often left votive icons there.

Chapels attached to urban sanctuaries and many of the tiny churches that dot Byz. villages were votive offerings by individuals; the lower walls, piers, and narthexes of countless provincial church buildings are layered with frescoed panels that depict a saint and a donor and include a votive inscription.

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 5.1:1037–49. Mango, *Silver* 240–45. Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art* 44–46. –G.V., M.M.M., A.W.C.

VOUSSOIR, a masonry unit of an ARCH, usually a wedge-shaped block of stone whose tapering sides are cut to align with radii of the arch. The units of a brick arch are sometimes slightly wedge-shaped. The voussoir at the crown of the arch is called the keystone; when it is in place, the arch forms a stable, self-supporting unit. On brick arches, voussoirs were sometimes simulated with marble revetment. The sides of voussoirs could be notched or "joggled" to lock into adjacent members (Aphentiko, MISTRA; PAMMAKARISTOS Church, Constantinople) or simply to create a surface pattern (Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon,* fig.155).

LIT. A.K. Orlandos, "He orthomarmarosis tou en Mystra naou tes Hodegetrias (Aphentikou)," *ABME* 1 (1935) 155–57. –N.E.L., W.L.

VOYAGE DE CHARLEMAGNE À JÉRUSALEM ET À CONSTANTINOPLE, epic poem whose semicomical account of Charlemagne's fictional trip to Jerusalem and his stay in Constantinople is related to the *chansons de geste* and foreshadows the genre of "romans d'Orient." The sole MS is in the Anglo-Norman dialect. The work's date is controversial: theories range from the late 11th C. to between ca.1217 and 1263, when it was translated into Old Norse. Its theme of Passion relics at St. Denis may reflect the long controversy between that abbey and the bishop of Paris over the Lendit fair. The *Voyage* reflects Western attitudes and keen interest in Byz. during a period of intensifying contacts and crusades. The description of wares and location of markets at Jerusalem near Ste. Marie Latine seems to fit the situation between ca.1125 and 1150 (J. Richard, *RBPH* 43 [1965] 552–55). The bulk of the tale takes place in Constantinople at the court of a Byz. King Hugh, where a spy overhears Charlemagne's peers and their drunken boasting, and they are forced to perform as promised. This they do, thanks to relics: for example, Olivier successfully makes love to the Byz. princess 30 times in one night (vv. 692–734), and Hugh becomes Charlemagne's vassal. Constantinople, its domed architecture, perfumed gardens, and magical palace—with its iconography and AUTOMATA (some details fit with the *Patria of Constantinople*: M. Schlauch, *Speculum* 7 [1932] 500–14)—even the Byz. emperor's plow, are described in great and imaginative detail.

ED. J.-L.G. Picherit, *The Journey of Charlemagne to Jerusalem and Constantinople* (Birmingham, Ala., 1984), with Eng. tr.

LIT. M. Gosman, "La propaganda politique dans Le Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 102 (1986) 53–66. G. Van Belle, "Le voyage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople—Pour une approche narratologique," *RBPH* 64 (1986) 465–72. –M.McC.

VRAP, a mountainous village in Albania, near ancient Clodiana, a station on the Via EGNATIA. Before 1902 local inhabitants discovered there a hoard of gold, silver, and bronze objects; a part of the same group was found in 1894 in Erseke, on the Greco-Albanian frontier. The treasure contained, together with Avar belt buckles, etc., Byz. vessels, sometimes with Greek inscriptions, and two chalices, one decorated with *tychai* in relief (*Age of Spirit.*, no.156), now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Two Byz. silver plates from Erseke (now in private hands) bear stamps

of Constans II, suggesting a date in the late 7th C. for this group. Certain pieces seem to have been produced in local workshops by craftsmen with "Byz. experience." Werner suggested that the hoard belonged to an Avar *khagan*. Lemerle (*Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:56–58) argued that it could not have been that of Kouber.

LIT. J. Werner, *Der Schatzfund von Vrap in Albanien* (Vienna 1986), rev. É. Garam, *BJb* 187 (1987) 854–57. –A.K.

VSEVOLOD, prince of KIEV; son of JAROSLAV; baptismal name Andrej; born 1030, died Kiev 13 Apr. 1093. Sometime between 1047 and 1052 he married a relative of Constantine IX Monomachos. After his father's death (1054) Vsevolod, as prince of Perejaslavl', ruled Kievan Rus' together with his older brothers Izjaslav of Kiev and Svjatoslav of Černigov. As a consequence of this triarchy, the bishoprics of Perejaslavl' and Černigov were elevated in the 1060s to titular metropolitan sees. In 1078, Vsevolod became the ruler of all Rus'. He supported the attempts of JOHN II, metropolitan of Kiev, to restore Kievan church jurisdiction over Perejaslavl' and Černigov. Vsevolod contributed to the increased veneration of his saintly patron; probably at this time the legend of the journey of the apostle ANDREW to the Dnieper region was developed. Vsevolod was the first prince of Rus' who, while continuing to use seals with Greek inscriptions (as did his predecessors), also used seals similar to Byz. ones but with Slavic inscriptions.

LIT. Hruševs'kyi, *Istorija* 2:47–81. Poppe, *Christian Russia*, pts.IV, VII–IX. A. Soloviev, *Byzance et la formation de l'État russe* (London 1979), pts.V–VI. –An.P.

VUKAŠIN, Serbian king (*kralj; krales* in the Greek sources) and co-ruler with STEFAN UROŠ V (from Aug./Sept. 1365); died at Černomen on the Marica River 26 Sept. 1371. According to Chalkokondyles, Vukašin was cupbearer (*oinochoos*) of STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, while his brother JOHN UGLJEŠA served the tsar as *hippokomos,* or groom. In 1350 Dušan appointed Vukašin *župan* in Prilep. After Dušan's death, Vukašin expanded his holdings in Macedonia and Kosovo Polje; Tsar Stefan Uroš V gave him the title of *despotes* in 1364 and *kralj* in 1365. Gradually Vukašin acquired dominance over his co-ruler Uroš V; correspondence with Dubrovnik shows him acting in his own name alone. Since Uroš V was childless, Vukašin crowned his son MARKO KRALJEVIĆ as "junior ruler." The rise to power of Vukašin and John Uglješa caused jealous opposition among a number of influential Serbian lords. The Serbian forces were thus weakened at the time of the battle of MARICA against the Turks, when both Vukašin and Uglješa were killed and the Serbian army was defeated. Marko succeeded his father, but had to recognize the suzerainty of the Ottoman sultan.

Joint portraits of Uroš and Vukašin are represented at the Psača monastery, with Uroš in the senior position.

LIT. Fine, *Late Balkans* 362–64. Mihaljčić, *Kraj carstva* 80–163. Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast* 7–14, 18–21. K. Jireček, *Zbornik* 1 (Belgrade 1959), pt. X, 339–85. –J.S.A.

W

WĀDĪ NAṬRŪN (Sketis [Σκῆτις], Coptic Shiet), west of the Nile Delta, one of the most famous Early Christian monastic centers in Egypt, thought to have been founded by MAKARIOS THE GREAT ca.300. The anchorites joining him lived in individual small houses (*kellia*), usually accompanied by a younger monk who saw to the food supply; there were no shared refectories. The monks' daily occupation consisted of prayer and simple handicrafts (e.g., basketwork), and the products were sold in nearby markets. The monks assembled in church only on Sundays for the liturgy. By the late 4th C. four churches were attested. The present four monasteries in Wādī Naṭrūn represent a development after the 9th C., when for security reasons monks settled within an area surrounded by a high wall. Each monastery had its own multistoried defense tower (*jawsaq*), refectories, a guesthouse, and several decorated churches, of which the earliest belong to the late 7th or early 8th C.

LIT. H.G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi'n Natrûn*, 3 vols. (New York 1926–33; rp. 1973). P. Grossmann, *Mittelalterliche Langhauskuppelkirchen und verwandte Typen in Oberägypten* (Glückstadt 1982) 112–15, 122f, 206–08, 213–15. J. Leroy, *Les peintures des couvents du Ouadi Natroun* (Cairo 1982). –P.G.

WAGES (μισθός, μίσθωμα) were paid to agricultural hired workers and apprentices (both called MISTHIOI) as well as to construction workers and some professionals (clergy, hospital physicians, teachers) on a daily, monthly, or annual basis. Wages could also be paid for services on a piecework principle: to a craftsman for a specially commissioned object, to a contractor for erecting a building, to a doctor as an honorarium, to a scribe for copying a book; payment to a prostitute was also called *misthos*. Another form of wages was a percentage share: the scribe of a *taboularios* received 2 *keratia* for each nomisma earned by his master, that is, 1/12 of his pay. Wages were paid primarily in money, but also in grain, olive oil, wine, etc.

Concrete data on wages are scanty: in Egyptian papyri the annual wages of a hired worker average around 6 nomismata a year, whereas a shipbuilder received 2 nomismata monthly; hagiographical sources of the 6th–7th C. give 1 *keration* a day as a typical figure. A 14th-C. textbook of MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS (K. Vogt, *Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts* [Vienna 1968], no.51) calculates the daily earning of a worker as 10 assaria (copper coins). Monastic *typika* provide evidence for the salary (in kind and money) of the monastery's steward, physician, and clergy, as well as hospital employees (e.g., P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 99.1176–105.1289). Women seem to have been paid two to three times less than men (Fikhman, *Egipet* 76f); the woman physician at the Pantokrator hospital in Constantinople received half the salary of her male colleagues (P. Gautier, *supra* 101.1198–99).

Wages were established by private agreement and fixed in CONTRACTS, but the state had control over both wages and PRICES. Diocletian's PRICE EDICT is an example of such control in late antiquity, while the BOOK OF THE EPARCH regulated the size and the form of payment in 10th-C. Constantinople: the contract was not to exceed 30 days, and attempts to increase wages in order to attract the services of another man's *misthios* were punished. Laborers and professionals used the strike as a means to increase their wages: the evidence about the strike of construction workers in Constantinople between 481 and 491 may be questionable (H.G. Beck, *BZ* 66 [1973] 268); much more reliable is the statement of Attaleiates (Attal. 204.5–6) that *mistharnountes* in Rhaidestos demanded that their wages be increased in accordance with rising prices. The clergy of Hagia Sophia went on strike in 1307 because the patriarchal treasury did not have sufficient funds to pay them (A.M. Talbot, *DOP* 27 [1973] 25f).

The salary (ROGA) of high-ranking officials was much higher than artisans' wages: according to Justinian's law of 534, the prefect of Africa was paid 100 litrae of gold yearly; Ibn Khurdādhbeh

calculates the salary of officers in the 9th C. between 1–40 pounds of gold, and *De ceremoniis* gives similar sums (5–40 pounds) as the salary of *strategoi*. The salary of functionaries was supplemented by bribes, by presents conferred upon them on feast days, and by various services. Private donations were encouraged: pupils of the law school in Constantinople were allowed to give presents to the *nomophylax* (the director of the school), judges could be paid directly by the litigants, and so on. (See also SYNETHEIA.)

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, "Löhne und Preise in Byzanz," *BZ* 32 (1932) 295–305. –A.K., A.M.T.

WALLACHIA, region on the left bank of the Lower and Middle Danube, bordering MOLDAVIA on the northeast. The term originates from the name of VLACHIA or *Wlachen lant* (in the *Niebelungenlied*) and was firmly established by the 14th C.

Wallachia coincided in rough outline with Trajan's DACIA. When the Romans left in the 3rd C., they retained some fortresses on the left bank (e.g., SUCIDAVA), but the autochthonous romanized culture dominated through the 4th C., Germanic FOEDERATI probably not having been very numerous. In the 5th–6th C. the territory of Wallachia was completely ceded to the Huns, and then to the Avars and Slavs. In the 9th–10th C. a substantial part of Wallachia was within the borders of the Bulgarian state; later, it was invaded by the Pechenegs, Cumans, and Tatars.

The creation of an independent Wallachia began in the 13th C. In 1330, Prince Basarab won a victory over the Hungarian king, Charles (son of CHARLES I OF ANJOU), and established the independence of his princedom. Wallachia reached its peak under MIRCEA THE ELDER and looked to Byz. for support: the spouses of the princes Ladislas-Vlaico (1364–ca.1375) and Radu I (ca.1375–ca.1377) were probably of Greek or Greco-Slavic origin; some Wallachian princesses were married to Serbian and Bulgarian rulers. Wallachia also moved toward Orthodox Christianity, and the metropolis of VICINA became its center. In the 15th C. Wallachia acknowledged allegiance to the Ottoman Empire. (See also RUMANIANS.)

LIT. *Istoria Romîniei*, 2 vols. (Bucharest 1960–62). A. Elian, "Les rapports byzantino-roumains," *BS* 19 (1958) 212–22. Ş. Andreescu, "Alliances dynastiques des princes de Valachie (XIV^{e}–XVI^{e} siècles)," *RESEE* 23 (1985) 359–61. D. Deletant, "Some Aspects of the Byzantine Tradition in the Rumanian Principalities," *SlEERev* 59 (1981) 1–14. –A.K.

WAR. See PEACE AND WAR.

WAR OF TROY (Ὁ Πόλεμος τῆς Τρωάδος), an anonymous translation of the 12th-C. *Roman de Troie* of Benoit de Ste. Maure, made probably during the 14th C. in Frankish Greece. Originally intended to be illustrated, this is the longest (over 14,000 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES) of the extant popular verse romances and seems to have exerted a major influence on the genre. Though some of the lengthy EKPHRASEIS of the original have been curtailed, otherwise the version faithfully renders Benoit's romance, itself based on the Latin novels of Dares the Phrygian and DIKTYS OF CRETE. Although the author of the *War of Troy* conceals his debt to these and to Benoit by omitting all references to them, he shows almost no knowledge of either the ILIAD or the Byz. chroniclers' account of the TROJAN WAR. The *War of Troy* thus represents a return of the Trojan story to Greek lands after its circulation throughout the Europe of late antiquity and the Middle Ages. Although the closeness of the translation demonstrates that the poem was composed in a conventional literary manner, its style—with its mixed language and repeated phrases—probably indicates contact with orally disseminated traditional material (see ROMANCE).

ED. L. Polites, ed., "Cheirographa dyo idiotikon syllogon," *Hellenika* 22 (1969) 106–15.

LIT. M. Papathomopoulos, "Diorthoseis ston 'Polemo tes Troados,'" *Dodone* 5 (1976) 349–68; 8 (1979) 355–415. Jeffreys, *Popular Literature*, pt.III (1979), 115–39. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

WARSHIP. See CHELANDION; DROMON; GALEA.

WASHING OF THE FEET. During the Last Supper, Christ washed his disciples' feet, indicating, when Peter protested, that this was a symbolic cleansing from sin (Jn 13:1–20). The scene appears first on 4th-C. sarcophagi as a pendant to that of Pilate washing his hands, Christ being upright; the later ROSSANO GOSPELS (fol.3r) show Christ deeply bowing and humble. The standard imagery had emerged by the 9th C.: Christ slightly bowing, holding a towel; Peter with one or both feet in a basin, grasping his head in dismay or sorrow, or gesturing to Christ; and up to 11 other disciples, some often shown removing their sandals. It appears in Gospel and PASSION cycles, sometimes displacing the Last Supper; at Psalm 50 (51) in marginal PSALTERS; and occasionally on icons (Soteriou, *Eikones*, figs. 33, 49), appearing in the latter below the Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER). Byz. churches often locate the scene in the narthex (HOSIOS LOUKAS), where the monastic ceremony of the washing of the monks' feet by the *hegoumenos* was usually performed on Holy Thursday. In some large 12th- and 13th-C. churches (MONREALE; S. Marco in VENICE) and in many Palaiologan churches, the Passion cycle adorned the naos instead, and the monastic ceremony sometimes followed the image inside.

In imitation of Christ, Byz. bishops and *hegoumenoi* performed on Holy Thursday the ceremony of washing of the feet of 12 clergymen. Similarly, the emperor washed the feet of 12 poor men selected in Constantinople and brought to the palace. They received new garments and had to approach the emperor with a candle in hand; he washed only the right foot of each person. Each one was given three gold coins before departing.

LIT. H. Giess, *Die Darstellung der Fusswaschung Christi in den Kunstwerken des 4.-12. Jahrhunderts* (Rome 1962). S. Pétridès, "Le lavement des pieds le jeudi-saint dans l'église grecque," *EO* 3 (1899–1900) 321–26. –A.W.C., A.K.

WATER (ὕδωρ) was the most essential of BEVERAGES in the eastern Mediterranean. Cold water was precious in a hot climate: LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA was appalled to see water being sold on the streets of Constantinople. The quality of drinking water was a matter of serious concern, esp. during the summer, when it became scarce. An anonymous author advised drinking only fresh water during July (A. Garzya, *Diptycha* 2 [1980–81] 47). Another anonymous writer recommended water from natural springs, which is superior because it does not smell, has good taste, and is cold year round (Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:470). In summer, water was kept cold in special VESSELS, which were stored in cellars and cool places.

The problem of water supply was acute in Byz. In Constantinople the AQUEDUCT provided water for the capital and water was also stored in cisterns (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF); in many places the cisterns were filled with rainwater. Purchase deeds indicate accurately the existence of wells on the lot, and retreating armies are frequently described as destroying and poisoning wells. Water was also needed for BATHS, small-scale IRRIGATION, and as power for MILLS and AUTOMATA. A drought was considered a serious calamity, and some saints reportedly possessed the gift of bringing rain (or stopping it at harvesttime).

Water and its source (*pege*) were symbols of life and purification; in the Constantinopolitan suburb of PEGE was a church dedicated to the Virgin as Zoodochos Pege. Water was the main element of the rite of BAPTISM, and the blessing of water played an important part in the Byz. liturgy, esp. at EPIPHANY. Basil the Great ascribed the introduction of the blessing of water to ancient tradition (PG 32:188B); the oldest evidence, however, comes from Tertullian (P. de Puniet, *DACL* 2:685f). At the same time water in the form of a whirlpool, sea, or flood served as a symbol of destruction. Water was also used for semipagan fortunetelling procedures.

LIT. P. Magdalino, "The Literary Perception of Everyday Life in Byzantium," *BS* 48 (1987) 32f. –Ap.K., A.K.

WATERMARKS, emblems or designs found only in the PAPER of occidental origin that began to be imported into Byz. in the 13th C. The impressions, made by wires twisted into the desired shape and sewed to the mold on which the paper was formed, are only visible against the light. Depending on the size and folding of the sheet of paper, the watermark may appear in the middle of the page, in the folding, or in the corner; in the last two cases only one half or one quarter is on the FOLIO. Because watermarks appear on many dated documents or (less frequently) on MSS, they can provide a chronology for an undated MS (Harlfinger, *Kodikologie* 144–69). A wire screen had an average life of between six months and four years; a MS with a given watermark was usually copied within five years from the known date of that watermark (T. Gerardy, *Datieren mit Hilfe von Wasserzeichen* [Bückeburg 1964] 65f, 69). Further precision of dating is provided by the phenomenon

of pairs of watermarks, made by two wire screens in different degrees of deterioration. All 13th-C. and some 14th-C. watermarks were simple geometric shapes and lines; marks of the 14th–15th C. were more elaborate, including such devices as a unicorn, bow and arrow, oxhead, scissors, flute, and pear.

LIT. C.-M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, 4 vols. (Geneva 1907; rp. with new introd. Amsterdam 1968). G. Piccard, *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Findbücher*, 15 vols. in 22 parts (Stuttgart 1961–87). D. & H. Harlfinger, *Wasserzeichen aus griechischen Handschriften* (Berlin 1974–80). –E.G., A.M.T.

WEAPONRY. The weapons most commonly used by Byz. soldiers were swords, spears, maces, slings, and bows. The sword (*xiphos*) was the primary weapon and many sword types (straight, curved, one- and two-handed) are depicted in illustrations (A. Bruhn Hoffmeyer, *Gladius* 5 [1966] fig.16). According to the STRATEGIKA, by the 6th C. the short Roman *gladius* had been abandoned in favor of a long two-edged sword, the *spathion*, used by both the infantry and cavalry. The 10th-C. SYLLOGE TACTICORUM (38.5, 39.2) gives the length of this kind of sword as the equivalent of 94 cm and mentions a new saberlike sword of the same length, the *paramerion*, a curved one-edged slashing weapon for cavalrymen. Both weapons could be carried from a belt or by a shoulder strap.

Infantrymen and cavalrymen carried spears for thrusting and casting. Cavalrymen of the 6th and 7th C. wielded lances with a thong in the middle of the shaft (Avar style) and a pennant (*Strat. Maurik.* 78.18–20). Infantrymen's spears (*kontaria*) in the 10th C. were 4–4.5 m long (cavalry lances were slightly shorter) with an iron point (*xipharion*, *aichme*). One type of spear, the *menaulion*, is described in detail; it was very thick, taken whole from young oak or cornel saplings, and capped by a long blade (45–50 cm), for use by esp. strong infantrymen (called *menaulatoi* after their weapon) against enemy KATAPHRAKTOI—an excellent example of a weapon and a type of specialized soldier developed for a specific tactical role (E. McGeer, *Diptycha* 4 [1986–87] 53–57). Both light infantry and cavalry carried javelins (*akontia*, *rhiptaria*) no longer than 3 m (*Sylloge tacticorum* 38.6, 39.7).

Maces (*rabdia*) and axes (*pelekia*, *tzikouria*) served as shock weapons. The 10th-C. *kataphraktoi* carried heavy all-iron maces (*siderorabdia*)—six-, four-, or three-cornered—to smash their way through enemy infantry (*Praecepta Milit.* 11.30–32). Infantrymen either hurled maces and battle-axes at the enemy or used them in hand-to-hand combat; the axe was the preferred weapon of the mercenaries from Rus' of the 10th and 11th C. Axes were single-bladed (rounded or straight-edged), sometimes with a spike opposite the blade; various types appear in illustrations in the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES and other MSS (A. Bruhn Hoffmeyer, *Gladius* 5 [1966] fig.18; P. Schreiner in *Les pays du nord et Byzance* [Uppsala 1981] 234–36).

The sling (*sphendone*) and the bow (*toxon*) were the weapons used by light soldiers. Slings, as shown in illustrations of David and Goliath, were the ordinary hand-held type; the Roman staff sling (*fustibalis*) was apparently unknown to the Byz. The Byz. bow, like the late Roman bow, was the composite, reflex type featuring an unbendable horn grip with the reinforced wooden bowstave strung in reverse of the bow's natural flex when unstrung (J.C. Coulston, *BAR* Int. Ser. 275 [1985] 220–366). A bowshot (flight, not target, range) is estimated at over 300 m for an infantry bow (Schilbach, *Metrologie* 42), but cavalry bows, standing 1.2 m high, were smaller and less tightly strung for greater accuracy and ease of handling (*Sylloge tacticorum* 39.4); they had a flight range of 130–35 m (Bivar, "Cavalry" 283). The *solenarion*, usually identified as the Byz. crossbow, has recently been redefined as a hollow tube through which an archer could launch several small arrows (*mues*, i.e., "mice") at a time; consequently Anna Komnene's remarks that the Crusaders' Western-type crossbow (which she called a *tzangra*) was unknown to the Byz. before the 12th C. should be accepted (D. Nishimura, *Byzantion* 58 [1988] 422–35).

Production of Weapons (*ὁπλοποιΐα*). The production of weapons was assigned to state *ergasteria* (see FACTORIES, IMPERIAL) in the Roman Empire. By the 4th C. there were 15 such centers in the East, 20 in the West (S. James, *BAR* Int. Ser. 394 [1988] 257–331), situated in major cities and along the frontiers. The workers (*fabricenses*) were treated like soldiers and had to meet a minimum quota each month with the weight of their production strictly controlled. Direct supervision and coercion of arms production is evident from the emperor Julian's harassment of the craftsmen in Antioch as he urged them to furnish arms, uniforms, and siegecraft for his expedition to Persia in 363.

As the story of the transfer of the relics of St. EUPHEMIA relates (F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine* [Brussels 1965] 89.14–19 and n.3), arms factories continued to operate after the 7th C.; the emperor Leo III ordered the establishment of an arms factory in a Constantinopolitan monastery where furnaces were constructed and armorers (*zabaroi*) employed. The production of GREEK FIRE was a state enterprise conducted in great secrecy. No guild of arms-makers is mentioned by the *Book of the Eparch*, but the *Miracles* of St. Artemios refers to a bowmaker (*toxopoios*) in Constantinople. The state's demand that STRATIOTAI present themselves for service with their own arms suggests that local private workshops also existed from which they obtained equipment. The lists of supplies for the 911 and 949 expeditions to Crete (*De cer.* 657.4–660.12, 664.4–678.10) record the quotas assigned to arms factories in both Constantinople and the provinces; for example, in 911 the *strategos* of Thessalonike was ordered to supply 200,000 arrows, 3,000 spears, and "as many shields as possible," and similar demands were sent to the *krites* of Hellas and the *strategoi* of Nikopolis and the Peloponnesos. On campaign the army took along various craftsmen: *samiatores*, who made and repaired iron weapons; *toxopoioi* and *sagittopoioi*, who made bows and arrows (TAKTIKA OF LEO VI 4.50). (See also FIREARMS.)

LIT. J.F. Haldon, "Some Aspects of Byzantine Military Technology from the Sixth to the Tenth Centuries," *BMGS* 1 (1975) 11–47. T. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen* (Vienna 1988) 133–259. D.C. Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era, 1050–1350*, 2 vols. (New York 1988) 26–52, 644–61. Haldon, *Praetorians* 318–23. –E.M., A.K., A.C.

WEAVER (*ὑφαντής*). The production of TEXTILES involved two major stages, spinning and weaving, in addition to cleaning, bleaching, dyeing, and/or fulling as necessary. Spinning was considered to be a primarily female occupation done at home (e.g., Mary of Egypt states that she usually carried a distaff with her [PG 87:3712B]). Both men and women worked as weavers: Timarion, for example, says that textiles and yarn produced by both men and women were brought to the fair in Thessalonike (*Timarion* 54.149–50). Like spinning, weaving was often a household operation (ACHMET BEN SIRIN, *Oneirocriticon* 215.9 and 22), but in Byz. there were also professional weavers, DYERS, and fullers.

An important source for the activity of women clothmakers is found in Psellos's short treatise on the annual festival of Agathe in Constantinople. This was a celebration by women involved in various aspects of textile production (spinning, carding, weaving) who may have been organized into a guild. The treatise apparently describes wall paintings that depicted women carding and weaving (A. Laiou in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:111–22). Sometimes artisans combined weaving with other facets of textile production: TAILORS might first weave the cloth that they sewed into garments, and the SERIKARIOI of the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* may have been involved in both dyeing fabric and tailoring it. In the regulations for the Stoudios monastery, however, tailors and weavers appear as separate artisans (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 1:412). The weavers are not listed as a separate guild in the *Book of the Eparch*. Some luxury textiles were woven in imperial factories.

The principal raw materials used in weaving were wool and flax (see LINEN) as in antiquity; SILK and later cotton also came to be used. Sometimes different kinds of fibers (e.g., wool and silk) were woven together.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:215–17. Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 86f. Aik. Christophilopoulou, "Systema basilikon histourgon," in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:65–72. –A.K., A.M.T.

WEDDING, the nuptial ceremony, was designated in Greek by *gamos*, the word also used for the state of MARRIAGE; the terms for the bride and bridegroom were respectively *nymphe* and *nymphios*. The wedding ceremony was frequently preceded by a BETROTHAL and the signing of a contract that regulated property relations in the marriage, but this was not mandatory. The wedding consisted of two parts—the ecclesiastical MARRIAGE RITE and the subsequent celebratory feast. After ritual ablutions, the bride, clad in white and veiled, left the house of her parents for the church; she and the bridegroom had to express their consent to the marriage, whereupon they received an ecclesiastical blessing (E. Herman, *OrChrP* 4 [1938] 189–234), donned MARRIAGE CROWNS, and exchanged marriage RINGS.

From the church the procession, accompanied by music and special marriage songs (EPITHALAMIA), headed for the house of the groom; the bride was led by a special retinue of *nymphagogoi*, "leaders of the bride." The procession took place at night and was illuminated by torch-bearers. The poor people of Constantinople celebrated their weddings in a public hall, the Nymphaion, located in front of the SENATE HOUSE (Cedr. 1:610.14–15). In the house of the groom the bride removed her veil so that her in-laws could see her (in theory, for the first time). The couple soon retired to the nuptial chamber (*pastas*) where the bride was given the MARRIAGE BELT.

The guests meanwhile were invited to a BANQUET and entertained by MIMES, dancing girls, and spectacles. Church fathers (esp. John Chrysostom) tried to convince the faithful to moderate the games and drinking at weddings, but in vain. The clergy was, however, required to leave the feast before these games began (Balsamon in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:357.10, commenting on canon 24 of the Council in Trullo). By dawn, the guests expected to see proof of the bride's virginity and of the consummation of the marriage.

Aristocratic weddings were magnificent (and sometimes lengthy) occasions: that of DIGENES AKRITAS reportedly lasted three months (Grottaferrata version IV 931, ed. E. Trapp, p.224). Imperial weddings often took the form of a public celebration, with tables placed in open areas, as Eustathios of Thessalonike depicts the reception in honor of Alexios II and Agnes of France. In such cases special games might be arranged.

Descriptions of the "spiritual weddings" of female martyrs (e.g., Martha and Febronia) and nuns to Christ use the vocabulary of earthly weddings: washing, anointing, and clothing of the bride, the dowry, rings and crowns, the wedding feast and bridal chamber (Brock-Harvey, *Women* 70f, 165).

LIT. M. Angold, "The Wedding of Digenis Akrites," in *He kathemerine zoe sto Byzantio* (Athens 1988) 201–15.
–J.H., A.K.

WEIGHT BOX, a low rectangular container (approximately 20 cm long) for flat WEIGHTS and BALANCE SCALES. Many specimens of 5th–7th-C. manufacture—some with their contents intact—have survived in Egypt, and a fragment of another was discovered in the early 7th-C. Yassi Ada shipwreck. Made of wood, they are usually fitted with a sliding lid secured with a lock. Inside is a removable deck with a variety of geometric sinkings to accommodate the various sizes and shapes of flat weights, as well as the pans and balance arm of the scale. More elaborate specimens may bear copper or ivory panels with floral or geometric motifs, or, in rare cases, figures. The cover most often shows a low-relief cross beneath an arch, much like those common on contemporary flat weights. Similarly, the most frequently encountered inscription, "Grace of God," commonly appears also on flat weights. The Christian meaning is clear from 1 Corinthians 15:10 ("By the grace of God I am what I am . . ."): honest weighing and its resultant prosperity are gifts from God.

LIT. M.H. Rutschowscaya, "Boîtes à poids d'époque copte," *Revue du Louvre* 29 (1979) 1–5. –G.V.

WEIGHTS are known in two main types: bust or statuette weights for gross weighing with STEELYARDS, and flat weights for fine weighing with BALANCE SCALES. The former, introduced by the Romans, survive in large numbers from the 5th to 7th C. Cast in bronze with a lead core, they take two forms: those depicting an empress or, less frequently, an emperor, and those representing Athena-Minerva. The "imperial" imagery likely connoted the accuracy of the measure. Typical specimens weighed approximately four Roman pounds (LITRA).

Flat weights, esp. common from the 4th to 7th C., were used for more precise transactions involving coins and other valuable materials. Most are flat and square, though some take the form of a flattened sphere; all are solid bronze. Moreover, all bear a weight designation: EXAGIA, used for coins, are calibrated in NOMISMATA, whereas *pondera*, generally larger and used for commodities, are calibrated in OUNGIAI or LITRAE. Some bear texts, symbols, or images, which may be inlaid in silver, copper, or brass. Names of officials appear, as do pious phrases, references to justice, and invocations. The cross is esp. common on 5th–7th-C. specimens, whereas earlier examples (4th–5th C.) may bear paired images of emperors. Commonly called imperial weights, the latter often also depict a TYCHE, a reference to HUNTING, or an evocation of prosperity (e.g., via a full MODIOS). The implication is that prosperity, as facilitated through just weights, was a byproduct of harmonious co-rulership, that rulership drew its legitimacy from the *polis*, and that it depended on the power of the state, as evoked by the hunt. Made in sets, flat weights were stored in WEIGHT BOXES. (See also GLASS WEIGHTS.)

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 29–37. –G.V.

WHEAT. See GRAIN.

WIBALD OF STAVELOT, Benedictine monk and statesman; born 1098, died 19 July 1158. Of modest origins, Wibald, who was Lotharingian, studied at Liège and was a monk at Waulsort by 1117, but moved to Stavelot, where he became abbot (16 Nov. 1130). He rose to a position of influence at Conrad III's court, where he was regent during the Second Crusade and was made briefly abbot of Montecassino (1137) and, from 1146, abbot of Corvey. In 1155 and 1157 Wibald traveled to Constantinople as Frederick I's ambassador to Manuel I; he died returning from the second embassy. Much of Wibald's correspondence survives in his original register covering 1146/7–Sept. 1157, which includes letters addressed to Wibald. It is an essential source on diplomacy and marital alliances between Constantinople and the German emperors (Lamma, *Comneni* 1:93–115, 243–50). It documents German, Norman, and Byz. policies in southern Italy and contains letters from Conrad to Manuel (eps. 218, 237, 244, 246) and Manuel's wife Irene-BERTHA OF SULZBACH (eps. 243, 245), from Frederick I to Manuel (ep.410), Wibald's own letters to Manuel (eps. 343, 411, 432), and Manuel's letters to him (eps. 325, 424—*Reg* 2, nos. 1382, 1392). The correspondence reveals Conrad's warm relations with Manuel (e.g., ep.78) and Bertha's role in selecting a Byz. princess for Conrad's son (ep.243) as well as an exchange of embassies (eps. 279, 280, etc.) and rumors about Conrad's alliance with Manuel against the *Romana aecclesia* (eps. 198, 252). Epistle 407 conveys the conditions of a truce of 1153 between Frederick and Pope EUGENIUS III, according to which "the king of the Greeks" should not receive any land "on this side of the sea" (in Italy).

ED. P. Jaffe, *Bibliotheca rerum germanicarum* 1 (Berlin 1864; rp. Aalen 1964) 76–616.

LIT. F.K.J. Jakobi, *Wibald von Stablo und Corvey (1098–1158): Benediktinischer Abt in der frühen Stauferzeit* (Münster 1979). W. Koch, *Die Schrift der Reichskanzlei im 12. Jahrhundert 1125–1190* (Vienna 1979). –M.McC.

WIDOWS (χῆραι) were traditionally equated with the poor and powerless, who, like orphans and strangers, needed protection; care of widows was prescribed as a Christian duty. Widows received charitable distributions, esp. during Holy Week, and might find refuge in *cherotropheia,* homes for widows created by the state or church, such as those built by Eleusios, bishop of Kyzikos, side-by-side with homes for virgins (Sozom., *HE* 5.15.5); later, NUNNERIES replaced them as a refuge (A.-M. Talbot, *ByzF* 9 [1985] 113–15).

An ecclesiastical order of widows was instituted in the early church, allegedly by St. Peter, and probably functioned until the 5th C. Its members had to be 60 years old and married only once. They were selected by the bishop and assigned a special place in the church during services. The order was considered distinct from laity and clergy (including DEACONESSES), since its members did not receive ordination. They performed various social services later undertaken by CONFRATERNITIES.

Widows could be economically independent and have substantial rights to property. Wealthy widows had significant power, DANELIS being an important example. In 1010 the widow Kalida sold her *choraphion* in order to ransom her son from the Arabs (*Ivir.*, no.16). Laiou (*Peasant Society* 89–94) has calculated that in 14th-C. *praktika* 17 to 22 percent of the households were registered as headed by widows, even if they had adult sons. Some aristocratic widows (Anna KOMNENE, the *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE, etc.) exercised enormous influence upon political and cultural life, and dowager empresses could act as regents or rulers. In nunneries, some widows became abbesses and a few, like THEODORA OF THESSALONIKE, attained sanctity. The second marriage of widows was legally permitted and recommended by husbands such as DIGENES AKRITAS, who presumed that widowhood would be unbearable (Grottaferrata version VIII, 3503f, ed. E. Trapp, 362). REMARRIAGE was condemned, however, by rigorists such as Kekaumenos (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 509), while Neilos of Rossano urged the men of the town to maintain a nunnery

so that their widows could avoid remarriage (PG 120:85CD).

LIT. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 13–15, 276. G. Tibiletti, "Le védove nei papiri greci d'Egitto," *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Naples 1984) 985–94. D. Simon, "Witwe Sachlikina gegen Witwe Heraia," *FM* 7 (1986) 325–75. –J.H., A.K.

WILLIAM I, king of Sicily (1154–66); born 1120, died Palermo 7 May 1166. Son of ROGER II, William (Γιλίελμος) and his chief minister, Maio(ne) of Bari, alienated the Norman barons. When MANUEL I failed to gain the support of Frederick I of Germany against Sicily, he allied himself with the discontented barons. In 1155 Manuel sent a few ships, a small force, and gold to hire mercenaries. They captured coastal towns and fortresses in Apulia from the Monte Gargano peninsula to Taranto. Friction was frequent between the barons and the Byz. During the siege of the citadel of Brindisi (Apr.–May 1156), many Normans and mercenaries deserted upon learning that William was approaching with a large army. The Byz. were defeated and their leaders, Alexios Komnenos and John Doukas, captured. In 1157 Manuel sent Alexios AXOUCH to Ancona, whence he encouraged the remaining Norman rebels. Meantime, peace negotiations, fostered by Pope Adrian IV (1154–59), culminated in 1158: Manuel recognized William as king of Sicily, and William returned the noble prisoners taken since 1147, but not the weavers whom Roger II had carried off from Thebes and Corinth. Thereafter, good relations with Byz. lasted into the reign of William's successor, WILLIAM II.

LIT. Chalandon, *Domination normande* 2:167–304. –C.M.B.

WILLIAM I OF CHAMPLITTE, prince of Achaia (1205–1208 or 1209); died Apulia 1208/9. A younger son and minor lord in the county of Burgundy, William joined the Fourth Crusade and participated in the attacks on Constantinople. After mid-1204, he served BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT and joined the latter's expedition into Greece. In 1205, during the siege of Nauplia, the future GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN invited William to help conquer the MOREA. With Boniface's consent, William and Geoffrey advanced to Patras, then to Methone, Korone, and Messenia. A battle at Kountoura (northeast Messenia) in late summer 1205 overcame the only serious resistance. On 19 Nov. 1205 Pope INNOCENT III referred to William as "princeps totius Achaie provincie." William organized his territories as a feudal state. Around 1208, he learned of the death of his brother in France; he set out to secure his inheritance, but died en route.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 54–64. Longnon, *Compagnons* 210–12. –C.M.B.

WILLIAM II, king of Sicily (1166–89); son of WILLIAM I; born 1154, died Palermo 18 Nov. 1189. Plans for him to wed Maria KOMNENE proved vain. During the reign of ANDRONIKOS I, Byz. refugees in Sicily included Alexios KOMNENOS the *pinkernes,* who speciously claimed the throne, and a youth who pretended to be ALEXIOS II. Nominally in their support, but really to establish himself in Constantinople, William attacked the empire in 1185. From Dyrrachion, the army and fleet hurried to Thessalonike. After the city fell (24 Aug. 1185), it was savagely sacked. Alexios BRANAS defeated the Norman army on 7 Nov. 1185 and Thessalonike was recaptured. In 1186 Isaac II pushed the Normans from Dyrrachion, but Kephalenia, Zakynthos, and Ithaka were lost forever. A treaty, ca.1188, provided for an exchange of prisoners. William's most important artistic enterprise was the cathedral of MONREALE.

LIT. Chalandon, *Domination normande* 2:305–418. Brand, *Byzantium* 160–75. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius* 56–79. –C.M.B.

WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN, prince of Achaia (1246–78); born Kalamata ca.1211/12, died Kalamata 1 May 1278. Son of GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN, William was born and raised in the MOREA and knew Greek as well as French. He inherited the title to the principality of ACHAIA after the death of his brother, GEOFFREY II. William, one of the chief heroes of the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA, was a vigorous ruler who expanded the principality to its greatest extent. He conquered the southeast Morea, including MONEMVASIA (1248), and built castles at MISTRA and MAINA. In 1258, William became an ally of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros, and married his daughter Anna. At the battle of PELAGONIA William suffered a crushing defeat and was captured by Nicene forces. To secure his release (1261), William had to relinquish three key fortresses, Monemvasia, Maina, and Mistra. He became a vassal of Michael VIII Palaiologos and received the title of MEGAS DOMESTIKOS.

After his return to the Morea, William continued to lead Latin opposition to the Byz. In 1267 he entered an alliance with CHARLES I OF ANJOU (Treaty of Viterbo) and became his vassal; this alliance, however, served the ambitions of Charles more than those of William. When William died without male issue, Charles inherited the title of prince of Achaia.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 117–50. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:13–57. Longnon, *Empire latin* 217–50. –A.M.T.

WILLIAM OF APULIA, historian of the reign of ROBERT GUISCARD; fl. late 11th C. Probably a Norman in southern Italy, William wrote ca.1095–99 the *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi,* a Latin historical epic dedicated to Pope Urban II and Roger Borsa, Bohemund's half-brother. Despite the epic form and the literary conventions thus imposed, William offers a detailed and generally accurate account of events to the death of Guiscard (1085) from a Norman perspective. Books 1–3 use local sources—they are particularly well informed on events in APULIA and aware of events in Constantinople and their implications for Italy—to describe the Norman conquest of Byz. southern Italy and Arab Sicily from ca.1017 onward; they supply valuable information on Byz. leaders like George MANIAKES and ARGYROS, son of Melo. Books 4–5 narrate in detail Guiscard's war on the Greek mainland against Alexios I and form an essential corrective complement to Anna Komnene's version in the *Alexiad.*

ED. *La geste de Robert Guiscard,* ed. M. Mathieu (Palermo 1961), with Fr. tr.

LIT. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde,* 2:415. E. Hanawalt, "William of Apulia's Gesta Roberti Wiscardi and Anna Comnena's Alexiad: A Literary Comparison" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Calif.–Berkeley 1975). –M.McC.

WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE, Flemish Dominican and Latin translator of Greek; born between ca.1220 and 1235, died Italy? before 26 Oct. 1286. William made some of his translations in Byz.: he was at Nicaea on 24 Apr. 1260 when he finished translating Alexander of Aphrodisias and at Thebes on 23 Dec. 1260 when he completed Aristotle's *On the Parts of Animals.* From Nov. 1267 to Dec. 1277 he was in Italy: by 1272, he became papal chaplain, and he worked for union with the Byz. church at the Second Council of LYONS in 1274. In Apr. 1278 he was made Latin archbishop of Corinth, where he completed three translations of PROKLOS (Feb. 1280). By Jan. 1284, however, he had returned to Italy (A. Paravicini Bagliani, *AFP* 52 [1982] 135–43). It is possible that his remarkable collection of Greek MSS, presumably acquired in Byz., entered the papal library (A. Paravicini Bagliani, *ItMedUm* 26 [1983] 27–69, and Jones, "Papal Manuscripts"). William translated or revised earlier translations of several dozen works, including Aristotle and his commentators, Archimedes, Hero, and Galen. William's literal method of translation means that his Latin versions of many works whose Greek texts survive only partially or not at all illuminate their transmission in Byz.

ED. For lists of works and editions, see L. Minio-Paluello, *DSB* 9:434–40. T. Kaeppeli, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi,* vol. 2 (Rome 1975) 122–29.

LIT. M. Grabmann, *Guglielmo de Moerbeke O.P., il traduttore delle opere di Aristotele* (Rome 1946). –M.McC.

WILLIAM OF TYRE, statesman and historian of the Crusader states; born Jerusalem ca.1130, died 29 Sept. 1186. William studied in France and at Bologna (1146–65) and then returned home in 1165 to become canon of Acre (Akko), where he may have known Theodora, widow of Baldwin III and Andronikos I Komnenos (*Chron.* 20,2). Subsequently he became archdeacon of Tyre (1167) and Nazareth (ca.1173 or 1174), tutor of future king Baldwin IV, chancellor of the kingdom of Jerusalem (1174), and archbishop of Tyre (1175), but failed to attain the patriarchate of Jerusalem in 1180 (cf. R. Hiestand, *DA* 34 [1978] 345–80). He negotiated the joint invasion of Egypt (*Chron.* 20,4) as King Amalric's envoy to Manuel I (1168) and later spent seven months (1179–80) with Manuel in Constantinople (22,4). Whether he knew Greek is unclear (Huygens, *infra* 2).

William's *Chronicon,* in Latin, is the key source for Byz. relations with the Crusader states and a masterpiece of medieval historical writing. The first 13 books draw on Canon ALBERT OF AACHEN, RAYMOND OF AGUILERS, GESTA FRANCORUM (indirectly?), FULCHER OF CHARTRES, and his own lost

Gesta orientalium principum (Deeds of the Eastern Rulers), which used the *Annals* of EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA as well as Oriental sources (H. Möhring, *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 19 [1984] 170–83). It is uncertain whether the abrupt ending should be explained as an accident of transmission or William's failure to continue. William understands and likes Byz. (R.H.C. Davis in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Baker [Edinburgh 1973] 64–76); he regularly prefixes a respectful *dominus* to the title of the emperor, whom he reckoned "far richer" than any other Christian prince (20,22).

Even when William rewrites earlier Latin sources, his own experience and insight into Byz. society work subtle changes in formulation. As an independent witness, William reports, for example, John II's campaign against Antioch (14,24–30), the Byz. fleet's role in the invasion of Egypt (20,13–17), the battle of Myriokephalon (21,11), the troubles at Constantinople after Manuel I's death (22,5 and 11–14), and Amalric's trip to Constantinople, including a description of Boukoleon and the carefully calibrated ceremonial (20,22–24). An Old French translation is associated with several continuations on events after 1184 (ESTOIRE D'ERACLES); a Latin continuation comes from England (ed. M. Salloch, *Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus* [Leipzig 1934]).

ED. *Chronique*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, H.E. Mayer, G. Rösch, 2 vols. [= CChr., ser. lat., Cont. med. 63–63A] (Turnhout 1986). Eng. tr. E.A. Babcock, A.C. Krey, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* (New York 1943).

LIT. P.W. Edbury, J.G. Rowe, *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge 1988). A.P. Kazhdan-M.A. Zaborov, "Gijom Tirskij o sostave gospodstvujuščego klassa v Vizantii (konec XI–XII v.)," *VizVrem* 33 (1971) 48–54. *RepFontHist* 5:329–32. –M.McC.

WILLIBALD. See HUGEBURC.

WILLS (sing. διαθήκη, also *diataxis*, *diatyposis*), documents by which the property of the deceased was transferred to the HEIRS; in addition to matters of SUCCESSION, wills could include clauses concerning the MANUMISSION of slaves, FIDEICOMMISSA, and settlements of DEBTS. Justinianic law required that the will be signed and sealed by seven witnesses; the procedure was simplified by Leo VI in novel 42. The right of opening (*anoixis*) the will was specifically granted by Justinian I to the QUAESTOR, whereas Leo VI in novel 44 extended this function to various judges in the capital and in the provinces.

Both men and women could make wills. Justinian I, in novel 5.5 of 535, prohibited monks (with certain exceptions) from making wills; Leo VI, in novel 5, did allow monks to dispose of their property, and several preserved wills (esp. of the 13th–14th C.) illustrate this privilege (A. Steinwenter, *Aegyptus* 1 [1932] 55–64). Monastic wills are hardly distinguishable from TYPIKA and contain not only dispositions of property but spiritual indoctrination, autobiographical information, and in some cases the appointment of the successor to the *hegoumenos*.

Well known are the wills of Eustathios BOILAS, Symbatios Pakourianos, Kale-Maria Pakouriane, and the ex-archbishop of Thessalonike Theodore Kerameas of 1284 (*Lavra* 2, no.75). These wills, among others, contain data on economic, social, and legal relations; since they sometimes include INVENTORIES of sacred vessels, books, and other sacred objects they are a precious source for cultural history as well.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 150–85. K. Manaphes, *Monasteriaka typika-diathekai* (Athens 1970) 124–92. G. Litavrin, "Otnositel'nye razmery i sostav imuščestva provincial'noj vizantijskoj aristokratii XI v.," in *VizOč* (Moscow 1971) 152–68. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 13–63. J. Lefort, "Une exploitation de raille moyenne au XIIIe siècle en Chalcidique," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:362–72. –A.K.

WINDOW (παραθύριον). Windows of two types became major elements in the design of Roman public buildings: (1) bands of uniform round-headed windows in clerestories of columnar basilicas; and (2) triple windows, with the central opening higher than the flanking ones. These occur in imperial baths and hence are called "thermal" windows. In Constantine I's Audience Hall at Trier, a double tier of round-headed windows perforated walls and apse; in the basilica of Maxentius and Constantine at Rome, triple windows under the great arches admitted a flood of light from all quarters. Christian columnar basilicas continued the Roman system, lighting the nave and apse more brightly than the side aisles; domical churches of centralized type (Hagia Sophia, Constantinople) or of longitudinal basilical type (St. John, Ephesus; Holy Apostles, Constantinople) continued to use the Roman "thermal" window.

Windows were substantially reduced both in number and size in the smaller centralized churches of the 9th–15th C. The progressively elongated drums of these churches were lit with tall narrow openings, framed in mosaic in Constantinople, Greece, and the Balkans and deeply splayed on the interior in the stone walls of Armenian and Georgian churches. In the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES most windows are depicted as round-headed; one, at which the decapitated head of Nikephoros II Phokas is exhibited, is rectangular with an open shutter, and other palace windows are of the same form.

Glazing large windows was achieved by using wood, stone, or stucco frames to hold comparatively small pieces of GLASS in a geometric pattern. From the 12th C. important fragments of stained glass (see GLASS, STAINED) held in lead frames have been found at the church of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY, Constantinople.

Windows in private houses are known primarily from written sources, which distinguish between large "loggias" (PARAKYPTIKA), which were probably covered with curtains, and small *photagogoi* glazed with pieces of glass or mica. Byz. houses had little natural light; as a result a number of laws protected houses from the construction of neighboring edifices that might cut off the sunlight.

LIT. H.-J. Horn, *RAC* 7:732–47. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:287–90. R. Günter, *Wand, Fenster und Licht in der Trierer Palastaula und in spätantiken Bauten* (Herford 1968). G.D. Triantaphyllides, *Stoicheia physikou photismou ton byzantinon ekklesion* (Athens 1964). –W.L., A.C., A.K.

WINE (οἶνος; in later texts also κρασί⟨ο⟩ν, a word that appears already in the Acts of the apostle Thomas and in John Moschos but with the meaning "cup," "draught of any liquid"). Wine was a very important BEVERAGE in Byz., second only to WATER. Although it was produced mostly from grapes (see WINE PRODUCTION), it could also be made from the juice of dates and other fruits. The attempts of some heretical groups to prohibit wine drinking were rejected by the church fathers (e.g., Basil the Great, ep.199:47.10 [ed. Y. Courtonne, 2:163]). Bread and wine were staples of the DIET (e.g., Eust. Thess., *Capture* 110.25–27). Monastic *typika* prescribe bread and wine for supper and include wine in the morning meal as well; some *typika* allocate two mugs (*krasobo⟨u⟩lia*) of wine for each monk daily (A. Kazhdan, *Voprosy istorii* [1970] 217). Abstinence from wine was imposed as a PENANCE and on some fast days. Wine was also employed as medicine, for cooking, and for industrial purposes: thus, to make a substitute for armor, linen fabric was soaked in wine with salt, acquiring a relative hardness (Nik.Chon. 386.3–6).

Varieties of wine were distinguished by their color (white, yellow, red, or black), viscosity (thick or thin), and taste (harsh or sweet). Some types of wine were clarified with pitch or gypsum and had a peculiar flavor that Liutprand found repugnant. The most renowned wines were produced in the VINEYARDS of the Aegean islands (Thasos, Chios, Crete) and in Monemvasia (the so-called *malvasia*); those of Thrace and Asia Minor were less famous.

During the EUCHARIST deacons offered all the congregation a cup of wine diluted with water along with the bread; the wine was believed to be transubstantiated into the BLOOD of Christ. Wine was an instrument of salvation and a symbol of true knowledge and Christ's teaching.

LIT. C. Seltman, *Wine in the Ancient World* (London 1957). Koukoules, *Bios* 5:122–29. A. Dembińska, "Diet," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 447f. H. Eideneier, "Zu *'krasin,'* " *Hellenika* 23 (1970) 118–22. Koder-Weber, *Liutprand* 76–81. –A.K.

WINE MERCHANT. In Rome the distribution of WINE was divided between two professions: *vinarii* (Gr. *oinopolai*), wholesale providers of wine for Rome, who in the 3rd C. or later were formed into a guild; *caupones* (Gr. *kapeloi*), retailers, owners of TAVERNS. The *Basilika* (53.7.1–19) regulated the trade of *oinemporoi*, wholesale merchants who sold large quantities of wine, *pithoi*, or hundreds of vessels at once. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch*, on the other hand, mentions only *kapeloi* who sold wine in their *ergasteria* and used smaller measures: *stathmoi* (30 *litrai*), *angeia* (known also from 6th- and 7th-C. papyri—L. Casson *TAPA* 70 [1939] 5), and *minai* of 3 *litrai*; their MEASURES had to be certified by an official seal. The vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER describes the *ergasterion* of a small wine merchant (*katharopoles*): it had a storage room (*apotheke*), where *pithoi* and *angeia* were kept; the owner used credit extensively in his business and was heavily in debt (ed. Vilinskij, 1:313f). The Council in Trullo (canon 9) prohibited the clergy from possessing *kapelika ergasteria*; however, according to both Zonaras and Balsamon, the clergy were prohibited only from running a tavern, not from owning one and renting it out.

Documents of the 14th–15th C. mention *kapeliatikon*, a tax levied on *kapeloi*: the privilege given to Monemvasia in 1328 lists it together with several other taxes imposed on artisans—*ergasteriatikon*, *metaxiatikon*, etc. (P. Schreiner, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 221.34). Manuel II in 1408 allowed the monks of Mt. Athos to sell their wine without *kapeliatikon*, provided that they did not interfere with each other's trade (V. Mošin, *Akti iz svetogoskih arhiva* [Belgrade 1939] 1–14). The *kapeliatikon* could be granted to a landowner: thus, the Lavra had rights to *kapeliatikon* in the village of Bernarous on the Strymon (*Koutloum.*, no.38.5–6).

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 50f. *Bk. of Eparch* 244–49. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:193–95. –A.K.

WINE PRODUCTION. Since WINE was the staple beverage of the Byz., wine grapes were grown widely throughout the empire. After harvesting the grape clusters, cultivators placed them in baskets (as illustrated in mosaics depicting the SEASONS) or on staves (in OCTATEUCH illustrations) and transported them from the VINEYARD to the wine vat (*lenos*). Before the grapes were pressed the vat was fumigated with incense; leaves and rotting clusters of grapes, which could turn the ensuing must bitter, were removed from the baskets. The grapes were then dumped into the wine vat. After first washing their feet, men climbed into the vat and extracted the juice by treading on the grapes. They next removed the seeds from the treading floor, allowing the must to pass into a channel along which the juice flowed before emptying into the *hypolenion*, a receptacle placed below the vat. After the juice was crushed from the grapes, the must was placed in casks (*barelia*), where it fermented.

Late Roman vats have been widely discovered, from Palestine (e.g., G.W. Ahlström, *BASOR* 231 [1978] 19–49; I. Roll, E. Ayalon, *PEQ* 113 [1981] 111–25) to Bulgaria (D. Končev in *Acta antiqua Philippopolitana: Studia archaeologica* [Sofia 1963] 125–31). There were two different kinds, stationary and portable. Vats are listed in several *praktika* of the Palaiologan period (*Dionys.*, no.25 of 1430; *Docheiar.* no.60, early 15th C.), sometimes together with *pitharia*, large vessels to contain wine; they were owned by individual peasants (although not found in every household) and situated in the courtyard.

Liutprand of Cremona found *Graecorum vinum* undrinkable because of the taste of gypsum or probably pitch; BURGUNDIO OF PISA, on the other hand, was interested in Greek wine production and translated some passages from the *Geoponika* into Latin (J.-L. Gaulin, *MEFRM* 96 [1984] 95–127).

LIT. K.D. White, *Roman Farming* (London 1970) 46. J. Koder, T. Weber, *Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel* (Vienna 1980) 76–81. –J.W.N., A.K.

WINE TRADE. Wine was an important item of trade in Byz., perhaps because many wine-producing areas are islands or coastlands and, therefore, the transportation of wine was cheaper and easier than that of grain. Evidence from a 7th-C. shipwreck shows that wine was transported in AMPHORAI at that time (F. van Doorninck in *A History of Seafaring Based on Underwater Archaeology*, ed. G.F. Bass [London 1972] 140); in the later period, casks were used. According to PTOCHOPRODROMOS (3:48–71), wine reached Constantinople from Chios, Lesbos, Crete, Varna, and other areas; Chiot wine was considered particularly good. In the 14th C. Pegolotti mentions in Constantinople and Tana the wines of Cyprus, Crete, Trigleia (Trilya), Greece, Monemvasia, and Thebes. The export of wines to foreigners was forbidden (*Basil.* 19.1.85[86]), and a special duty was levied on internal trade in the 12th C. In the 12th C. wine was, in fact, exported to the West.

Monasteries appear particularly active in the wine trade. The monks of Mt. Athos moved from exchanging wine for other commodities (*Prot.*, no.7.99–100) to trading in it between 972 and 1045 (*Prot.*, no. 8.54–55, 66–67). Both Mt. Athos and Patmos engaged in relatively large-scale sales of wine in Constantinople in the 12th C. Other sources of the period mention the wine trade specifically as an economic activity of monks (Balsamon, in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:151–54; Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 242.30–31). The exemptions from customs duties that some monasteries obtained undoubtedly facilitated this. The monasteries were also important consumers of wine.

Private individuals participated in the wine trade, although usually without the privileges that monasteries had. In the 14th–15th C. WINE MERCHANTS had to compete with Western, particularly Venetian, merchants. John VI Kantakouzenos and the Palaiologan emperors, esp. John V and Manuel II, tried, with only limited success, to protect the trade in Byz. wine, whose price was being depressed below production costs by the importation of Italian wine by the Venetians.

LIT. J. Chrysostomides, "Venetian Commercial Privileges under the Palaeologi," *StVen* 12 (1970) 298–311, 335–39, 345–48, 355f. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 120–22. –A.L.

WISDOM. See SOPHIA.

WITCH. See ENGASTRIMYTHOS.

WITNESS (*μάρτυς*) to a document, as opposed to a WITNESS IN LITIGATION, was someone who, at the request of an individual (in the case of a WILL) or several interested parties (in the case of a sale CONTRACT), indicated by his signature on the document his presence at a legal or other transaction (e.g., a boundary survey; cf. also L. Burgmann, *FM* 4 [1981] 20.49–54). For some legal transactions a specific number of witnesses was prescribed by law—five for receipts of debt, seven for a will—but numerous exceptions existed, and in practice as many witnesses were cited as possible, to ensure that witnesses would be alive and available years later in event of a dispute. The witness, who could not be a minor, had to be trustworthy. Credibility, in this case, was judged according to the reputation of the witness. Women were theoretically excluded from acting as witnesses to documents but several cases are known (e.g., *Xénoph.* no.8.61 [a.1309], or MM 4:93.10).

Witnesses' Signatures. The study of the signatures of witnesses provides data concerning the social status of the population in specific areas, their ethnic composition, and degree of LITERACY; for example, some witnesses use the sign of the cross instead of a signature or make mistakes in spelling.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "Mount Athos: Levels of Literacy," *DOP* 42 (1988) 167–78. –A.K.

WITNESS IN LITIGATION, a person who appeared in civil and criminal proceedings and testified to the truth or falsity of the facts of the case; the testimony was later confirmed by oath. Witnesses in litigations, who could be women, appeared either voluntarily or compulsorily (by court summons). Their testimony was accepted only if more than one witness was available (*unus testis, nullus testis*). Certain persons of standing (e.g., bishops) and the handicapped (the old, the infirm, minors) were exempted from the obligation to testify. Absent persons could be interrogated by an authorized judge at their place of residence. Slaves, heretics, antisocial and disreputable individuals, and other such types were not allowed to appear as witnesses in litigation. The testimony of a witness could be weakened by the introduction of counter witnesses and attacks on the credibility and usefulness of the deposition. TORTURE could be used to coerce witnesses (esp. those of humble origins) into testifying (*Ecloga* 14.1), and trial by ORDEAL might be used to help establish the truth in the absence of available witnesses.

LIT. D. Simon, *Untersuchungen zum Justinianischen Zivilprozess* (Munich 1969) 209–71. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 397f. –A.K.

WOMEN. Byz. attitudes toward women were ambivalent. On the one hand, the church fathers, following Old Testament tradition, assumed female inferiority and essential weakness, and perceived women to be the instrument of the devil: Eve disobeyed God's first command and was responsible for the Fall of Man. Accordingly, the position of women in the world had to be inferior to that of man, and in the church women were barred from teaching and priestly functions. Byz. churchmen employed a classical misogynist vocabulary with Christian additions, such as *gynaikodoulos*, a man enslaved to women; *gynaikotraphes*, a man reared by women and therefore effeminate (John Chrysostom, PG 61:278.54); and *gynaiazo*, being addicted to women (Theodore of Stoudios, PG 99:1368A). Even sins acquired female personifications, as in Neophytos the Enkleistos (Galatariotou, *infra* 57–77). Patristic commentary, which emphasized the polarity between good women and bad, remained extremely influential through such collections as the *Sacra Parallela*. The pre-Christian association of women with supernatural powers became a satanic one in Byz. Lazaros of Galesios claimed that the devil used women, sometimes disguised as nuns, in attacks on the chastity of monks. Satanic powers were attributed to Amarantina, a sorceress tried in 1350 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2318, 2334), and to other women accused of witchcraft and soothsaying.

On the other hand, the church proclaimed woman's spiritual equality with man, through her

being created in God's image and redeemed in the same way as man. Women were equal to men in martyrdom, a few good wives and mothers attained sanctity, and the cult of the VIRGIN MARY was extremely popular.

In theory, the major function of women was MARRIAGE and the procreation of children, in contradiction to the extremist idea that VIRGINITY is one of the main virtues. Motherhood (divinized in the cult of the THEOTOKOS), one of the few acceptable Christian roles for women, was glorified in panegyrics, for example, those by Theodore of Stoudios and Michael Psellos. INFERTILITY as well as the death of young children were considered curses against which women took all possible measures. Prayers for conception, esp. of a son, and for a safe pregnancy and delivery (see BIRTH) were accompanied by the use of relics, AMULETS, and incantations.

In general women led secluded lives at home and were supposed to be veiled when they went out. Some women, of course, worked outside the house, and there were other legitimate reasons for women to leave the house: attendance at church services; visits to bath, shrines, or parents; and participation in celebrations to mark civic or imperial events. Kekaumenos urged women to avoid eye contact with unrelated men (Kek. 202f). Nurses undertook the crucial role of chaperoning girls and protecting their virginity and were ridiculed by epigrammatists such as Paul Silentiarios and Agathias (*AnthGr,* bk.5, nos. 262, 289, 294). Sexual misbehavior of young women was punished: any girl who lost her virginity after a BETROTHAL by sleeping with a man other than her fiancé could be repudiated by her bridegroom (Leo VI, nov.93). Byz. society was more tolerant of male ADULTERY and the related practices of CONCUBINAGE and PROSTITUTION, than of female infidelity; however, some church fathers, for instance, Gregory of Nazianzos, treated male and female adulterers equally (P. Phan, *Social Thought* [Wilmington, Del., 1984] 158f).

In addition to childbearing, the second female obligation was the maintenance of the household: in the 10th C. MARY THE YOUNGER, an ideal wife and mother, came to be venerated as a saint, thus demonstrating that sanctity was not limited to consecrated virgins, and Kekaumenos stated that a good wife is a precious gift. Despite their theoretical subjugation to their husbands, women had important rights and enjoyed respect: a woman possessed her DOWRY and could alienate inherited property; in cases of INTESTATE SUCCESSION daughters inherited equal shares with their brothers; WIDOWS had authority over their sons; and a poem of PTOCHOPRODROMOS shows a married woman exercising full power over her henpecked husband. Despite novel 48 of Leo VI, which prohibited a woman from being a WITNESS to business transactions, the *Peira* and later judicial acts reveal female appearances in court to testify and to plead successfully for DIVORCES, resolution of property disputes, and control over dowries. Some rich women managed large households; others might be entrusted with *pronoiai*, evidently after their husbands' demise.

The primary feminine economic activities were those of "distaff and loom," that is spinning, weaving, and making cloth. The treatise of Psellos on the festival of Agathe suggests that this work was not limited to the household, but that some women were professional spinners, WEAVERS, and wool carders, whereas wool dyeing was a male occupation (A. Laiou in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:112). Women were deeply involved in retail trade, esp. selling foodstuffs. In the 14th C. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noted that most of the artisans and sellers in the markets of Constantinople were women (*Travels in Asia and Africa,* tr. H.A.R. Gibbs [London 1929] 160). Female bakers, cooks, innkeepers, and bathkeepers are attested, as well as washerwomen, gynecologists, midwives, dancers, prostitutes (the last two professions were closely linked by Byz. moralists), matchmakers, and sorcerers. Some women assisted in the charitable work of *diakoniai* (washing the sick and laying out the dead), while those with semiprofessional skills, such as mourners and wet nurses, were always in demand. Women probably engaged in minor agricultural activities (such as cultivating gardens, feeding hens), but their participation in grain harvesting seemed to Apokaukos a strange occupation. They also assisted with grape picking when there were not enough male workers.

A few women from imperial and aristocratic families played a significant role in the social, political, cultural, and religious life of the empire. Some EMPRESSES ruled independently or as regents of their minor sons; some acted through their husbands. NUNS and abbesses of nunneries not only influenced religious activity, but occasionally interfered in court politics. Noble ladies held high positions at court (e.g., ZOSTE PATRIKIA), founded monasteries, organized literary circles, and served as patrons of the arts. The role of women increased during periods of crisis: they were active in religious conflicts (e.g., in the resistance to Iconoclasm) and in political rebellions (e.g., in support of Empress Zoe or in the overthrow of Andronikos I); in certain cases they participated in the defense of besieged cities.

Although elementary education was available for girls, female LITERACY was not very common. There are numerous references to mothers teaching their children the Psalms and Bible stories, but they may have known these by heart, so this is not necessarily an indication of an ability to read. After the late Roman period that produced such intellectuals as HYPATIA of Alexandria and ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, a female writer was an exceptional figure (KASSIA). The learned princess Anna KOMNENE, who penned a biography of her father Alexios I, is the sole woman historian of the Byz. era. In the Palaiologan period Theodora RAOULAINA and Irene CHOUMNAINA were active bibliophiles. The figures calculated by Laiou (*infra* 255), on the basis of a very small sample, show a low rate of female literacy in the Palaiologan period (1.8 percent in the 13th C., 16 percent in the 14th C.).

The scarcity of evidence makes it difficult to ascertain changes in the position of women, esp. since the data refer primarily to the upper stratum of Byz. society. In the late Roman period, women evidently preserved relative freedom: they were active in intellectual circles, and appeared as equals in politics—women such as PULCHERIA, THEODORA (the wife of Justinian I), and MARTINA left a considerable mark on the history of the 5th to 7th C. Hagiographical legends promoted the image of exceptional women—former prostitutes who achieved extreme piety, or women in disguise emulating male hermits (Patlagean, *Structure,* pt.XI [1976], 597–623). After the mid-7th C. the empire was preoccupied by the response to military threats in which women necessarily had little or no role. Even the role of the Virgin Mary was questioned by the Iconoclasts. Invocations to her on seals were apparently replaced by those of Christ from the mid-9th C. onward (A. Kazhdan, *BZ* 76 [1983] 384), and then by those of some male saints. Empress IRENE, who managed to quell the resistance of her son Constantine VI, is an unparalleled figure of her time, and most women featured by chroniclers are pious and loyal wives (and occasionally mistresses). Psellos presents the empress Zoe primarily in the role of a lover or spouse, and as a woman making perfume in the seclusion of the women's quarters of the palace; he argues that she and her sister Theodora were unfit to guide the fortunes of the empire.

The situation changed by the end of the 11th C.: the bellicose Komnenoi acknowledged the important role of their women, from Anna DALASSENE (who wielded imperial power on occasion during the rule of her son), Anna Komnene, and the *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE, to EUPHROSYNE DOUKAINA KAMATERA. Literature also reflects a certain liberation of women from the 12th C. onward: the exaltation of femininity and love finds its culmination in the romance of KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE. Laiou, however, hypothesizes that the beginning of the 15th C. brought an end to some of these features of increased feminine activity.

Representation in Art. In contrast to the emphasis on individual identity in imperial Roman art and the marked sensuality of females in Coptic sculpture, Byz. women were generally represented as homogeneous, sexless creatures. As late as the 6th C. even sacred figures have bodies which, esp. when pregnant (as in images of the Visitation), have some semblance of natural shape. From the 7th to 11th C., however—with the exception of dissolute women, and dancers on such objects as CROWNS—women's bodies are either masked entirely by their clothing or are parodies of human form (e.g., martyrs in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.390). Thereafter all attempts to depict women as such disappear: in the illustrated homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos (Hutter, *infra,* fig.11) one of the Virgin's midwives displays a breast on her back. Like males, female NUDES are utterly distorted. Hutter perceives a return to characteristically feminine figures and faces in and after those at NEREZI but, if achieved, this was never as part of a holistic attitude toward the human body. The reedlike proportions of women in much 14th-C. painting are also applied to male figures.

LIT. A. Laiou, "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," *JÖB* 31.1 (1981) 233–60. J. Beaucamp, "La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance," *CahCM* 20 (1977) 145–

76. J. Herrin, "In Search of Byzantine Women: Three Avenues of Approach," in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. A.M. Cameron, A. Kuhrt (London 1983) 167–89. Eadem, "Women and the Faith in Icons in Early Christianity," in R. Samuel, G. Stedman Jones, *Culture, Ideology and Society* (London 1982) 65–83. C. Galatariotou, "Holy Women and Witches: Aspects of Byzantine Conception of Gender," *BMGS* 9 (1984/85) 55–94. S.P. Brock, S.A. Harvey, *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1985). A.M. Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women," in *Byzantine Saints and Monasteries* (Brookline, Mass., 1985) 1–20. A.W. Carr, "Women and Monasticism in Byzantium," *ByzF* 9 (1985) 1–15. I. Hutter, "Das Bild der Frau in der byzantinischen Kunst," *Byzantios* 163–70. L. Garland, "The Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women," *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 361–93.
–J.H., A.K., A.C.

WOMEN AT THE TOMB. See MYRROPHOROI.

WONDROUS MOUNTAIN (*Θαυμαστὸν Ὄρος*, now Saman Dağı in Turkey), the site of a pilgrimage complex built primarily between 541 and 591 around the column of SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER during his lifetime. Situated southwest of Antioch, the Wondrous Mountain stands prominently above the north bank of the Orontes River a short distance before it flows into the Mediterranean; the port of SELEUKEIA PIERIA lies to the west. The vita of Symeon and that of his mother record assemblies of pilgrims at the column and their construction of the complex in spontaneous gestures of thanksgiving for healings and spiritual favors secured by the stylite. In this manner, inns, a main church, and service buildings were constructed in 541–51 by pilgrims, as well as by masons from Isauria. Between 551 and Symeon's death in 591 a forge and a burial church were erected as, probably, were the monastic quarters. The baptistery and circuit walls were apparently built after 591. Many of these structures still stand, including the rock-cut base of the column with staircase and its surrounding octagonal court; also preserved are the figured capitals in the main church said to have been carved by Symeon's disciple John. The monastery in the complex was refounded in the 10th C. by a bilingual community of Greek and Georgian monks, as attested by contemporaneous Georgian manuscript colophons.

Physical remains of this later period include medieval alterations to tessellated pavements, al-Mina glazed pottery, and various objects excavated by W. Djobadze in the 1960s. The Wondrous Mountain was called the Mont Parlier by the Crusaders who settled nearby at al-Mina at the mouth of the Orontes. The site was finally devastated by the Mamlūks in 1260.

LIT. W. Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch-on-the-Orontes* (Stuttgart 1986) 57–115.
–M.M.M.

WOOD AND WOODWORKING. Products made of wood, widespread but now little known, included stools, tables, lecterns, candelabra, and perhaps TEMPLON screens as well as paneling. CARPENTERS (*tektones* or *xylourgoi*) seem to have used green rather than seasoned wood and worked with saws, planes, and chisels. Legs of beds and stools were turned on a lathe; bosses on lecterns (*Treasures* III, figs. 14, 15) and thrones (Chatzinicolaou-Paschou, *CBMG* 1, fig.483) were produced the same way. With the exception of a wooden lyre of the 10th–11th C. found at Corinth (see MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS), preserved examples of wooden objects from Europe date from no earlier than the 13th or 14th C.: furniture with balusters from Kastoria (A. Orlandos, *ABME* 4 [1938] 192); carved icons from Gallista and Ohrid (Lange, *Byz. Reliefikone*, nos. 50, 51); and an icon of St. George in the Byz. Museum, Athens (Grabar, *Sculptures II*, no.168). Many items of wood are preserved from Byz. Egypt: furniture legs and ornament, combs, house and church paneling, even musical instruments (H.-G. Severin in *Festschrift für Klaus Wessel*, ed. M. Restle [Munich 1988] 259–67).

Wood in Architecture. Despite its comparative scarcity and high cost, wood was frequently used as a construction material. Readily destroyed, it has survived in few cases. Timber ROOFS were widely used in the 4th–6th C. both in centralized structures and basilicas, although the only preserved example is that of the *katholikon* at the monastery of St. CATHERINE at Sinai. Eusebios (*HE* 10.4.43) mentions beams of Lebanese cedar in the basilica at TYRE; Prokopios (*Buildings* 5.6.15) speaks of this material in a church at Jerusalem. The form of gabled roofs can be deduced from surviving support systems: they had trusses, usually visible from below; aisles had roofs pitched on single beams. Dendrochronological investigation has revealed oak tie-beams at the Church of St. IRENE in Constantinople, in the Justinianic phase of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, and again in 14th-C. restorations there. Juniper and chestnut were used elsewhere.

Wood was common in centering, scaffolding, and zones that withstood vault thrusts. A number of carved wood lintels with Coptic inscriptions have been preserved from Egypt: the most famous is the lintel from the el-Moallaqa church in Old Cairo, dated to 735 (L. MacCoull, *ZPapEpig* 64 [1986] 230–34). Existing elements allow the restoration of wood FLOORS in houses and palaces at MISTRA (A. Orlandos, *ABME* 3 [1937] 80f) and in monastic buildings (refectory at HOSIOS LOUKAS). It was the normal material for DOORS and shutters. Town houses were frequently timber-frame structures with wooden floors and roofs; projecting features of the latter are depicted in the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, figs. 203, 260).

LIT. G. Sotiriou, "La sculpture sur bois dans l'art byzantin," in *Mél.Diehl* 2:171–80. Bréhier, *Sculpture* 32–33. Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:386–96. P.I. Kuniholm, C.L. Striker, "Dendrochronological Investigations in the Aegean and Neighboring Regions 1977–82," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 10 (1983) 411–20.
–Ch.Th.B.

WORKSHOP. See ERGASTERION.

WREATH (*στέφανος*), ring formed from a GARLAND woven of leaves, sometimes decorated with flowers and fruit. Often used as CROWNS, wreaths were presented to winners in the HIPPODROME and to the emperor upon his triumphant ADVENTUS. In imperial art personifications such as the NIKE offer wreaths to emperors or consuls; senators present wreaths to the emperor on the base of the Column of Arkadios in Constantinople (known from drawings); the emperor holds a wreath on the OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS I in the Hippodrome of Constantinople.

The wreath was common in Christian art where it signified immortality or triumph over death. Wreaths framed images of Christ, the LAMB OF GOD, the CROSS, and the CHRISTOGRAM. Martyrs were shown carrying or being crowned with wreaths. The seasonal fruits on the wreath framing the portrait of St. Victor in the dome of S. Vittore in Ciel d'Oro, Milan, reinforce its symbolism of eternity. With the same connotation wreaths were often represented on sarcophagi and in tombs. In the mosaics of the Orthodox Baptistery, RAVENNA, each of the apostles offers a golden wreath to Christ, a depiction influenced by imperial ceremony. From the 4th to the 6th C. wreaths were also commonly used as ornament in architectural sculpture, FLOOR MOSAICS, and TEXTILES.

LIT. K. Baus, *Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum* (Bonn 1940).
–R.E.K.

WRITING DESK. In antiquity and the early Middle Ages SCRIBES used to write while supporting the writing material, whether a wax tablet or a papyrus roll, on the knee. Only a few Late Antique illustrations show a scribe using a table or desk. On the other hand, a table or a desk—often a piece of furniture combining the two functions—forms part of the stereotyped repertoire used by Byz. miniaturists when portraying authors, esp. evangelists (see EVANGELIST PORTRAITS). The lower part of this piece of furniture sometimes has the shape of a bookcase in which some rolls or codices are stored together with writing implements. In other instances writing implements (PENS, INK pots, scissors, pumice-stone) lie on the table. Normally an open codex or a roll is on the desk. The evangelist mostly is shown while writing or preparing to write or holding another book on his lap as if collating. *Ἀναλόγιον* (older form *ἀναλογεῖον*) is the common word for the desk on which books are placed in churches or elsewhere; it is always mentioned in connection with reading, not with writing (cf., e.g., *De cer.* 760.14; pseudo-Kod. 189.15, 222.4).

LIT. H. Hunger, *RBK* 2:474–77. B.M. Metzger, "When Did Scribes Begin to Use Writing Desks?" 11 *CEB* (Munich 1960) 355–62.
–W.H.

WRITING TABLETS (*πυξία*, *πινακίδια*) of ivory or more usually citrus wood, employed before the Byz. era, seem to have continued in use until at least the 14th C., when they are depicted in scenes of the education of St. Nicholas. Their form varied from single leaves or wooden panels folded to make DIPTYCHS to successions of such panels

joined in "concertina" format by thongs (A.K. Bowman, *ZPapEpig* 18 [1975] 240–42). Such a polyptych may be represented in the hands of notaries on the diptych of Rufius Probianus, ca.400 (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.62). Records, both official and private (see ALBERTINI TABLETS), were written either in ink directly onto the surface or incised with styli on wax-filled recesses; the vita of Neilos of Rossano (*AASS* Sept. 7:273A) describes a gadget of wood and wax that he used. A complete set of such writing equipment was found on the Esquiline Hill in Rome. Ivory tablets were always esteemed, as AUGUSTINE (ep.15.1) indicates: he asks a correspondent to return his *tabellae eburneae*. They made welcome presents, as we know from the letters of Libanios.

LIT. Gardthausen, *Palaeographie* 1:126–32. R. Bull, E. Moser, H. Kuhn, *Vom Wachs*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main 1959) 792–94. F. Cabrol, *DACL* 4.1 (1920) 1045–94.
–A.C.

X

XAGION. See EXAGION.

XANTHEIA (Ξανθεία, mod. Xanthe), settlement in southwestern Rhodope, probably distinct from the ancient Xantheia in Thrace known to Strabo (Ch. Danoff, *RE* 2.R. 9 [1967] 1333). Bishopric in 879 (Mansi 17:376A) and suffragan of Traianoupolis (*Notitiae CP* 7.601), it was still a village (*chorion*) in the 11th C. (P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 127.1781). Only in the 13th C., after Kalojan had destroyed MOSYNOPOLIS and PERITHEORION, did the importance of Xantheia grow: Gregoras calls it either *polichnion* (Greg. 2:814.19) or *polis* (2:727.24); Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:534.10–14) defines it as *polis*; and ENVERI (*Desturname*, 99f, v.1529) goes so far as to term it "a very great city." In 1264 Michael VIII decided to winter in Xantheia with his army (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:295.13–15). The "castle" where the Catalan leader Ferdinand Ximenes sought refuge in 1307 can probably be identified as Xantheia. In 1345 MOMČILO made the city his residence. In 1347 John VI handed Xantheia over to his son Matthew Kantakouzenos, and by 1369 Xantheia, Peritheorion, and Polystylon were in the hands of JOHN UGLJEŠA (Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast* 32f).

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 93–96. S. Kyriakides, *Peri ten historian tes Thrakes* (Thessalonike 1960) 30–43. S. Ćirković, B. Ferjančić, in *VizIzvori* 6 (1986) 474, n.377. –T.E.G.

XANTHOPOULOS, NIKEPHOROS KALLISTOS, ecclesiastical writer; born before 1256?, died ca.1335?. He was a priest at Hagia Sophia (and thus had access to the patriarchal library) and before his death became the monk Neilos. He gave lessons in rhetoric, for which he prepared new PROGYMNASMATA (J. Glettner, *BZ* 33 [1933] 1–12, 255–70). Xanthopoulos (Ξανθόπουλος) was a friend of Theodore METOCHITES, who dedicated his Poem 12 to him (ed. M. Cunningham et al. in *Okeanos* 100–116).

The main work of Xanthopoulos is his voluminous *Ecclesiastical History*, compiled after 1317 and dedicated to ANDRONIKOS II PALAIOLOGOS; 18 of its books survive, covering the period from the time of Christ to 610. Five more books, which extended to 911, are lost. Some of his primary sources were EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, SOZOMENOS, THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, and EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS. The *Ecclesiastical History* includes descriptions of secular events, such as the accession of emperors and military campaigns, but emphasizes ecumenical councils, doctrinal disputes, and the four eastern patriarchates. A much slighter historical work is a versified synopsis of Jewish history after the Maccabees (PG 147:623–32). Xanthopoulos was a prolific hagiographer, whose writings include a history of miracles that occurred at the shrine of Zoodochos PEGE (*AASS* Nov. 3:878–89) and Lives of Sts. NICHOLAS OF MYRA and Euphrosyne the Younger. As a poet, he composed prayers to the Theotokos and apostles, iambic renderings of historical sections of the Old Testament, and short poems on icons and sacred vestments and furnishings. His commentary on the Ladder of JOHN KLIMAX has only recently been discovered (L. Politis, *Kleronomia* 3 [1971] 69–84); he also wrote a commentary on the orations of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS.

ED. History—PG 145:559–147:448. Poetry—M. Jugie, "Poésies rhythmiques de Nicéphore Calliste Xanthopoulos," *Byzantion* 5 (1929–30) 357–90. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos," *BZ* 11 (1902) 38–49. For full list of works, see Beck, *Kirche* 705–07.

LIT. G. Gentz, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus und ihre Quellen* (Berlin 1966). Beck, *Kirche* 705–07. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:96, 98–100; 2:114, 165, n.262, 172. *PLP*, no.20826. –A.M.T.

XANTHOS (Ξάνθος, now Kınık), city of LYCIA. Although Xanthos rarely appears in Byz. written sources, it is well known from excavations that have revealed its development. Xanthos expanded in the 4th–6th C., when new churches and residences adorned its acropolis and the adjacent plain; notable among them was a richly decorated basilica, apparently the cathedral. This church was burned and much of the city aban-

doned in the 7th C., perhaps the date of the new fortifications on the acropolis. The church was rebuilt on a much smaller scale in the mid-11th C., only to be destroyed and abandoned after the battle of Mantzikert (1071).

The nearby Letöon, ancient cult center of Lycia, shows a similar development. After destruction in the 3rd C., the cult buildings were exploited as quarries. A basilical church of the mid-6th C. became the dominant element of the site until its destruction in the early 7th C. After a long period of desolation, the site was reoccupied on a much reduced scale in the 10th–11th C.

LIT. *Fouilles de Xanthos* (Paris 1958–). –C.F.

XENODOCHEION (*ξενοδοχεῖον*, sometimes synonymous with *ξενών*), a guest house for travelers, the poor, and the sick. Unlike *pandocheia* (see INN) and MITATA, where the patrons paid for their room and board, *xenodocheia* were philanthropic institutions based on the principle of Christian hospitality, where food and lodging were free. There can be considerable confusion over the distinction in terminology between *xenodocheion* and *xenon*. In the late Roman Empire the terms seem to have been used interchangeably to mean a guesthouse or hospice for both the sick and needy. Since travelers and poor people might often be ill, a hospice would frequently combine the provision of lodging with medical attention. After the 6th C., *xenon* seems to have been generally used for institutions that specialized in tending the sick and acquired the meaning of HOSPITAL (T. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* [Baltimore-London 1985] 26–28). As late as the 11th C., however, a monastic *xenodocheion* was described as a facility for strangers and the sick (P. Gautier, *REB* 40 [1982] 81.1166–68).

Xenodocheia and *xenones* were founded by private citizens, the state, and ecclesiastical institutions, and were sometimes supported by the revenues from estates esp. assigned for this purpose. A number of emperors constructed guesthouses in the capital. Justinian I and Theodora built a *xenon* for travelers to Constantinople who could not afford to pay for rooms (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.11.24–27). Romanos I Lekapenos established the *xenodocheion tou Maurianou* specifically for visitors who had to spend several days in Constantinople on business or for litigation; the facility included stables, and the guests were provided with food and clothing (*TheophCont* 430.6–9). *Xenodocheia* were frequently attached to monasteries, in both town and countryside. At the guesthouse of the monastery of St. Lazaros on Mt. Galesios, for example, guests could stay as long as they wished; some travelers abused the monks' hospitality and stays were temporarily limited to three days (*AASS* Nov. 3:552f). There is little evidence of the construction of new *xenodocheia* in the Palaiologan era, and documents of this time mention guesthouses—a *xenodocheios oikos* in a *praktikon* of 1339 or 1342 (Guillou, *Ménécée*, no.35.11–12) and a former *xenodocheion* in a charter of 1335 (*Xénoph.* no.23.22)—but infrequently. The state *xenodocheia* and *xenones* were integrated into the governmental administrative system, their XENODOCHOI holding a high position in the bureaucracy.

LIT. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 185–221. E. Kislinger, "Kaiser Julian und die (christlichen) Xenodocheia," in *Byzantios* 171–84. J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987) 46, 62. –A.K., A.M.T.

XENODOCHOS (*ξενοδόχος*), director of a XENODOCHEION or *xenon*, usually acting under the supervision of the local bishop. The *Epanagoge* (9.19) lists *xenodochoi* between the *oikonomoi* and *nosokomoi* as officials responsible to the bishop. Among the letters of Photios is correspondence with the *xenodochos* Damianos, whom the patriarch reproached for poor administration. The director of a *xenodocheion* attached to a monastery was a subordinate of the OIKONOMOS and was in charge of the meals and general welfare of visitors to the guesthouse, according to CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS (ed. Schwartz, 130f, 136f). There were also *xenodochoi* in the state bureaucracy. The late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS mentions *xenodochoi* in the department of the SAKELLION and particular *xenodochoi* under the *megas* KOURATOR: those of Sangarios, Pylai, and Nikomedeia. Seals of the 8th–10th C. also list *xenodochoi* of the Xenon of Euboulos in Constantinople and of the town of Lo⟨u⟩padion (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1779, 1938, 2330, 2495, 2665).

LIT. Constantantelos, *Philanthropy* 216–21. –A.K.

XENON. See HOSPITAL; XENODOCHEION.

XENON OF THE KRAL (*Ξενὼν τοῦ Κράλη*), a hospital in Constantinople founded by the Serbian ruler STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN in the early 14th C. It was attached to the PETRA MONASTERY, which Milutin restored at the same time, and was supported by the income from landed estates. The *hegoumenos* of the HILANDAR MONASTERY on Athos had the use of three rooms at the Xenon of the Kral when he visited Constantinople. In 1406 the monk Nathanael, a physician (*nosokomos*) at the Xenon, commissioned the rebinding of the Vienna DIOSKORIDES MS. In the 15th C. a school called the *katholikon mouseion* was associated with the Xenon; both Michael APOSTOLES and John ARGYROPOULOS taught there just before the fall of Constantinople.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 426, 559, 563. M. Živojinović, "Bolnica Kralja Milutina u Carigradu," *ZRVI* 16 (1975) 105–17. T. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore 1985) 195f. –A.M.T.

XENOPHONTOS MONASTERY (*τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος*), one of the oldest monastic establishments on the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS, located on the southwest coast between the monasteries of Panteleemon and Docheiariou; relations with the latter were frequently troubled by disputes over property and relative rank in the Athonite hierarchy. Founded before the end of the 10th C. by the monk Xenophon, the monastery was originally dedicated to St. George. Small at first, in the last quarter of the 11th C. the monastic complex was restored and enlarged by a second *ktetor*, the *megas droungarios* Stephen, a eunuch; by that time Xenophontos housed 55 monks. After a period of decline in the 13th C. following the Fourth Crusade, Xenophontos recovered its prosperity in the early 14th C. under the energetic leadership of the *hegoumenos* Barlaam (ca.1312–25). From ca.1425 onward, the monastery again entered a period of obscurity, during which it came under the control of Slavic monks.

In addition to land on the Holy Mountain, the Xenophontos monastery owned property in Thessalonike, the Chalkidike peninsula, and Lemnos. The archive at Xenophontos preserves 33 acts of Byz. date, ranging from 1089 to 1452. The library contains 27 Byz. MSS (Lampros, *Athos* 1:60–74; Polites, *Katalogoi* 196–230).

Numerous elements of architectural sculpture in the "old *katholikon*" of the monastery have been attributed to the period of the church's construction; its templon, however, is regarded by T. Pazaras (*DChAE*^{4} 14 [1987–88] 33–48) as belonging to the reconstruction phase sponsored by the *megas droungarios* Stephen.

SOURCE. *Actes de Xénophon*, ed. D. Papachryssanthou (Paris 1986).

LIT. I. Papangelos, "Symbole eis ten etymologian tou onomatos tou choriou Nikete tes Chalkidikes," *Makedonika* 12 (1972) 303–15. A. Kazhdan, "A Date and an Identification in the Xenophon, no. 1," *Byzantion* 59 (1989) 267–71. –A.M.T., A.C.

XENOS, JOHN, or John the Hermit, author of a short autobiographical vita (*Bios kai politeia*) and saint; born in village of Siba, Crete, 970?, died on Crete? after 1027. Born to a rich family, Xenos (*Ξένος*) spent his life traveling "from mountain to mountain" in western Crete (p.57.19). He founded several monasteries, the most important located on the summit of Mt. Myriokephalon. For these monasteries Xenos acquired land, fruit trees, and privileges; thus, the autobiography contains some evidence for agrarian relations on Crete (e.g., such terms as ZEUGARION and CHORAPHION). Also Xenos describes the visions he saw and voices he heard ordering him to found monastic communities. Meager as it is in information, Xenos's autobiography is important as a revival of the genre. Tomadakes (*infra* [1950] 20) also ascribes to Xenos some homilies on the Gospel of Matthew as well as KANONES and STICHERA.

ED. N. Tomadakes, "Ho hagios Ioannes ho Xenos kai he diatheke autou," *KretChron* 2 (1948) 47–72.

LIT. *BHG* 2196. L. Petit, "Saint Jean Xénos ou l'Ermite d'après son autobiographie," *AB* 42 (1924) 5–20. N. Tomadakes, "Hymnographika kai hagiologika Ioannou tou Xenou," *EEBS* 20 (1950) 314–30. –A.K.

XEROPOTAMOU MONASTERY, one of the oldest monasteries on Mt. ATHOS, located inland from the southwest coast of the peninsula. Its origins are shrouded in legend and confusion; modern scholars place its foundation during the reign of CONSTANTINE VII (D. Papachryssanthou in *Prot.* 65f). Xeropotamou (*Ξηροποτάμου*) was in existence by 956 when it received a grant of land from a certain *protospatharios* John (*Xerop.*, no.1). At this time it was dedicated to St. Nikephoros. The monks of Xeropotamou attribute its foundation to Paul Xeropotamites, who is known

to have been on Athos in 958 (vita A of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, ch.50.7), but this claim must be treated with caution. It is possible that he was founder of the small Athonite monastery of St. Paul, which also bore the name *tou Xeropotamou* in the 10th and 11th C.

In the early 13th C. the church at Xeropotamou was restored and dedicated to the Forty Martyrs. Andronikos II was also a benefactor of the monastery; by the late 14th C. Xeropotamou held third place in the Athonite hierarchy. The present monastic complex dates from the 18th C. or later. Its library contains approximately 40 MSS of Byz. date (Lampros, *Athos* 1:200–32), while its archives preserve 30 Greek documents dating between 956 and 1445, including a series of six early 14th-C. *praktika* (*Xerop.*, nos. 18A–F) for the theme of Thessalonike, esp. Chalkidike. The monastery's most precious possession is a 14th-C. steatite paten (Kalavrezou, *Steatite,* no.131) known as the "cup of Pulcheria."

SOURCE. J. Bompaire, *Actes de Xèropotamou* (Paris 1964).
LIT. *Prot.* 65–68. S. Binon, *Les origines légendaires et l'histoire de Xèropotamou et de Saint-Paul de l'Athos* (Louvain 1942). *Treasures* 1:312–51, 473–81. –A.M.T., A.C.

XEROS (Ξηρός), a family of civil functionaries known from the first half of the 11th C., when a certain Xeros, a judge, was active (*Peira* 14.22, 45.11). A series of mid-11th-C. judges named Xeros include Psellos's correspondent, a judge or praitor of the Thrakesian theme; Basil Xeros, judge of Hellas; and John Xeros, *protomystikos*, who in 1057 presided over the litigation of two Athonite monasteries (*Pantel.*, no.5.8). Seals of the 11th C. attest several Basils—judges of Peloponnesos and Hellas, of Kibyrrhaiotai, and of Anatolikon (V.Laurent, *Hellenika* 9 [1936] 25–28). In 1092 Gregory Xeros presented a case concerned with marriage law (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.964). The family produced other civil dignitaries: the *logothetes tou genikou* Basil (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.327); the *anagrapheus* Gregory (*Lavra* 1, no.52.16–17, *Esphig.* no.5.3) in 1094–95; John, *dioiketes* of Peloponnesos and *kourator* of the West (Laurent, *Méd.Vat.* no.111); John, *protasekretis* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.7); Bardas, *hetaireiarches* in 1092 (*Reg* 2, no.1168). The eparch Xeros participated in a plot hatched by the ANEMAS family against Alexios I.

Thereafter the role of the Xeroi in the administration drastically declined: the *sebastos* Michael served as *doux* of Mylassa and Melanoudion; Ahrweiler ("Smyrne" 129) dated him ca.1127, but at that time the title of *sebastos* was too lofty for a governor of a modest theme. Basil Xeros was Manuel I's envoy to Roger of Sicily. At the same time the family was praised as Peloponnesian nobility and was active in ecclesiastical administration: Leo (died 1153) was metropolitan of Athens (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 20 [1962] 192), and Constantine was *protos* of a monastery (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1310). Michael Xeros founded the Church of St. George near Ikonion in the early 13th C. (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1297); in the 13th C. Manuel Xeros and his son Leo received at lease (as *charistikiarioi*, although the term is not used) the monastery of Kato Ptomaia from the metropolitan of Mytilene for the rent of 20 *trikephala* (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1358). Circa 1252 John Xeros was bishop of Naupaktos. In the Palaiologan period members of the family included *paroikoi* of Lavra and Radolibos and clerics (*PLP*, nos. 20915–26). –A.K.

XESTION. See CHERNIBOXESTON.

XIPHILINOS (Ξιφιλῖνος), a family of civil and ecclesiastical functionaries that flourished in the 11th–12th C. Originally from Trebizond, in the 11th C. they were regarded as a family of lowly origin (Sathas, *MB* 4:430.29–30). Except for Bardas, who is called *strategos* of the Thessalians (i.e., of Thessalonike) on an 11th-C. seal (Laurent, *Bulles métr.*, no.526), they were not military men. They served primarily as judges: for example, the future patriarch JOHN VIII XIPHILINOS; the *vestarches* John and *protovestes* Niketas, who participated in the trial of JOHN ITALOS (1082); Niketas, judge and *apographeus* of the Boleron theme in 1088/9; Niketas, judge and quaestor in 1151(?); Donatos, judge in 1196. They also were *droungarioi tes viglas* and fiscal officials. They served mostly in Constantinople and Thessalonike. The family produced two patriarchs: John VIII and George II (1191–98). The Xiphilinoi belonged to a circle of intellectuals: not only was the future patriarch John VIII the friend of PSELLOS, but also Constantine Xiphilinos, *droungarios tes viglas* ca.1070, was Psellos's correspondent; both John VIII and his nephew John (see XIPHILINOS, JOHN THE YOUNGER) were writers. No data attests their political or ecclesiastical role after 1204, although a seal of a certain Clement Xiphilinos is dated to the 13th C. and Theodore was *chartophylax* of the Great Church (in exile) ca.1256; in a document of 1421 the builder Argyros Xiphilinos is mentioned. The theory that in 1390 the *megas domestikos* Constantine Xiphilinos Hypselantes married the daughter of MANUEL III KOMNENOS of Trebizond is an 18th-C. falsification.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 20940–47. S. Skopeteas, "Hoi Hypselantai," *ArchPont* 20 (1955) 159–69, corr. and add. F. Dölger, *BZ* 49 (1956) 199. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 875–76, 1116–17. –A.K.

XIPHILINOS, JOHN THE YOUNGER, writer, monk; died after 1081. Xiphilinos was the nephew of Patr. JOHN VIII XIPHILINOS; probably he or his uncle owned the seal of the monk John Xiphilinos (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1404). The composition of his oeuvre is under discussion, some of his works having been ascribed to his uncle or other authors. He reworked, under Michael VII, a section of the *Roman History* of Dio Cassius and also wrote a collection of 53 homilies for Sundays. Xiphilinos's dedication of a MENOLOGION addressed to Alexios I is preserved in a Georgian translation. V. Latyšev's identification of the *menologion* of Xiphilinos with the anonymous "imperial *menologion*" is now rejected (Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* 3:385f). The Georgian translator of Xiphilinos characterized him as the most significant literary figure at the court of Constantinople.

ED. U.P. Boissevain, *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum romanarum quae supersunt*, vol. 3 (Berlin 1901) 478–730.
LIT. L. Canfora, "Xifilino e il libro LX di Dione Cassio," *Klio* 60 (1978) 403–07. K. Bonis, *Prolegomena eis tas 'Hermeneutikas didaskalias' tou Ioannou VIII. Xiphilinou* (Athens 1937). K. Kekelidze, "Ioann Ksifilin, prodolžatel' Simeona Metafrasta," *Christianskij Vostok* 1.3 (1912) 325–47. H. Hennephof, "Der Kampf um das Prooimion im xiphilinischen Homiliar," in *Studia byzantina et neohellenica Neerlandica*, eds. W.F. Bakker et al., 3 (Leiden 1972) 281–99. –A.K.

Y

YABH ALLĀHÂ III, Nestorian Christian *katholikos*, often called Mar (Lord) Yabh Allāhâ; born China 1245, died 1317. He was a Turkic Mongol who was baptized a Christian, with the name Mark. He became a monk and in ca.1279 set out with his spiritual director, Rabbān Ṣaumā, to visit the centers of Nestorian Christianity in Mesopotamia with the hope of also making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Political events altered the plans of the travelers, who were detained in Mesopotamia and ordained to episcopal rank by the then Nestorian *katholikos*, Denḥā I (1265–81). On Denḥā's death, Mark was elected *katholikos* and took the throne name Yabh Allāhâ III. The hope was that a Mongol patriarch could best protect the interests of the Nestorian church under the Christian Mongol khans. Rabbān Ṣaumā wrote a biography of the *katholikos*, including in it an account of his own mission to the West. In Constantinople, Rabbān Ṣaumā saw Hagia Sophia and other monuments and was received by Andronikos II. Then he traveled to the papal court in Rome, on behalf of the khan Arghūn (1284–91), to explore the possibilities of an alliance between the Mongols and the Byz. against the Muslims.

ED. P. Bedjan, *Histoire de Mar Jab-alaha, patriarche*[2] (Paris-Leipzig 1895). Eng. tr. E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Monks of Kûblâi Khân, Emperor of China* (London 1928). Russ. tr. N. Pigulevskaja, *Istorija Mar Jabalachi III i Rabban Saumy* (Moscow 1958).

LIT. M.-H. Laurent, "Rabban Sauma, ambassadeur de l'Il-khan Argoun, et la cathédrale de Veroli," *MEFR* 70 (1958) 331–65. D. Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford–New York 1986) 159f, 187. –S.H.G.

YAḤYĀ OF ANTIOCH, or Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, Abū'l-Faraj, Arab Melchite author related to the historian EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA (though not, as occasionally claimed, his son); died ca.1066. He was a physician in Egypt under the Fāṭimids, but in 1015 the caliph al-Ḥākim's persecutions and favorable terms for Christian emigration resulted in his resettlement in Antioch, then under Byz. control. There he wrote a defense of Christianity and refutations of Islam and Judaism.

In Egypt he was asked (probably owing to his interest in chronology) to continue Eutychios's *History*. This *Continuation* thus began in 938. As the text was repeatedly revised in Egypt and Antioch, the MSS end variously, none extending beyond 1034. Yaḥyā concentrated almost exclusively on Byz., Syria, and Egypt, basing his work on Byz., local Christian, and Muslim sources, and on archival materials, personal informants, and his own observations. In addition to military campaigns, politics, and diplomacy, he covers ecclesiastical and doctrinal issues, social and economic developments, natural disasters, and such matters as the history of Bulgaria and Rus'. Byz. is a primary concern throughout, and Yaḥyā's history offers the invaluable perspective (the only one from northern Syria) of an astute and well-placed Arab observer after the heyday of the Macedonian dynasty. It also comprises one of the very few contemporary sources for Byz. history through much of this period.

ED. *Ta'rīkh* (Annales), ed. L. Cheikho et al. in *CSCO* 51, Scriptores arabici 3.7 (Paris 1909) 89–363. *Histoire*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, A. Vasiliev, PO 18.5, 23.3 (Paris 1924–32), Fr. tr.

LIT. V. Rosen, *Imperator Vasilij Bolgarobojca: Izvlečenija iz letopisi Yach'i Antiochijskogo* (St. Petersburg 1883; rp. London 1972). G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 2 (Vatican 1947) 49–51. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:80–98. M. Canard, "Les sources arabes de l'histoire byzantine aux confins des Xe et XIe siècles," *REB* 19 (1961) 300–11. J.H. Forsyth, "The Byzantine Arab Chronicle (938–1034) of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Mich., 1977). Sezgin, *GAS* 1:338. –L.I.C.

YĀQŪT IBN ʿABDALLĀH, more fully Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh Yaʿqūb ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥamawī, Muslim geographer and literary historian of Byz. origin; born in Byz. territory 1179, died Aleppo 1229. Captured as a child, he was given a broad Arabic education in Baghdad and became his master's business manager. Manumitted in 1199, he worked as a copyist and bookseller, traveling extensively in the Islamic East and meeting scholars. His erudition made him a protégé of the Ayyūbid vizier and physician ibn al-Qifṭī, and a

friend of other prominent scholars (e.g., IBN AL-ATHĪR and IBN AL-ʿADĪM). Only three of his ten books survive, including his classic *Geographical Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of Learned Men*. The former (begun 1218, completed 1228), the most extensive work of its kind in Arabic, sums up Arab geographical knowledge to the author's day, incorporating valuable historical, cultural, and ethnographic material on Byz. and other non-Islamic lands and peoples. His entries on Constantinople, Rūm, Crete, Tarsos, Thughūr (see ʿAWĀṢIM AND THUGHŪR), Sicily, and Byz.'s northern neighbors preserve material from earlier sources, for example, lost parts of al-Yaʿqūbī's geography, several accounts of earlier travelers, and extracts from lost Sicilian Arabic sources. His account of the THEMES derives from ibn al-Fakih's lost list, that on Constantinople from al-HARAWĪ. He displays no personal knowledge of Byz., and it is inaccurate to describe him as a Byz. native informant, as do some scholars.

ED. *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 6 vols. (Leipzig 1866–73). Partial Eng. tr. W. Jwaideh, *The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-Buldān* (Leiden 1959).

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 330–42. R. Blachère, H. Darmaun, *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du Moyen Age* (Paris 1957) 264–75. F.J. Heer, *Die historischen und geographischen Quellen in Jaqut's Geographischem Wörterbuch* (Strassburg 1898). –A.Sh.

YARMUK (Ἱερμουχᾶς), a tributary of the Jordan on the banks of which the Arabs won a decisive battle over the Byz. in Aug.–Sept. 636 (usually dated 20 Aug.). After a series of defeats suffered by THEODORE, Herakleios's brother, the emperor organized an enormous force under the joint command of the *sakellarios* Theodore Trithourios; Niketas, son of SHAHRBARĀZ; and Vahan, a Persian. The Arabs abandoned Emesa and Damascus, but blocked Byz. movement in the area of the Golan Heights. Combat started near Jābiya (Arabic; Gabitha in Syriac) and ended in the Yarmuk valley. According to Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 338.9–10), each army was 40,000 strong, but Donner (*infra*) calculates that the Byz. force (100,000) was more than four times larger than the Muslims (24,000) under the command of Abū ʿUbayda and KHĀLID. After initial difficulties, during which even women were forced to fight, the Muslims destroyed the Byz. army, killing many as they fled. To explain the defeat Theophanes cites the southerly wind that blew dust in the face of the Byz. Probably more important were internal discords among the Byz.: Vahan is said to have revolted before the battle and been proclaimed emperor by his soldiers; the inhabitants of Damascus, under MANṢŪR IBN SARJŪN, probably supported the Muslims; and Christian Arabs under Jabalah ibn al-Ayham unexpectedly switched sides during the battle. The effectiveness of the Arab cavalry also contributed much to Muslim success when, under Khālid, their horsemen managed to separate the Byz. infantry from their cavalry. Among the Byz. commanders Trithourios fell in the battle, Vahan probably fled to Sinai, and Niketas escaped to Emesa. Arab losses were insignificant. The battle at the Yarmuk accomplished the occupation of Palestine.

LIT. Donner, *Conquests* 138f, 144–46. Caetani, *Islam* 3:499–625. –W.E.K., A.K.

YAZDGIRD III (Ἰσδιγέρδης), last Sasanian Persian king (from 632); born ca.617, died near Merv 651/2. The grandson of Chosroes II, he was enthroned in the troubled period following the death of KAVAD-SHĪRŪYA. In 636 the Arab army sent by ʿUMAR invaded Persia and in the battle at Qādisīya (near Ḥīra) routed the Persians and seized their flag; the Persian commander Rustam died in the battle. In 642 the Persians under the command of Perozan lost the second decisive battle, at Nihāvand, in Media. Logistical problems made it hard for Yazdgird to establish contact with Byz., and so the two great empires were defeated separately. After much wandering Yazdgird sought a last refuge in Merv. He arrived there, according to tradition, with a retinue of 4,000 slaves, cooks, wives, and servants, but without a single soldier. He met a hostile reception, fled again, and was murdered either by the owner of a water mill or by cavalrymen who pursued him.

LIT. Christensen, *Sassanides* 499–509. A. Kolesnikov, *Zavoevanie Irana arabami* (Moscow 1982) 86–88, 131–144. –W.E.K.

YAZĪD II (Ἰζίδ) ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, caliph of the UMAYYADS (720–24); born ca.685, died Bayt Rās 27 Jan. 724. In July 721 Yazīd issued an edict requiring the destruction of artistic images throughout the caliphate. His brother MASLAMA was charged with carrying out the order. Byz. sources (e.g., Theoph. 401.29–402.7) attribute his action to a Jewish magician, who promised the ailing Yazīd a long reign if he would condemn icons. Archaeological evidence indicates that Christian churches did suffer, but the decree was actually directed at all, not only Christian, human representations (Ostrogorsky, *History* 162, n.1). The order was rescinded by Yazīd's son Walīd, who reportedly had the magician executed. Some scholars believe without foundation that Yazīd's edict inspired the iconoclastic decree of LEO III.

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, "The Iconoclastic Edict of the Caliph Yazid II, A.D. 721," *DOP* 9/10 (1956) 23–47. K.A.C. Creswell, "The Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam," *Ars Islamica* 11–12 (1946) 159–66. –P.A.H.

YEAR. See CHRONOLOGY.

YEAR, LITURGICAL, a somewhat artificial conception of the church CALENDAR as a homogeneous chronological cycle of FEASTS and seasons of PENANCE and FASTING, ordered according to the sequence of events in New Testament salvation history. In this conception, the church year is concerned chiefly with the mysteries of the life of Jesus and Mary as found in the New Testament and apocryphal literature, and only secondarily with later happenings, such as councils or the transfer of relics.

The year begins with the feasts of the BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN and PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN (8 Sept. and 21 Nov.) serving as preludes to the "theophanic" cycle, or NATIVITY-EPIPHANY season, the most ancient GREAT FEASTS of the fixed cycle. Then commence the festivities of the "paschal" cycle: pre-Lent, LENT, HOLY WEEK, EASTER, and PENTECOST. They are followed by the fasts and feasts of Sts. Peter and Paul (29 June) and the DORMITION of the Virgin (15 Aug.).

The two poles of the year, the theophanic and paschal cycles, are the only periods that can be properly designated "liturgical seasons," and together they occupy less than half the year. The remaining seven-month period escapes facile integration into a coherent, chronologically progressive liturgical year. The feast of the Transfiguration on 6 Aug., for example, precedes that of the beheading of the Baptist (29 Aug.), historically an earlier event. The sanctoral cycle is also unrelated to the unfolding of salvation history except in the case of a few saints directly associated with New Testament events: the SYNAXIS of Ioakeim and Anna on 9 Sept. or John the Baptist on 7 Jan. are in each case connected with the New Testament events of the previous day (Birth of the Virgin and Baptism).

The round of feasts evidently grew piecemeal and haphazardly, with no thought of eventual coordination into a yearly cycle. Indeed three conflicting cycles are discernible in the extant LITURGICAL BOOKS: the most ancient weekly cycle, centered on SUNDAY, found in the OKTOECHOS; the movable lunar cycle of the paschal mystery, found in the TRIODION and PENTEKOSTARION; and the cycle of fixed feasts found in the MENAION, the last book to acquire formulation with a full complement of AKOLOUTHIAI for each date of the year.

LIT. T.J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York 1986). A. Stoelen, "L'année liturgique byzantine," *Irénikon* 4.10 (1928). –R.F.T.

YEMEN. See HIMYAR.

YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT. See IRENE-YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT.

YOLANDE (Ἰολεντία), Latin empress of Constantinople (1217–19), died Constantinople, Sept. 1219. Yolande was the sister of BALDWIN OF FLANDERS and HENRY OF HAINAULT. After the disappearance of her husband PETER OF COURTENAY, she ruled the Latin Empire of Constantinople and proved a capable ruler. She made two shrewd marriage alliances: one of her daughters, Agnes, married GEOFFREY II VILLEHARDOUIN and another, Marie, wed THEODORE I LASKARIS, which helped to ease the pressure on the Latin Empire. Yolande's death opened the question of the succession. Her eldest son, Philip, count of Namur, was unwilling to accept the throne of Constantinople. It went instead to her second son, ROBERT OF COURTENAY, and then to her youngest son, BALDWIN II.

LIT. Longnon, *Empire latin* 157f. *HC* 2:212f. –M.J.A.

Z

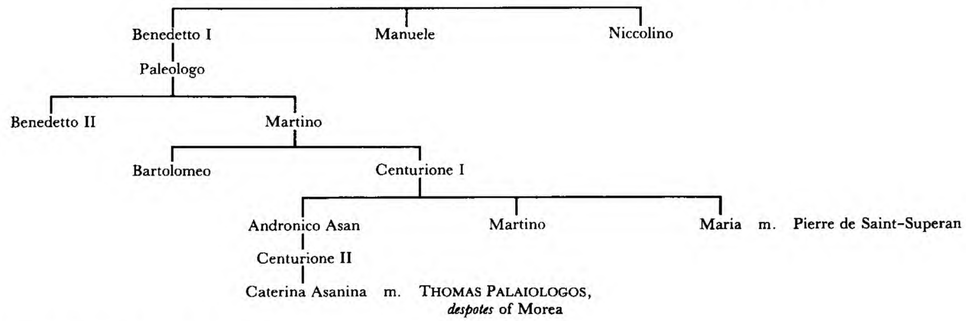
ZABERGAN (*Ζαβεργάν*), khan of the COTRIGURS in the mid-6th C. After the Cotrigurs and Utrigurs had made peace (ca.558), in the winter of 558/9 Zabergan crossed the frozen Danube with his cavalry, passed through Moesia and Scythia, and invaded Thrace. Agathias (Agath. 5:12.4) ascribes to him a "wild plan" to gain control of the sea. Exploiting the state of the LONG WALL, ruined in the earthquake of 557 and not yet fully repaired, Zabergan penetrated to Constantinople with 7,000 mounted warriors. Justinian I recalled BELISARIOS, who had been out of favor, and commissioned him to fight the intruders. Belisarios had about 300 heavily armed soldiers and other troops consisting of unarmed civilians and peasants from localities that had suffered Zabergan's pillaging. At the village of Chettos, Belisarios won the day, having ambushed the enemy's cavalry. Zabergan, however, remained in Thrace until summer, when the Byz. fleet entered the Danube, thus threatening the Cotrigurs and preventing their retreat. Zabergan negotiated a truce, returned prisoners of war, was promised subsidies, and withdrew across the Danube; Justinian celebrated the triumph on 11 Aug. 559. Justinian then stirred up the hostility between the Utrigurs and Cotrigurs to deflect them from Byz.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:536–40. Bury, *LRE* 2:304–08. V. Popović, "La descente des Koutrigours, des Slaves et des Avars vers la Mer Egée," *CRAI* (1978) 611. A. Lippold, *RE* supp. 15 (1978) 611. Idem, *RE* 2.R. 9 (1967) 2204–06.

–W.E.K., A.K.

ZACCARIA (*Ζαχαρίας*), Genoese family active in Levantine affairs in the 13th–15th C. Benedetto I (died 1307) was a merchant and admiral who in the 1290s distinguished himself in the service of the French king Philip IV the Fair (1285–1314). He also served Emp. Michael VIII as an envoy to Western courts, notably Aragon. In 1275 Michael granted PHOKAIA as a fief to Benedetto and his brother Manuele (died by 1288). The family amassed a fortune from the exploitation of the ALUM mines there and built a fleet to protect their merchant vessels from pirates. Phokaia remained in the control of the Zaccaria family until 1314. In 1304 or 1305 (Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 153) Benedetto took CHIOS to protect it from capture by the Turks and further enriched himself through a monopoly in mastic. Benedetto's grandsons, Benedetto II (died 1329) and Martino (died 1345), shared the rule of Chios from 1314 until ca.1325, when Benedetto was forced to abdicate by his brother. A rebellion of local Greeks in 1329 en-

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE ZACCARIA FAMILY IN THE LEVANT



Based on Bon, *Morée franque* 708, with modifications.

abled the Byz. to recover the island. Martino, after a long period of imprisonment in Constantinople, returned to Genoa. He died while commanding the fleet that attacked UMUR BEG at Smyrna in 1344.

Through marriage and purchase the Zaccaria also acquired lands at Damala and Chalandritsa in the principality of ACHAIA. Centurione II Zaccaria (died 1432) became the last prince of Achaia (1404–30), taking the title from his aunt, Maria Zaccaria, widow of Pierre de St. Superan (see NAVARRESE COMPANY). He, however, lost most of his territory in Elis and Messenia to the Byz. despotate of MOREA in 1417/18 and in 1430 married his daughter, Caterina Asanina Zaccaria, to THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS, giving his remaining lands as her dowry. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 6490–96. R. Lopez, *Genova marinara nel duecento: Benedetto Zaccaria, ammiraglio e mercante* (Messina-Milan 1933). W. Miller, "The Zaccaria of Phocaea and Chios (1275–1329)," *JHS* 31 (1911) 42–55. Bon, *Morée franque* 1:279–93. –A.M.T.

ZACHARIAS, pope (3 Dec. 741–15 Mar. 752); born 679. He was the son of a Greek from Calabria, and the last Greek pope. Zacharias reached a truce with the LOMBARDS and stabilized the situation in northern Italy, until the new Lombard king Aistulf (749–57) reopened hostilities and captured Ravenna in 751. The pope then sought the support of Byz. and the recognition of the emperor, even though the situation was complicated owing to the Iconoclast policies of the emperors. When Constantine V was being challenged by the rebellious *strategos* ARTABASDOS in 741–42, the papal envoys to Constantinople maintained a cautious position despite the favorable attitude of Artabasdos toward icon veneration; they recognized Artabasdos but did not associate with his party. Constantine, after his victory, rewarded the pope granting him lucrative estates in Italy. An intelligent man, Zacharias probably translated the *Dialogues* of Pope GREGORY I into Greek.

LIT. G.S. Marcou, "Zaccaria (679–752): L'ultimo Papa greco nella storia di Roma altomedievale," in *Studi in onore di P.A. d'Avack*, vol. 2 (Rome 1976) 1017–45. O. Bertolini, "I rapporti di Zaccaria con Costantino V e con Artavasdo," *ASRSP* 78 (1955) 1–21. –A.K.

ZACHARIAS, JOHN. See JOHN AKTOUARIOS.

ZACHARIAS OF MYTILENE, also called Zacharias Rhetor or Scholastikos, churchman and writer; born Maiouma, near Gaza, ca.465/6, died after 536. Zacharias studied rhetoric and philosophy at Alexandria and law at Berytus. After a period as a monk in his youth, he went to Constantinople to become a lawyer. Originally of Monophysite persuasion, he converted to the Chalcedonian faith in the first decades of the 6th C. As bishop of Mytilene, he attended the Council of Constantinople in 536.

His *Church History*, written originally in Greek from a Monophysite perspective, covers the period 450–91, and was probably composed ca.492–95. It survives only in a Syriac epitome, which forms books 3–6 of a chronicle in 12 books, called *Accounts of Events that Have Happened in the World*, compiled by an anonymous monk at Amida in 569. Indeed, most of his works are extant only in Syriac texts, the exceptions being the *De mundi opificio* or *Ammonios*, a polemic in dialogue form against the pagan philosopher AMMONIOS, in which the question of the eternity of the cosmos is debated (P. Merlan, *GRBS* 9 [1968] 193–203); a fragment from an anti-Manichaean tract is also in Greek. His biography of his fellow pupil, SEVEROS of Antioch, provides a fascinating account of student life in Alexandria, being also a valuable source for late paganism. Zacharias also wrote Lives of Isaias, an Egyptian monk, and PETER THE IBERIAN (M.-A. Kugener, *BZ* 9 [1900] 464–70); only a fragment of the latter is preserved.

ED. *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. E.W. Brooks, 4 vols. (Paris 1919–24), with Lat. tr. Eng. tr. F.J. Hamilton, E.W. Brooks, *The Syriac Chronicle Known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene* (London 1899). *Vitae virorum apud monophysitas celeberrimorum*, ed. E.W. Brooks, 2 vols. (Paris 1907). *Ammonio*, ed. M.M. Colonna (Naples 1973), with Ital. tr. *Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scholastique*, ed. M.-A. Kugener (Paris 1903) [PO 2.1] 7–115, with Fr. tr.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 385f. E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies* (Vatican 1953) 194–204. Baumstark, *Literatur* 183f. S. Brock, "Syriac Historical Writing," *Journal of the Iraqi Academy, Syriac Corportion* 5 (1979–80) 4f. P. Allen, "Zachariah Scholasticus and the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Evagrius Scholasticus," *JThSt* n.s. 31 (1980) 471–88. –B.B., S.H.G.

ZACHLUMIA (Slavic Zahumlje), the country of the Zachloumoi (Ζαχλοῦμοι), a region on the Adriatic coast between Dubrovnik and the Narenta (Neretva) River; Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 33.12) explains that the name in Slavic means "behind the hill." Michael, prince of Zachlumia in the first half of the 10th C., supported SYMEON OF BULGARIA against Byz. and Serbia, but ca.925 allied with TOMISLAV of Croatia and probably with Byz. The name *Zachlumia* disappears from Greek sources after Constantine VII; only John Skylitzes refers to the people of Zachlouboi (Skyl. 145.74) in a passage borrowed from the *Vita Basilii*. Latin texts, however, continued to name it Zachulmia or Chelmania, while Slavic sources refer to it as Humska zemlja, that is, the land of Hum. The PRIEST OF DIOKLEIA mentions Lutovid, the "*princeps* of Chelmana," who was active in the early 1040s; a charter of Lutovid survives in which he claims to be *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Zachlumia, thus implying the existence of a Byz. theme of Zachlumia in the 11th C. This charter, however, is usually considered to be a forgery (Ja. Ferluga in *VizIzvori* 3:157, n.250). In the 12th C. the land of Hum was incorporated into Serbia and formed an appanage of Miroslav, brother of STEFAN NEMANJA; in the 13th C. the princes of Hum seem to have been again independent, but in the 14th C. Hum was under the sovereignty of BOSNIA.

LIT. F. Dvornik in *De adm. imp.* 2:137–40. Fine, *Late Balkans* 142f. B. Ferjančić, in *VizIzvori* 2:59, n.206. –A.K.

ZADAR. See ZARA.

ZAK'ARIDS (Georg. Mxagrdzeli), christianized Kurdish dynasty that ruled ARMENIA at the beginning of the 13th C. In 1199, the Zak'arids seized KARS and ANI; by 1203 they had retaken DUIN from the Muslims and controlled most of Armenia north and east of Lake Van. The eldest Zak'arē, who gave his name to the dynasty, resided at Ani and ruled the western portion of Armenia with the title of "commander of the army" (*amirspasalar*), while his brother Iwanē ruled the eastern portion from Duin with the title of "father of the king" (*atabeg*). The precise relationship of the Zak'arids to the Georgian crown remains unclear. They styled themselves kings, sought to reconstruct the earlier Armenian parafeudal social structure, and embellished and erected monuments that they covered with dedicatory inscriptions. Ani regained its former splendor in this period. Nevertheless, the Zak'arids do not seem to have been altogether independent, and Queen T'AMARA OF GEORGIA used Duin as her winter residence. In 1236, the Zak'arids Awag and Šahanšah recognized the overlordship of the Mongols and consequently survived the fall of Armenia, but increasingly heavy taxation and Mongol favor toward other families brought Zak'arid rule to an end in the second half of the 13th C.

LIT. S. Eremyan, *Amirspasalar Zak'aria Erkaynabazowk* (Erevan 1944). L.O. Babaian, *Social'no-ekonomičeskaja i političeskaja istorija Armenii v XIII–XIV vekach* (Moscow 1969). *Histoire des Arméniens*, ed. G. Dédéyan (Toulouse 1982) 299–302. –N.G.G.

ZAKON SUDNYJ LJUDEM (Law for Judging the People), perhaps the earliest Slavic legal collection adapted from Byz. Its (oldest) short version comprises approximately 30 chapters dealing primarily with penal law; it is based on the ECLOGA, whose rules are in part translated verbatim and in part freely reworked. Although it is agreed that the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem* was produced in the 9th or, at the latest, the beginning of the 10th C., its place of origin (Bulgaria, Great Moravia, Macedonia), precise date, author, and degree of Western influence, remain highly controversial, as does the original function and status of the collection. The preserved MSS all originate in Russia, where the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem*, having been introduced at the end of the 10th C., was widely circulated as a part of larger legal collections; it was eventually included in the printed edition of the KORMČAJA KNIGA.

ED. M.N. Tichomirov, L.V. Milov, *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem kratkoj redakcii* (Moscow 1961).

LIT. V. Ganev, *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem: Pravno-istoričeski i pravno-analitični proučvanija* (Sofia 1959). H.W. Dewey, A.M. Kleimola, *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem (Court Law for the People)* (Ann Arbor 1977). Ja.N. Ščapov, "Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem i slavjanskaja Ekloga," *BS* 46 (1985) 136–39. –L.B.

ZAKYNTHOS (Ζάκυνθος, Ital. Zante), island in the Ionian Sea south of KEPHALENIA. A *polis* of Achaia, Zakynthos is mentioned by several late antique geographers, including Hierokles and the Cosmographer of Ravenna, among others. In 467 GAISERIC pillaged the island and carried away 500 captives from the local nobility (Prokopios, *Wars* 3.22.17). There are no reliable traces of Slavic settlement in the toponymy of Zakynthos (Vasmer, *Slaven* 79f). Pseudo-Sphrantzes (Sphr. 242.14)

mentions an attack of the Cretan Arabs on Kephalenia and Zakynthos ca.872; he evidently confused it with the Arab assault of 880, when they were defeated by NASAR (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:54f, n.3). Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 7.3, ed. Pertusi, 92) lists Zakynthos as belonging to the theme of Kephalenia, and in the lists of bishoprics it appears as a suffragan of Kephalenia (*Notitiae CP* 3.776) and later CORINTH (7.493). In 1099 it was plundered by the Pisans (An.Komn. 3:42.9) but remained Byz. until the end of the 12th C., when it fell to Margaritone of Brindisi, the admiral of WILLIAM II of Sicily. From 1194 to 1328 Zakynthos was in the hands of the Orsini family under theoretical Venetian suzerainty; from 1328 to 1479 it belonged to the Tocco family. In 1479 the island fell temporarily to the Turks, in 1482 to the Venetians.

The Latin bishop of Zakynthos was placed under the archbishop of PATRAS, although the Orthodox bishop remained subject to Corinth. The main Byz. settlement was on the site of the ancient and modern town, where traces of Byz. fortifications remain, built into the Venetian walls. The ruins of the Latin cathedral, with an earlier Byz. phase (late 12th–13th C.), have been identified.

LIT. *TIB* 3:278–80. Ph. Mpoumpoulides, "Symboule eis ten historian tes Zakynthias," *EpMesArch* 7 (1957) 84–128. D. Zakythenos, Ch. Maltezou, "Contributo alla storia dell'episcopato latino di Cefalonia e Zante," in *Mnemosynon S. Antoniade* (Venice 1974) 65–119. D. Triantaphyllopulos, *RBK* 4.1 (1982) 23, 42–46, 52. –T.E.G.

ZANGĪ (or Zengi) of Mosul, son of Aksungur al-Ḥājib; born ca.1084, died Qal'at Ja'bar (on the Euphrates, southeast of Aleppo) 14 Sept. 1146. Appointed *atabeg* of Mosul in 1127, Zangī occupied Aleppo in Jan. 1128. He attempted to secure Damascus, control Baghdad, and fight the Crusaders. When JOHN II KOMNENOS attacked northern Syria (Apr.–May 1138), Zangī reinforced and defended Aleppo. John exhausted his patience besieging Shayzar and withdrew; Zangī harassed his retreat. In Dec. 1144 Zangī took EDESSA; its capture occasioned the Second Crusade.

LIT. *HC* 1:449–62. –C.M.B.

ZANGIDS, the descendants of ZANGĪ. Zangī's eldest son, Saif al-Dīn Ghāzi, succeeded him in Mosul, where his descendants reigned until 1222. Zangī's second son, NŪR AL-DĪN, ruled Aleppo and Damascus; his territories later passed to SALADIN.

LIT. C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh 1967) 121f. –C.M.B.

ZAOUTZES, STYLIANOS (Ζαούτζης in *Vita Euthym.*, Ζαουτζᾶς in Skyl.), high-ranking official under BASIL I and LEO VI; born Macedonia, died Constantinople 899. Zaoutzes came from an Armenian family; N. Adontz's suggestion (*Études* 55) that he was the son of a *strategos* of Macedonia cannot be proven. Zaoutzes was *protospatharios* and *hetaireiarches* at the end of Basil's reign; he supported Leo in his conflict with Basil, and after their reconciliation Basil appointed Zaoutzes as his son's tutor. Leo promoted Zaoutzes to the titles of *patrikios, magistros,* and BASILEOPATOR; V. Laurent attributes to him the seal of the *patrikios* and "father of the emperor" Stylianos (*Coll. Orghidan* [Paris 1952] no.42). Zaoutzes directed Leo's policy; most of the NOVELS OF LEO VI were addressed to him. Chroniclers accuse Zaoutzes of transferring the market of Bulgarian merchants from Constantinople to Thessalonike in 893, thus providing SYMEON OF BULGARIA with a pretext to begin war. Zaoutzes acquired even more influence when his daughter Zoe became Leo's mistress and in 898 his spouse; Zaoutzes also managed to promote his partisan, ANTONY II KAULEAS, to patriarch. Between 886 and ca.895 the emperor preached a sermon (unreliable ed. by Akakios, *Leontos tou Sophou panegyrikoi logoi* [Athens 1868], no.34; corr. partial tr. by Mango, *Art* 203–05) in a church built by Zaoutzes. The sermon includes an important description of its decorative program.

After Zaoutzes's death and Zoe's demise in 899/900, some relatives of Zaoutzes plotted against Leo, but SAMONAS revealed their scheme and the family lost its power. A. Leroy-Molinghen and P. Karlin-Hayter (*Byzantion* 38 [1968] 280f) hypothesized that one of his descendants married PSELLOS. Zaoutzes is presented as the embodiment of evil in the vita of Patr. EUTHYMIOS.

LIT. *Vita Euthym.* 149–52. –A.K., A.C.

ZARA (Διάδωρα, anc. Iadera, Slav. Zadar), a city and port in Dalmatia. Its history during the late Roman Empire is poorly documented; together with all of Dalmatia, Zara was under the control of the Ostrogoths in the 5th C. and ca.537 was reconquered by Justinian I. Some Gothic objects have been found in the vicinity of Zara, for example, in the necropolis in the village of Kašić. The hexagonal baptistery in Zara, previously dated to the 9th C., has been reassigned to the 6th C. (I. Nikolajević, *ZRVI* 9 [1966] 239f). The destruction of SALONA in the early 7th C. and the capture of RAVENNA and AQUILEIA by the Lombards in the 8th C. made Zara the largest city in the northern Adriatic. In 805 Paul, "*dux* Iaderae," and Bp. Donatus appeared at the court of Charlemagne as representatives of Dalmatia. A legend connects Bp. Donatus also with Constantinople: he reportedly went to the Byz. capital, where Nikephoros I gave him the relics of St. Anastasia for transfer to Zara. Construction of the Cathedral of St. Anastasia began around this date. In the 10th C. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 29.272–84) mentions several churches in the "large *kastron*" of Zara; among them was the basilica of the virgin saint Anastasia whose "flesh" was preserved there. He compares the basilica to the Church of the CHALKOPRATEIA in Constantinople and describes its paintings and floor mosaics.

Zara was autonomous under the Byz. protectorate in the 7th–11th C., elders of Zara functioning (until the mid-9th C.) as *archontes* of Dalmatia, but there were various political forces trying to conquer Zara. Venice was the most dangerous of them, although Zara did not realize it. In 1000 Zara solemnly received the fleet of the doge Pietro Orseoli, but the Venetian expedition of 1050—or rather 1062 (L. Margetić, *StVen* 4 [1980] 279–90)—met resistance; Zara began to seek the support of Hungary against Venice. According to Andreas DANDOLO, in 1112 the doge Ordelafo Falieri asked Emp. Alexios I Komnenos to transfer to Venice supremacy over Zara. Evidently the response was negative, and in 1116 the Venetians attacked Zara and defeated the Hungarian troops defending the city. In 1186, however, BÉLA III established Hungarian authority in Zara, and Venice failed to regain it. A few years later, Doge Enrico DANDOLO decided to use the army of the Crusaders to recover Zara. Despite the opposition of Pope Innocent III, the Venetian fleet of the Fourth Crusade sailed to the Dalmatian coast and on 24 Nov. 1202, after a two-week siege, forced Zara to surrender. The struggle over Zara continued, however, with both Croatian and Hungarian kings claiming rights to it, until 1409 when Venice finally conquered the city.

LIT. *HC* 2:168, 172–76. M. Suić, *Zadar u starom vijeku* (Zadar 1981) 310–43. N. Klaić, I. Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku* (Zadar 1976). Ferluga, *Byzantium* 173–92. I. Petricioli, "Contribution à la recherche de la plus ancienne phase de construction de la cathédrale de Zadar," *Disputationes salonitanae,* vol. 2 (Split 1984) 243–53. *Zadar-zbornik* (Zagreb 1964). –A.K.

ZEALOTS (Ζηλωταί), the leaders of a revolt who established a short-lived regime in Thessalonike (1342–49) after driving out the Kantakouzenist governor Theodore Synadenos and his aristocratic supporters. Supreme power in the movement was held by two *archontes* (from 1342 to 1345 the *megas primikerios* John, son of Alexios APOKAUKOS, and Michael Palaiologos) and a council (*boule*) that could be summoned at the initiative of a single archon. At first the Zealots were able to repel the attacks of John VI Kantakouzenos, but by 1345 the city's situation became dangerous. Some factions attempted a reconciliation with Kantakouzenos. In the spring John Apokaukos organized the murder of Michael Palaiologos and arrested his supporters. When Alexios Apokaukos was killed in Constantinople, his son opened negotiations with Kantakouzenos's followers. This incited a new uprising. Apokaukos and his noble partisans were killed, and Andrew Palaiologos, supported by radical elements, seized power. At this time, according to Demetrios Kydones (PG 109:648D), society was topsy-turvy—the slave struck his master, the villager attacked a general, and the peasant a (noble?) warrior. In 1347 the Zealots prevented Gregory PALAMAS, the newly elected metropolitan of Thessalonike, from entering his see. After Kantakouzenos's victory in Constantinople, however, Zealot resistance was doomed. At the end of 1349 they attempted to surrender the city to Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, but the moderate faction, headed by Alexios Metochites, routed the sailors (*nautikon*), who were the backbone of the movement, and handed the city over to Kantakouzenos. In 1350 he arrived in Thessalonike, together with John V and Palamas, while Andrew Palaiologos fled to Mt. Athos.

The revolt of the Zealots has been treated, from O. Tafrali (*Thessalonique au XIVe siècle* [Paris 1913] 225–72) on, as a "revolution," an uprising of the

"lower classes" against the aristocracy, similar to contemporaneous movements in Italian cities, and resulting in social reforms. This interpretation was based on a then-unpublished treatise of Nicholas KABASILAS abundantly quoted by Tafrali. I. Ševčenko, however, in publishing Kabasilas's text (*Soc. & Intell.*, pts. III–VI), showed that it neither referred to the Zealots, nor contained any information concerning reforms.

The revolt of the Zealots should be seen rather as an event within the framework of the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, with the Zealots supporting the "bureaucratic" regime of Alexios Apokaukos against the "feudal" supporters of Kantakouzenos (M.Ja. Sjuzjumov, *VizVrem* 28 [1968] 15–37). In time, however, the movement became more than a struggle between two court factions. Gregoras (Greg. 2:796.1–12) says that the regime created by the Zealots was an unprecedented *ochlokratia* (mob rule) and not an aristocracy or democracy. The Zealots were accused of pillaging by their enemies (e.g., Palamas, ed. B. Gorjanov, *VizVrem* 1 [1947] 265.20–26), but it is uncertain whether a systematic confiscation of properties took place. Kantakouzenos's statement (Kantak. 2:570.19–20) that the Zealots "damaged the area" is too vague to permit any conclusions. Nor is the religious program of the Zealots clear. Kantakouzenos reports (Kantak. 2:571.5–7) that the drunken Zealots ridiculed "Christian mysteries" and describes (ibid. 570.21–24) how large vats were set up in the streets so that the Zealots, with candle in hand, could rebaptize (*anebaptizon*) the rank and file. The revolt found support in some neighboring towns (e.g., Platamon, Rentina).

LIT. V. Hrochová, "La révolte des Zélotes à Salonique et les communes italiennes," *BS* 22 (1961) 1–15. P. Charanis, "Internal Strife in Byzantium during the Fourteenth Century," *Byzantion* 15 (1940–1) 208–30. –A.K., A.M.T.

ZEMARCHOS (Ζήμαρχος), diplomat of JUSTIN II and senator; according to Menander Protector, of Cilician origin, but Russu (*infra*) considers the name to be Thracian. His identification with Zemarchos, *comes Orientis* in 556, cannot be proved. Menander preserves the description of Zemarchos's embassy to the Turkish khan Sizaboulos at Sogdiana (H. Haussig, *Byzantion* 23 [1953] 304) or Ištämi (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:275f) in 568/9–571. Zemarchos encouraged the Turks to make war on Persia and, with a retinue of 20 men, accompanied the khan on one of his anti-Persian expeditions. Having sent his officer George with a Turkish escort by a shorter and deserted road, Zemarchos returned via the "swamp" (Aral Sea) and the Volga, where he was well received by the Alans. Bypassing Persian ambushes, Zemarchos reached Trebizond, probably carrying a large load of silk.

LIT. I. Russu, "Zemarchos. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Prosopographie (6.Jh.)," *Dacia* 14 (1970) 415f. –W.E.K., A.K.

ZEMIANSKÝ VRBOVOK, a village in Silesia, where in 1937 a hoard was discovered that included 17 silver coins (miliaresia and hexagrams) of Constans II and a hexagram of Constantine IV struck at the beginning of his reign. Grierson (*DOC* 2.1:19) suggests that these "ceremonial" coins were struck as diplomatic gifts. The hoard also contained silver objects: bracelets, a necklace, earrings, cups, a chalice, etc., all now in the Slovakian National Museum in Bratislava. Svoboda (*infra*) interprets the hoard as belonging to a silversmith and revealing the area's Byz. connections, in contrast to the lack of evidence for connections between Pannonia and the Lombards or Ravenna.

LIT. B. Svoboda, "Poklad byzantského kovotepce v Zemianském Vrbovku," *Památky archeologické* 44 (1953) 33–108. P. Radoměrský, "Byzantské mince z pokladu v Zemianském Vrbovku," ibid. 109–27. –A.K.

ZEMUN (Ζεύγμινον), also Zemlin; a fortress on the right bank of the Danube, near Belgrade-SINGIDUNUM. It was the site of Roman Taurunum, a station for the Danubian fleet, still mentioned in the *Notitia dignitatum.* By the end of the 11th C., Zemun was a Hungarian stronghold on the frontier with Byz.: in 1096 the crusaders of PETER THE HERMIT took Zemun and allegedly slaughtered 4,000 Hungarians there. In the 12th C., Zemun was a bone of contention between Byz. and the Hungarians. In 1127, the Hungarians attacked BRANIČEVO, demolished its walls, and, according to Niketas Choniates, carried its stones to Zemun; Kinnamos relates that they destroyed Belgrade and used its stones to build Zemun. In 1165 István (Stephen) III, the king of Hungary, besieged Zemun. He allowed the Greeks and the Hungarian partisans of his rival, István IV, to leave peacefully after having surrendered the fortress. In 1167, Andronikos Kontostephanos captured Zemun and defeated the Hungarian army near it, on the river Sava.

In the 15th C., the Hungarian king Sigismund granted the city of Zemun to GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ, who had his palace in nearby Kupinovo. On 17 Dec. 1455, in a battle near Kupinovo, the Turks defeated George Branković and took him captive.

LIT. M. Dabižić, *Zemun, pregled prošlosti od nastanka do 1918* (Zemun 1959). Ž. Škalamara, *Staro jezgro Zemuna,* 2 vols. (Belgrade 1966–67). –A.K.

ZENO (Ζήνων), emperor (474–91); died Constantinople 9 Apr. 491. Originally called Tarasis (R.M. Harrison, *BZ* 74 [1981] 27f) or variants thereof, he took the name of Zeno from a distinguished Isaurian countryman who had served under Theodosios II. He was leader of the Isaurian contingent (perhaps the *exkoubitores*) in Constantinople, married Leo I's daughter ARIADNE, and became *comes domesticorum.* In 469–71 he cooperated with Leo in the elimination of ASPAR and the reduction of the Germanic threat to the capital. Upon Leo's death in 474, Zeno's son Leo II became emperor but died in the same year, leaving power to Zeno. Faced with foreign threats, Zeno negotiated a peace with the Vandal king GAISERIC. He then had to confront a plot engineered by his mother-in-law VERINA and her brother BASILISKOS. Zeno fled to Isauria in 475 but with the help of ILLOS and THEODORIC THE GREAT returned to the throne the next year. Restored to power, Zeno encountered further difficulty from the Ostrogoths in Thrace and the continued machinations of Verina and Illos. Zeno approved the elevation of JULIUS NEPOS as the last Western emperor in 474 and was technically ruler of an undivided state after the coup of ODOACER. In 488 he rid Illyricum of the Ostrogoths by persuading Theodoric to march on Italy and conquer Odoacer. Zeno's proclamation of the HENOTIKON led to the AKAKIAN SCHISM with the papacy. Zeno was personally unpopular and the Orthodox sources generally condemn his pro-Monophysite policy. He did, however, see the empire through a particularly difficult period with considerable skill.

LIT. A. Karamaloude, "Hoi metaboles sten politike tou Zenonos meta ten ptose tou dytikou Rhomaïkou Kratous kai hoi Ostrogotthoi hegemones (476–481)," *Symmeikta* 6 (1985) 73–90. D. Pingree, "Political Horoscopes from the Reign of Zeno," *DOP* 30 (1976) 133–50. E.W. Brooks, "The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians," *EHR* 8 (1893) 209–38. –T.E.G.

ZENOBIA (Ζηνοβία, now Ḥalabīyah in Syria), stronghold on the west bank of the Middle Euphrates, in the province of EUPHRATENSIS, founded by and named after Zenobia, queen of PALMYRA (266–71). Although it was an insignificant fortress in the 6th C., Chosroes I, during his expedition of 540, failed to take it. Justinian I sent two architects, ISIDORE THE YOUNGER and John of Byzantium, to rebuild the town (Prokopios, *Buildings* 2.8.8–25). Excavations have revealed city walls with two towers flanking the north gates, the palace (praetorium) of the military commander, two major arteries with a tetrapylon in the center, a bath with a palaestra, houses, and churches. The buildings were constructed of local stone in the manner typical of Syria. (The churches are similar to the basilicas in SERGIOPOLIS, showing that the Constantinopolitan architects followed local traditions.) An inscription with a curse of "Bishop Lucian" is interpreted as testifying to the existence of an episcopal see at Zenobia. In the *Notitia Antiochena* Zenobia is a suffragan of Sergiopolis. Taken by the Persians in 610, the fortress was gradually abandoned. The necropolis at Zenobia probably belongs to the Palmyrene period (N.P. Toll, *SemKond* 9 [1937] 11–21).

LIT. J. Lauffray, *Ḥalabiyya-Zenobia: Place forte du limes oriental et la Haute Mesopotamie au VIe siècle,* vol. 1 (Paris 1983). F.W. Deichmann, "Halebiya-Zenobia," *CorsiRav* 21 (1974) 155–60. K. Abel, *RE* 2.R. 10 (1972) 8–10. –M.M.M.

ZEON (ζέον, lit. "hot"), the custom, unique to the BYZANTINE RITE, of adding hot water to the chalice at EUCHARIST, for Constantinople first alluded in the 6th C. The original term for this was *thermon,* but the word *zeon* was introduced in the 12th C. and the two were thereafter used interchangeably. No early source indicates at what precise point the infusion occurred, but it is possible that hot water was mixed with the wine both at the PROTHESIS and before COMMUNION. From the 11th to 12th C. onward, the addition of the *zeon* occurs after the FRACTION and commixture, though there is evidence pointing to its infusion at the prothesis, too.

The origins of the *zeon* are disputed. It was associated with the flux from Jesus' side or interpreted to mean that in communion one receives the warm blood of the living risen Christ. Since the Resurrection is the work of the Holy Spirit, the formulas accompanying this ritual symbol of the rising refer to the Spirit. *Zeon* and AZYMES were a source of dispute between Greeks and Latins from the 11th C. onward.

LIT. R. Taft, "Water into Wine," *Muséon* 100 (1987) 323–42. –R.F.T.

ZETA (*Zέντα*), a region encompassing parts of southwestern Yugoslavia and northern Albania, usually identified as DIOKLEIA-Duklja. The term appears in Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 30.105) as *Zentina*, the name of the river Cetina. Kekaumenos (Kek. 170.29–30) was the first to use the designation Zenta for a region in which [Stefan]-Voislav Diokletianos (from Diokleia) ruled in the mid-11th C. His *toparchia* also included Dalmatia and Stamnon (possibly the island of Ston). St. SAVA OF SERBIA applies the term Zeta to the littoral of the Adriatic Sea, and it is assumed that Zeta was a princedom or kingdom that, in the 11th–12th C., fought with RAŠKA for hegemony over all of SERBIA. Under the NEMANJID DYNASTY Zeta formed a part of the Serbian state, usually being ruled by the "junior king." After the death of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1355), however, it acquired independence under the rule of the three Balšići brothers. They acted in alliance with Dubrovnik and took advantage of Serbian involvement in war against the Turks and LAZAR's conflict with Bosnia: after 1371 George Balšić expanded his possessions from Dubrovnik to Prizren, but the Turkish advance cut short the successes of Zeta. In 1444 the new dynasty of Crnojevići acknowledged Venetian supremacy, but nevertheless they had to become vassals of the Turks. In the 14th C. the new name *Montenegro* began to replace that of Zeta.

LIT. *Istorija Crne Gore*, vol. 2, pts. 1–2 (Titograd 1970). Fine, *Late Balkans* 137–42, 389–92, 528–34. –A.K.

ZETOUNION. See LAMIA.

ZEUGARATIKION (*ζευγαρατίκιον*), a tax or charge in specie attested in documents from 1073 to 1428–43. V. Vasil'evskij (*ŽMNP* 210 [1880] 366f) interpreted it as a land tax, while K. Chvostova (*Osobennosti* 99) sees in *zeugaratikion* a part of the land tax levied from the demesne, and F. Dölger (*Schatz.* 146) a tax from the ZEUGARATOI. *Zeugaratikion* is usually mentioned in lists of exemptions together with EPEREIAI such as KASTROKTISIA or MITATON. A *prostagma* of 1428 or 1443 implies that it was a charge that could be levied on the *zeugaria* of a monastery (*Lavra* 3, no.166.23–24). In the *praktikon* of 1073, *zeugaratikion* is a supplementary tax of insignificant size: the *paroikoi* from three *proasteia* paid more than 32 nomismata from their *stichoi* and only 20 miliaresia of *zeugaratikion* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.148–62), that is, less than 5 percent, and the correlation between the two payments varied from one *proasteion* to another. In a *praktikon* of 1333 the *zeugaratikion* was 9.5 hyperpyra or 34.5 percent of the 27.5 hyperpyra levied on the *staseis* of the *paroikoi* (*Zogr.* 29.88–93), and before 1346 Iveron paid 200 hyperpyra as *zeugaratikion* and 200 as KEPHALAION for its properties around RADOLIBOS (Solovjev-Mošin, *infra*, no.6.19–20).

The relation between the *zeugaratikion* and another tax or charge called *zeugologion* is unclear. Jacoby (*Société*, pt.IV [1965], 405–20) suggests that the *zeugaratikion* appears in Venetian Messenia under the name *zovaticum*. *Zeugaratikion* is sometimes identified with SITARKIA.

LIT. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 442–44. Angold, *Byz. Government* 224. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 122f. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 357. –M.B.

ZEUGARATOS (*ζευγαράτος*), the designation for a peasant who possessed the fiscal and economic unit of a ZEUGARION. The term is found in documents from 1073 through the end of the 13th C. in which, for purposes of taxation, peasants, esp. *paroikoi*, were frequently categorized according to the quantity of land they held and the number of oxen they owned. The categories were *dizeugaratos* (a rare term denoting the owner of two *zeugaria*), *zeugaratos*, *boidatos* (holding a *boidion*, "one ox," i.e., half a *zeugarion*), AKTEMON and, infrequently, APOROS. A treatise on measurement composed prior to the 14th C. sets the wealth of a *zeugaratos* at 24 nomismata, a *boidatos* at 12 nomismata, and an *aktemon* at 6 nomismata. In the cadaster of LAMPSAKOS (1218/19) the annual base tax on *zeugaratoi* appears to be 10 hyperpyra, on *boidatoi* 5, *aktemones* 2.5 to 3, and *aporoi* 1 hyperpyron, in addition to CORVÉES commutable for cash. A treatise dated 1232, probably from Cyprus, provides somewhat different figures: a *zeugaratos* held 40 *modioi* of land with a total wealth of 60 hyperpyra, and a *pezos* (*aktemon*) 30 *modioi* and 40 hyperpyra.

LIT. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 153, 161–63. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 303–12. Angold, *Byz. Government* 138, 221–24. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 53–63, 117–20. –M.B.

ZEUGARION (*ζευγάριον*, lit. "a yoke of oxen"). This traditional meaning of the term is attested in documents: thus, a chrysobull of 1327 mentions a tax from the *zeugaria* "which are found and work in the *chorion* of Prebista" (*Zogr.* 26.33–34). The ANGAREIA of *zeugaria* appears in some lists of exemptions (e.g., *Lavra* 2, no.89.167). The term has also been applied to a unit of measurement (similar to the Lat. *iugum*) equivalent to the quantity of land that could be cultivated by a pair of oxen; this meaning is also attested in documents—for instance, "the arable land of 4 *zeugaria*" (*Zogr.*, no.10.14). Schilbach (*Metrologie* 67–70) surmises that the theoretical size of a *zeugarion* was 144 *modioi*, although the scarce data of documents available show a range of *zeugaria* from 83 to 213 *modioi*. It may be necessary to raise the latter figure, since a charter of 1407 equates 3 *zeugaria* with 748 *modioi* (by calculation, 723) of CHORAPHIA and *esothyrochoraphia* (*Pantel.*, no.17.38–39). Thus, in this case there were 249 (or 241) *modioi* per *zeugarion*. The usual explanation of such a variation is that the quality of the land was taken into consideration but this cannot be proved; in the charter of 1407 the land was of first quality.

Another difficulty in interpreting the term is that the *praktika* use it only in the sense of a pair of oxen, and it is unclear whether an appropriate piece of land is understood. There appears to be no direct correlation between the number of *zeugaria* (oxen) and the quantity of arable land held by *paroikoi*.

LIT. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 61f, 161–73. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 141–44. Oikonomides, *Documents et études*, pt.VI (1964), 169f. Chvostova, *Osobennosti* 141–47. –M.B.

ZEUGI CARTHAGO, PROVINCE OF. See AFRICA PROCONSULARIS, PROVINCE OF.

ZEUS, the king of the gods in Greek mythology, equated with Jupiter/Jove by the Latins. Pagans of the 4th C. still addressed Zeus as father of men (cf. Homer) and the "protector of Eastern and Western Rome" (THEMISTIOS, *Orationes* 1:125.3–5). Diocletian assumed the majestic epithet of Jovius ("belonging to Jove"), and one of the 4th-C. Christian emperors bore the theophoric name Jovian. NEOPLATONISTS accepted Zeus as god-demiurge in their divine triad: Kronos, the pure mind (*nous*); Rhea, intellective life; and Zeus, demiurgic mind (H. Schwabl, *RE* supp. 15 [1978] 1386–88). Zeus was also identified with Mithra as solar deity and located in the center of the zodiac (L. Musso, *Manifattura suntuaria e committenza pagana nella Roma dei IV secolo* [Rome 1983] 47).

Christian apologists, drawing mainly on LUCIAN and other ancient rationalists, attacked the mythological image of Zeus, emphasizing its two weak points: his unethical behavior, esp. his adultery (V. Buchheit, *RhM* 125 [1982] 338–42), and his subjugation to fate (*heimarmene*). At the same time, Christians tried to appropriate, together with the idea of four virtues, the Platonic myth of Zeus as charioteer, replacing the king of the gods by Christ (J. Préaux in *Hommages à Marcel Rénard*, vol. 1 [Brussels 1969] 657). In the 12th-C. scholia to Hesiod's *Theogonia* (*Glossen und Scholien zur hesiodischen Theogonie*, ed. H. Flach [Osnabrück 1876; rp. 1970] 340–43), John Galenos treats Zeus as an allegory of Christ ("the cause of life," Galenos writes, playing with ETYMOLOGY by deriving the name Zeus from the word *zoe*) and identifies Zeus's arrows with the sign of the Cross. TZETZES suggested the triple allegory of Zeus: physically, he represents the clear air and the upper hemisphere; pragmatically, the mind (*nous*); and historically, the king of Crete (Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XIV [1954], 47).

In Byz. literature Zeus is primarily a symbol of lust (the rape of EUROPA, the golden rain on DANAË) or of might (the Homeric golden chain with which Zeus threatened to haul up all the other gods [*Iliad* 8:19; *Eust. Comm. Il.* 694.51–695.29]). When PLETHON tried to resuscitate ancient mythology, he conceived of Zeus as the greatest and best god who stood at the head of the universe; Zeus's son Poseidon, born without a mother, created the heaven and entrusted HELIOS to govern it. Scenes of Zeus's birth, his rebellion against Kronos, the courting of Semele, and his

siring of DIONYSOS and ATHENA illustrate the commentaries of pseudo-Nonnos included in numerous MSS of the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. Like Midas, Alexander, and other rulers, Zeus is habitually represented as an emperor (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.*, 78–80, 90f, figs. 52, 57–59). –A.K., A.C.

ZEUXIPPOS, BATHS OF. The most famous public baths of Constantinople, the baths of Zeuxippos (*Ζεύξιππος*) were allegedly built by Septimius Severus and enlarged by Constantine I. Situated close to the GREAT PALACE by the northeast corner of the HIPPODROME, they were decorated with numerous statues, of which 80—of pagan mythological figures, poets, philosophers, etc.—were described in the reign of Anastasios I by CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS. The statues formed a meaningful arrangement with regard to their subject matter. The baths were burned down in 532 and rebuilt by Justinian I. They are last mentioned as functioning in 713 (Theoph. 383.9). Thereafter the vast building was converted to other uses. Part of it became a prison known as the Noumera, attested until the late 13th C. Michael GLYKAS was imprisoned there in 1156 and wrote a poem about his experiences. It appears that another part of the building housed a silk workshop, as suggested by the inscription on the textile found in Charlemagne's tomb (C. Diehl in *Strena Buliciana* [Zagreb 1924] 442). Part of the bath complex, probably pertaining to Justinian's rebuilding, was excavated in 1927–28. Two statue bases were then discovered, one inscribed "Hecuba," the other "Aeschines" (*Second Report upon the Excavations Carried Out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928* [London [1929]).

LIT. R. Guilland, "Les thermes de Zeuxippe," *JÖB* 15 (1966) 261–71. Mango, *Brazen House* 37–42. R. Stupperich, "Das Statuenprogramm in den Zeuxippos-Thermen," *IstMitt* 32 (1982) 210–35. –C.M.

ZEUXIPPOS WARE, type of Byz. SGRAFFITO WARE pottery, first identified in the excavations of the Baths of ZEUXIPPOS in Constantinople, where it was described as "Shiny Olive Incised Ware II." The ware is characterized by fine, thinly potted, hard-fired fabric with sparse sgraffito decoration, often a central medallion and circles or ovals filled with palmettes or other designs; figural decorations are also found. The characteristic shape is a deep bowl with either a low or a high ring foot. Megaw (*infra*) divided the ware into two classes: one with a colorless or pale monochrome glaze, and one with added color. Zeuxippos Ware was produced during the late 12th and early 13th C. Examples have been found in Constantinople, throughout the Aegean, on Cyprus, on the northern shore of the Black Sea, in Antioch, Egypt, Corinth, Pergamon, and Preslav, making it difficult to accept Megaw's theory that such pots were made only in Constantinople.

LIT. A.H.S. Megaw, "Zeuxippus Ware," *BSA* 63 (1968) 67–88. –T.E.G.

ZEYREK KILISE CAMII. See PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY.

ZIATA. See CHARPETE.

ZICHIA (*Ζιχία, Ζηκχία*), land on east coast of the Black Sea that was separated from Tamatarcha-TMUTOROKAN by the Oukrouch (Kuban?) River and had a city called "Nikopsis," according to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 42.95–99). In another chapter (6.5) he mentions the inhabitants of Cherson who served the emperor in Rhosia, Khazaria, and Zichia.

The Zechoi, according to Prokopios (*Wars* 8.4.2), used to have their kings appointed by the Romans, but by his time they had become independent. From the 7th C. onward, the autocephalous archbishopric of Zekchia is mentioned in notitias; eventually it appears in conjunction with either Tmutorokan or Cimmerian Bosporos. In the legend of the apostle Andrew's travels he is said to have visited Zichia on his way from Abasgia (Abchasia) to the Upper Sougdaia and Bosporos (M. Bonnet, *AB* 13 [1894] 333.30).

It is unclear to what extent and when the Byz. established control over Zichia. Manuel I used, among others, the title "emperor of Zichia, Khazaria, and Gothia," but this titulature could have been vainglorious. The much-discussed seal of Michael, "*archon* of Tmutorokan, Zichia, and Khazaria," pertains to the same area, but there is no reason to suppose, with Bănescu, that Byz. in the late 11th C. possessed vast territories in the northern Caucasus. Hungarian and Italian travelers of the 13th C. mention the land of Sychia (the spelling varies) in which the *civitas* of Matrica (Matracha-Tmutorokan) was sometimes believed to be located.

LIT. L.I. Lavrov, "Adygi v rannem srednevekov'e," *Sbornik statej po istorii Kabardy*, vol. 4 (Nal'čik 1955) 19–64. N. Bănescu, "La domination byzantine à Matracha (Tmutorokan), en Zichie, en Khazarie et en 'Russie' à l'époque des Comnènes," *BSHAcRoum* 22 (1941) 57–77. –O.P.

ZIGABENOS, EUTHYMIOS, or Zigadenos, theologian; baptismal name John; fl. ca.1100. His life is obscure. For a long period Zigabenos (*Ζιγαβηνός*) was wrongly identified with EUTHYMIOS OF AKMONIA. He was a monk in Constantinople invited by Alexios I (probably ca.1110) to write a refutation of heresies, which he produced under the title of *Panoplia dogmatike*, with the collaboration of John PHOURNES. After a eulogy of Alexios, Zigabenos refuted ancient heresies, from Epicureanism to ICONOCLASM, then shifted to contemporary erroneous doctrines, such as those of the Armenians (E. Trapp, *JÖB* 29 [1980] 159–64), Muslims (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 22 [1964] 282), PAULICIANS, and BOGOMILS. He described the execution of BASIL THE BOGOMIL, but differently from Anna KOMNENE, who knew and praised Zigabenos's work. As his primary method of argumentation Zigabenos used abundant citations of the fathers. He also wrote commentaries on the Psalms, Gospels, and St. Paul's epistles. His commentary on the Psalms survives in numerous MSS and was the basis for a unique miniature depicting the Third Anointment of David in the 14th-C. MS Athos, Lavra B. 25 (Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, fig.44). Attribution to Zigabenos of other works preserved under the name of Euthymios is questionable.

ED. PG 128–30. Ficker, *Phundag.* 89–111. *Euthymiou tou Zigabenou Hermeneia eis tas ID' epistolas tou apostolou Paulou*, ed. N. Kalogeras, 2 vols. (Athens 1887).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 614–16. M. Jugie, "La vie et les oeuvres d'Euthyme Zigabène," *EO* 15 (1912) 215–25. A.N. Papabasileiou, *Euthymios-Ioannes Zygadenos* (Leukosia 1979). –A.K., A.C.

ŽIGAJLOVKA, village in the district of Sumy, in the Ukraine, where in 1964 a silver vessel of Constantinopolitan provenance and dated to the end of the 4th to beginning of the 5th C. was found. Ornamented with two friezes, the upper shows military scenes and the lower the hunting of various animals. The vessel is now in the Sumy museum.

LIT. V. Kropotkin, *Rimskie importnye izdelija v Vostočnoj Evrope* (Moscow 1970) no.1333. –A.K.

ZION. See SION.

ZLATOSTRUJ (lit. "Golden Stream"), a compilation of homilies by and excerpts from JOHN CHRYSOSTOM in Old Church Slavonic translation. It was probably composed in Preslav in the late 9th or 10th C. under the patronage of Tsar SYMEON OF BULGARIA, who is believed by some scholars to have had a hand in the compilation himself. The *Zlatostruj* is not a liturgical text, but is rather intended for the moral and doctrinal edification of clergy and laymen through private reading. It suggests a not negligible level of literacy in Bulgaria at the time. The work exists in two recensions, a short version of 80 excerpts and a longer one of 136. The latter contains supplementary material from a catena of Theodore DAPHNOPATES (10th C.). The *Zlatostruj* was widely read by southern and eastern Slavs in the Middle Ages and survives in numerous MSS.

LIT. A.F. Malinin, *Isledovanie Zlatostruja po rukopisi XII v. Imperatorskoj Publičnoj Biblioteki* (Kiev 1878). G.A. Il'inskij, *Zlatostruj A.F. Byčkova XI veka* (Sofia 1929). K. Ivanova, "Neizvestna redakcija na Zlatostruja v sŭrbski izvod ot XIII v.," *Zbornik istorije književnosti Srpske Akademije Nauka i Umetnosti* 10 (1976) 89–100. K. Ivanova, in *Kirillo-Metodievska Enciklopedija*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1985) 726–28. –R.B.

ZODIA (*ζώδια*), "living forms," such as the animals represented in 12th- and 13th-C. sculptures (Grabar, *Sculptures II* 16f). The term usually refers to the four living creatures of biblical theophanies (Ezek 1:5–10, Apoc 4:6–7). The association of their four faces (man, lion, ox, and eagle) with the Gospels was made by Irenaeus (PG 7:885–86) and repeated by later authors. As EVANGELIST SYMBOLS the four are depicted with portraits of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John as well as various theophanic images. In liturgical contexts, the four beasts may be accompanied by the words with which the heavenly host proclaim the "triumphal hymn" in the liturgy. The pairing of animal and evangelist was never regularized in Byz. and several systems occur before the 13th C. Thereafter,

the solutions associated with Irenaeus and St. Jerome (Nelson, *infra* 15f) prevail. In some Byz. texts, the term *zodia* refers to sculpted images (e.g., *Parastaseis* 33, 290).

LIT. Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 15–53. –R.S.N.

ZODIAC. See CONSTELLATIONS.

ZOE (Ζωή), second daughter of CONSTANTINE VIII, empress (with her sister THEODORA, 21 Apr.–12 June 1042); born ca.978, died Constantinople 1050. As heiress of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY, Zoe was wed to ROMANOS III by her father. When Romanos found she was barren, he tolerated her affairs; rumor associated her with Constantine Artoklines and Constantine Monomachos, and she encouraged her lover, the future MICHAEL IV, to drown Romanos. During Michael's reign, agents of JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS watched Zoe closely; she was induced to adopt the future MICHAEL V. After his accession, he determined to rid himself of her: on the night of 18/19 Apr. 1042 she was dispatched to a convent on Prinkipo (see PRINCES' ISLANDS). During the ensuing uprising, she was recalled. The crowd in the Hippodrome, however, rejected her (20 Apr.). After Michael's fall, Zoe and Theodora ruled jointly; they abolished the sale of offices, raised many to the senate, and offered the people generous donatives. Zoe chose CONSTANTINE IX MONOMACHOS as her third husband. During his reign, she died. According to Psellos, she was pious but vain, quick to understand but slow to speak, lavishly generous but capricious in punishing. She delighted in supervising the manufacture of perfumes and ointments carried out in her own quarters. Zoe's portrait, flanking Christ with an emperor whose inscription has been changed to indicate Constantine (IX), survives in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. The occasion and hence the date of this panel are much disputed (R. Cormack, *Art History* 4 [1981] 141–46, fig.6).

LIT. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 10–54. –C.M.B., A.C.

ZOE KARBONOPSINA (Καρβωνοψίνα), or Karbonopsis (lit. "with coal-black eyes"), empress and fourth wife of LEO VI; died Constantinople after 920. Zoe belonged to the family of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR and included among her ancestors Photeinos, *strategos* of the Anatolikon theme; the admiral HIMERIOS was her relative. She became Leo's concubine after the death of his third wife, Eudokia, and gave birth in 905 to the emperor's first son, the future CONSTANTINE VII; their illegal union caused the controversy known as the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI. Leo arranged both an imperial christening for the infant and (probably in June 906) his own marriage to Zoe; the priest Thomas, who performed the marriage, was deposed by EUTHYMIOS. When Leo died, his brother Alexander expelled Zoe from the palace; after Alexander's death NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS obtained from the senate and the bishops the promise not to accept her as empress. Zoe, however, carried out a coup d'état (Feb./March 914), deposed Nicholas from the regency, and ruled with the support of the *parakoimomenos* Constantine and the general Leo Phokas. The unsuccessful war against SYMEON OF BULGARIA and the humiliating treaty with the Arabs of Sicily, who were asked to assist Byz. in its struggle against rebels in Apulia and Calabria, permitted Zoe's adversaries to gain power; in 919/20 she was compelled to yield the administration to ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS and retire to the convent of St. Euthymia, where she died.

LIT. *Vita Euthym.* 192–95. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:223–44. –A.K.

ZOGRAPHOU MONASTERY, dedicated to St. George, located north of Kastamonitou in the interior of the Mt. ATHOS peninsula. Its origins are shrouded in legend. One such legendary source is the so-called chronicle of Zographou, which has been variously dated by scholars from the 13th to the 18th C. Preserved in the Slavic original and in Greek translation, it ascribes the foundation of Zographou to the three Selima brothers, the sons of Justinian I, who allegedly came to Athos from Ohrid in the reign of Leo VI. D. Papachryssanthou (*Prot.*, p.92f) suggests that the monastery was founded by a certain "George the *zographos*," whose signature appears on the TRAGOS of between 970 and 972 (*Prot.*, no.7.167). He is not characterized, however, as a monk or *hegoumenos* and may have been a painter, just as the monk and *hegoumenos* Nicholas who signed the same document was a calligrapher (no.7.163). The monastery definitely existed by the 11th C. when it is mentioned in a decision of the council of Mt. Athos of 1049 (*Zogr.*, no.3.12 and 51); in an act of 1051 (*Zogr.*, no.4.1–2) it is titled the monastery "of the great martyr George." The data on the history of Zographou in the 12th C. must again be treated with great caution: the *sigillion* of 1142 given by Maria Tzousmene, allegedly daughter of John II Komnenos, is considered by P. Bezobrazov (*VizVrem* 17 [1910] 403–05) to be a forgery, and the so-called chrysobull (in Slavic) of Ivan Kaliman, allegedly of 1192, is a later "compilation."

More is known about Zographou from the 13th C. onward, when the monastery was under the control of Bulgarian monks. The *praktika* of Zographou, from the end of the 13th C. to 1320 (Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 266–71), are precious sources for the agrarian history of the Strymon valley, since they reveal the development of certain estates over a period of 25 years. Bulgarian tsars, esp. Ivan Alexander, favored Zographou, conferred privileges, and urged both Byz. emperors and Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (L. Mavromatis, *Byzantion* 52 [1982] 351–56) to make donations to the monastery. The library contains only six Greek MSS of Byz. date (Lampros, *Athos* 1:31–35).

SOURCE. *Actes de Zographou,* ed. W. Regel et al., *VizVrem* 13 (1907), supp. 1. L. Maurommates, "Mesaioniko archeio Mones Zographou," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:308–16.

LIT. K. Tchérémissinoff, "Les archives Slaves médiévales du monastère de Zographou au Mont-Athos," *BZ* 76 (1983) 15–24. A. Stoilov, "Svoden chrisovul za istorijata na Zografskija monastir," *Sbornik v čest na V. Zlatarski* (Sofia 1925) 447–57. V. Mošin, "Zografskie praktiki," *Sbornik v pamet' na P. Nikov* (Sofia 1940) 291–300. –A.K., A.M.T.

ZONARAS, JOHN, historian, canonist, and theologian, high-ranking official (*megas droungarios tes viglas* and *protasekretis*) at the court of Alexios I; died after 1159?. Zonaras (Ζωναρᾶς) probably lost his position after 1118 and became a monk at the monastery of St. Glykeria (location disputed—K.Ziegler, *RE* 2.R. 19 [1972] 722). His chronicle, *Epitome historion*, encompasses history from the creation of the world to 1118; the major portion is based on written sources (SKYLITZES and PSELLOS for the period after 811), but Alexios's reign is Zonaras's original work, evidently a polemic against the eulogy of the emperor by Anna KOMNENE. Zonaras's chronicle was translated into Church Slavonic. He also produced commentaries on the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS, canons of councils, and on church fathers, as well as some hagiographical and homiletical works (e.g., an *enkomion* of St. Eupraxia—E.Gamillscheg, *AB* 99 [1981] 247–49). The *lexikon* preserved under his name is not Zonaras's (Hunger, *Lit.* 2:42f; K. Alpers, *RE* 2.R. 19 [1972] 732–63). An ideologue of Byz. officialdom, Zonaras strongly opposed the "seigneurial" style of government as represented by Alexios; he criticized Alexios for distributing "public money" to his relatives who received properties as large as cities (ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, 3:767.2–8), warned against over-indulgence toward the soldiery and resented excessive taxation and wasteful expenditure (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 59–63).

ED. *Epitome historiarum*, ed. L. Dindorf, 6 vols. (Leipzig 1868–75); Byz. section by T. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn 1897). Germ. tr., E. Trapp, *Johannes Zonaras: Militär und Höflinge im Ringen um das Kaisertum* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1986). Commentaries—PG 137–38.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:416–19. Beck, *Kirche*, 656f. A. Jacobs, *Zonaras-Zonara: Die byzantinische Geschichte bei Joannes Zonaras in slavischer Übersetzung* (Munich 1970). M. DiMaio, "Smoke in the Wind: Zonaras' Use of Philostorgius, Zosimus, John of Antioch and John of Rhodes," *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 230–55. –A.K.

ZONE. See BELT.

ZOODOCHOS PEGE. See PEGE.

ZOODOTES. See CHRIST: Types of Christ.

ZOOLOGY. Like BOTANY, zoology was not a separate scholarly discipline in Byz. and was not taught in the schools. There was, however, great interest in ANIMALS, whose study was approached from various angles. The works of ARISTOTLE were studied in their own right: a 10th-C. *Epitome of Aristotle's Zoology* (ed. V. Rose, *Anecdota Graeca et Graecolatina* [Berlin 1870; rp. Amsterdam 1963] 2:17–40), commentaries by MICHAEL OF EPHESUS on each of Aristotle's zoological works, and a commentary (attributed to John TZETZES) on his *Parts of Animals* survive. An interest in the classical catalogs of poisonous creatures by NIKANDER of Colophon, Philoumenos (fl. ca.150), and GALEN is shown by the prose summaries of Nikander's *Theriaka* and *Alexipharmaka* by an otherwise unknown Euteknios (fl. before 512—ed. M. Papa-

thomopoulos [Ioannina 1976]). Accurate zoological illuminations form an important part of the Byz. MSS of Nikander.

Practical needs stimulated the writing of veterinary manuals (summarized in books on HIPPIATRICA), handbooks for farmers (e.g., the GEOPONIKA), tracts on parasitology (ALEXANDER OF TRALLES), treatises on PHARMACOLOGY, and books on HAWKING. Prose summaries of works by OPPIAN ON HUNTING and FISHING reflect the persistent Byz. use of ancient authorities.

The Byz. had great curiosity about exotic animals (cf. PHYSIOLOGOS, TIMOTHEOS OF GAZA, Manuel PHILES); often they made no distinction between real and imaginary beasts. In the 11th C. Constantine IX Monomachos established a zoo in Constantinople; Attaleiates (Attal. 48.11–50.11) describes with amazement the ELEPHANT and giraffe exhibited there. The vita of MAKARIOS OF ROME and the ALEXANDER ROMANCE also reflect the Byz. fascination with fantastic animals.

LIT. Z. Kádár, *Survivals of Greek Zoological Illuminations in Byzantine MSS* (Budapest 1978). F.S. Bodenheimer, *Materialien zur Geschichte der Entomologie bis Linné* (Berlin 1928) 1:199–202. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:265–70. K. Vogel, *CMH* 4.2:284–86. –J.S., A.K.

ZORAVA (Ζοραούα, Ezraʿ in modern Syria), village bishopric (Jones, *Cities* 289) in the province of ARABIA. It was situated in the Trachonitis (east of the Jordan River) region, where the governmental unit was usually not the city but the village, which was administered from the 3rd C. by elected officials called, for example, *pistoi*, *dioiketai*, *ekdikoi* (G.M. Harper, *YCS* 1 [1928] 103–68). This tradition of community enterprise is still apparent at Zorava in the 6th C.: among the four known churches on the site, all financed by laypeople, that of St. Elias was erected in 512 by "the people of Zorava" (R.E. Brünnow, A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia* 3 [Strasbourg 1909] 350), an unusual form of dedication in the East but one that is found nearby at Kome Nebo and Madaba (*IGLSyr* 21.2, nos. 100, 131, 146). A *proteuon* (*decurion*) was the donor in 515 of the Church of St. George, an aisled tetraconch building apparently modeled on the cathedral of the metropolitan see of BOSTRA, of which Zorava was a suffragan (W.E. Kleinbauer, *DOP* 27 [1973] 108). –M.M.M.

ZOROASTRIANISM, the official religion of the SASANIAN Empire and the ancient, traditional religion of the Persian nation until the triumph of islamization. Under the Sasanian monarchs its religious text (*Avesta*), cult, and priesthood were systematized, and religion and state were closely allied and intertwined. Ardashīr I (224–40) ordered the priest Tansar to create one authoritative version of the *Avesta*, a process finished under Shāpūr II (r. 309–79) in 21 books. Zoroastrian cosmogony, cosmology, and eschatology assume a period of 12,000 years in the course of which the god of light (Ohrmazd) and the god of darkness (Ahriman) are usually in combat and during which time they create good and evil. After 9,000 years Zoroaster appeared to teach mankind the religion of good, and at the end of the 12,000 years the final combat will take place, with the resurrection of the dead. The god of good triumphs, the good enter paradise, the evil go to hell, and those who are neither go to an in-between station. Elements of nature playing an important role are the sun, water, and esp. fire. There was a hierarchization of fire temples at the apex of which were the fire temples of individual monarchs, then those of districts, of villages, and of the house. The priestly class played an important role in the maintenance of the caste structure. The form of Zoroastrianism prevalent among the Sasanians was the Zurvanist. The principal deities of the pantheon were Zurvan, Ohrmazd, the Sun (Mithra), Fire (Adhur), and Bedukht.

The Christian tradition identified Zoroaster as Ham or Nimrod and believed that he died from the impact of a "living stream of a star (*tou asteros zosa rhoe*)" that allegedly gave him a new name (W. Hinz, *RE* 2.R. 10 [1972] 779). A 6th-C. Byz. historian (Agath. 2.24.6–9) relates that Zoroaster or Zarades was a Persian religious reformer whose dates are unknown, that he discarded the veneration of gods who, according to Agathias, were similar to the Hellenic pantheon, and that he introduced a religion that conformed with the dualism of so-called MANICHAEANISM. Some saints' vitae describe the conflict between Zoroastrian priests and Christian holy men. The *Souda* mentions Zoroaster as Zares. In the 15th C. Plethon considered Zoroaster to be an ancestor of Platonism and the inspirer of the CHALDEAN ORACLES, the greatest of ancient legislators and wise men.

LIT. Christensen, *Sassanides* 141–78. G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart 1965) 243–319. M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, 2 vols. (Leiden 1975–82). M.V. Anastos, "Pletho's Calendar and Liturgy," *DOP* 4 (1948) 277–99. –S.V., A.K.

ZOSIMA, author of the *Ksenos*, an account of his journey from Moscow to Constantinople, Athos, and the Holy Land in 1419–22. In ca.1411–13 Zosima had accompanied the Muscovite bride of the future John VIII Palaiologos on her journey to Constantinople. In the *Ksenos* Zosima's descriptions of the sacred sites are of little independent value, being somewhat haphazard and often derived from previous Eastern Slavic accounts (notably that of DANIIL IGUMEN). The narrative focus and interest of the *Ksenos* is more personal, as Zosima conveys the experience of travel. He describes being beaten and severely injured by "evil Arabs" and being stripped and robbed by pirates. He is curious and informative about money (the variety of coinage, bribes) and about languages (he records and explains Greek, Latin, and Arabic expressions). As to factual reporting, he is normally content to include numbered inventories or lists: the six sons of Manuel II (and their titles); the 22 monasteries on Athos; four leading church officials in Hagia Sophia; ten churches in Jerusalem; seven forms of worship in the Church of the Resurrection; and an appendix of multilingual geographic and numerical lists.

ED. *Kniga choženij: Zapiski russkich putešestvennikov XI–XV vv.*, ed. N. Prokof'ev (Moscow 1984) 120–36. First part only, in Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 166–95, with Eng. tr.
LIT. Seemann, *Wallfahrtslit.* 250–60. –S.C.F.

ZOSIMOS (Ζώσιμος), historian of the 5th–6th C. In the title of his work Zosimos is characterized as *komes* and lawyer of the fisc (*apo phiskou synegoros*); proposed equations with the sophists Zosimos of Gaza or Askalon have no wide acceptance. His *New History*, written perhaps ca.501 (Al. Cameron, *Philologus* 113 [1969] 106–10), after a sketchy prelude about ancient Greece, covers Roman events down to 410, where it breaks off in book 6. The "New" of the title suggests a belligerent opposition to Christianity, rather than a second edition as PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.98) surmised. Zosimos is one of the last pagan historians and one of the first to talk in terms of the fall of Rome. He can be unnervingly oblivious to the contradictions produced from discrepant sources (F. Paschoud, *Orpheus* n.s. 6 [1985] 44–61), e.g., in the case of STILICHO where a switch from EUNAPIOS (his chief, almost plagiarized source where available) to OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES turns hostility into admiration. He is most useful for periods for which other sources are lacking, e.g., the 3rd C. and 378–410. Constantinople under CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT is treated at some length, and Zosimos prophesied that Constantinople would flourish (Kaegi, *Decline* 135–42). Zosimos's narrative is at times a vehicle for disguised criticism of contemporary events and personalities; for example, he denounced Augustus for introducing MIMES into Rome (bk.1, ch.6). Zosimos's writings survive in a single MS (Vat. gr. 156) probably produced in the monastery of Stoudios; it contains rebuking marginal notes from several Byz. readers.

ED. *Historia nova*, ed. L. Mendelssohn (Leipzig 1887). (Partial) *Histoire nouvelle*, ed. F. Paschoud, 3 vols. in 4 (Paris 1971–86), with Fr. tr. *New History*, tr. R.T. Ridley (Sydney 1982).
LIT. F. Paschoud, *Cinq études sur Zosime* (Paris 1975). W. Goffart, "Zosimus, the First Historian of Rome's Fall," *AHR* 76 (1971) 412–41. R.T. Ridley, "Zosimus the Historian," *BZ* 65 (1972) 277–302. A.M. Forcina, *Lettori bizantini di Zosimo. Le note marginali del cod. Vat. gr. 156* (Milan 1987). –B.B.

ZOSTE PATRIKIA (ζωστὴ πατρικία), the only specifically female DIGNITY. The term means either "girded" or "girding lady-patrician," or, as Bury (*Adm. System* 33) has it, "mistress of the robes." The *zoste patrikia* was attached to the empress as her "lady of honor." The first known *zoste patrikia* was Theoktiste (ca.830), mother of the empress THEODORA (Oikonomides, *Dated Seals*, no.48). The statement of the *Patria of Constantinople* that Belisarios's wife Antonina was *zoste patrikia* is anachronistic. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the *zoste patrikia* occupies the place between the *kouropalates* and *magistros*, her insignia being ivory tablets. The title disappears from narrative sources after 1018 (Skyl. 364.64), although it is mentioned on a seal of 1060–70 according to Seibt (*Bleisiegel* 260–62); it is not listed in the 14th-C. pseudo-Kodinos.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XXVI (1971), 269–75. A. Vogt, "Histoire des institutions: Note sur la patricienne à ceinture," *EO* 37 (1938) 352–56. –A.K.

ZUART'NOC' (lit. "Heavenly Hosts, Vigilant Powers"), a church (later dedicated to St. GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR) built by Nersēs III (*katholikos*, 641/2–52/3 and 658/9–61/2) as part of his palace compound just east of VAŁARŠAPAT. The plan of the complex is clear, although it has long been in ruins. The church stood on a polygonal stepped terrace that projected from the palace. It was a tetraconch with a circular ambulatory. The curving exedrae of the tetraconch opened into this aisle through columns placed between great W-shaped piers. Only the east exedra lacked the columns. It was separated from the aisle by a solid curved wall, and its floor was raised as a bema. At the east a rectangular chamber abutted the outer wall. Sunk in the ambulatory was a quatrefoil baptismal (?) basin. Five steps descended to a small crypt in the center of the church.

The late date of Zuart'noc'—at least a century after similar aisled tetraconchs in Syria (e.g., APAMEIA, SERGIOPOLIS)—and the lack of contemporary parallels in Armenia, are evidence that the plan was imported. Remaining rubble suggests that the church was not timber-roofed, however, but vaulted in tufa-faced concrete throughout. Its precise elevation remains conjectural. Among the many remaining sculptural fragments are basket capitals with Nersēs' Greek monogram and spandrel figures of stone workers.

LIT. W.E. Kleinbauer, "Zvart'nots and the Origins of Christian Architecture in Armenia," *ArtB* 54 (1972) 245–62. –A.T.

ZVONIMIR, DEMETRIOS (Dmitar), ruler (*dux*, then king) of Croatia (1075–89); died Knin 1089. Zvonimir came to power at a time of major changes in the Balkans and the Adriatic. With great diplomatic skill he strengthened his small principality. Byz. was losing its influence over Dalmatia, and Venice tried to replace it. The doge Domenico Silvia (1070–84) not only possessed some coastal land but assumed the title *dux Dalmatiae* and claimed rights over the whole territory. While Venice acted in alliance with Henry IV of Germany (1056–1106), Zvonimir sought the support of Pope GREGORY VII and the Normans. He accepted the Latin liturgy and was rewarded with the royal title. The Dalmatian fleet helped ROBERT GUISCARD cross the Adriatic and attack Alexios I. The deaths of Robert and Gregory VII weakened Zvonimir's position; he faced the resistance of the Slavic aristocracy who opposed the Latin predominance at his court. Under papal urging, Zvonimir was inclined to join a proto-crusade against the Bogomils and pagan Pechenegs, but the assembly of Croatian nobles rejected the idea and murdered him.

LIT. F. Šišić, *Pregled povijesti Hrvatskoga naroda* (Zagreb 1962) 139–42. Fine, *Early Balkans* 279–84.
–A.K., C.M.B.

ZYGADENOS, EUTHYMIOS. See ZIGABENOS, EUTHYMIOS.

ZYGOSTATES (*ζυγοστάτης*, lit. "one who weighs with a balance"), public weigher, a municipal official who, according to a law of Julian (*Cod.Just.* X 73.2), was to check the quality of the SOLIDUS. The term often appears in papyri and inscriptions of the late Roman Empire (L. Robert, *RPhil* 32 [1958] 37f), e.g., in the formula *zygostates tes poleos* (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12 [1960] 51). Justinian I in the 11th edict considers *zygostatai* as the chief offenders in altering the purity of gold coins. Some seals of *zygostatai* are preserved from the 6th and 7th C. (G. Schlumberger, *RN*^{4} 9 [1905] 351, no.287). In the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. the *zygostates* is not an urban but a state functionary, belonging to the staff of the SAKELLION. The epithet "imperial" is given to a *zygostates* on a seal of the 7th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2803). Bury (*Adm. System* 94f) surmises that from that time the *zygostates* examined and weighed coins that came to the treasury. Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:808C) describes the *zygostasia* as a profitable business, and CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (ed. Kurtz, no.12) praised the *zygostates* Eustathios as founder of a church and "one of the great *chartoularioi*." In the false privilege allegedly bestowed on Monemvasia in 1316 the *zygastikon* was named as one of the customary payments to toll inspectors for weighing and measuring wares (P. Schreiner, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 219.30), but that had nothing in common with the functions of the *zygostates* of the *sakellion*.

LIT. L.C. West, A.C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Princeton 1944) 187–91. –A.K.